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Cover: Debra Steckler, Masked—Outlage—(2002) Oil on board, 8 x 10 inches. I have been working with images that portray a range of gestures and emotions. In this image, a group of women holding butterfly masks stand on a platform in swimsuits, their fleshiness unconcealed, though their faces are hidden. The masks in themselves may be symbolic of a general human condition or sentimentality, but they are also a counterpoint to the women's clothing and the possibly bold act of standing before an audience This image is a visual metaphor for the ways that women create and project their own self-identities to the world. In the act of performance, a possible schism ensues between self-identity and public identity, and the resultant fallout is in issues of beauty, body, and acceptance, among many others. © 2003 by Debra Steckler Permission to reprint may be obtained only from the artist.

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Calls for Papers

Signs Special Issue: Dilemmas in Feminist Social Research

Igns: Journal of Women in Culture and Society seeks submissions for a special issue on "Dilemmas in Feminist Social Research," to be edited by Sandra Harding and Kathryn Norberg. For three decades, feminists in the natural and social sciences have questioned not only the care with which research in history and the social sciences has been conducted but also the adequacy of standard methods to achieve their claimed goals. They have challenged the desirability of those goals and the philosophies of science that have prescribed them. They have introduced alternative research designs and theories of good method. Today many women's studies curricula require courses in research methods appropriate to feminist projects.

Yet thirty years of such work have not made feminist methods and methodological choices uncontroversial. How should the researcher position herself and her subjects in her research projects? What notions of the subjectivity of the researcher and of the researched are appropriate for feminist projects? How can one effectively bring the intersectionality of gender, race, class, sexuality, and culture to a research project? Can social research ever escape the "colonial model"? In which contexts can exposing the researcher's personal situation advance a research project, and in which contexts not? What limits should feminists impose on projects that "study down"? Should the standard restrictions on therapists' relations with their clients hold for social researchers and their research subjects? Are some methods more liberatory than others, and wherein does such potential lie? What are the distinctive feminist issues about methods in history, sociology, political science, economics, anthropology, and other fields of social research? Why are methods not an issue in some feminist research areas? Virtually all of the puzzling and troubling issues of feminist theory reappear in the context of methods. We solicit essays that address these controversies and, especially, that report how researchers' own liberatory methodological plans have had unexpected results intellectually or politically.

The special issue editors are Sandra Harding (Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, UCLA) and Kathryn Norberg (history, UCLA). Please submit articles (three copies) no later than January

8, 2004, to Signs, "Dilemmas in Feminist Social Research," 1400H Public Policy Building, Box 957122, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90095-7122. Please observe the guidelines in the most recent issues of the journal or at http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/Signs/instruct.html.

Signs Special Issue: Gender beyond 'Sexual Difference': Rethinking Feminisms and Visual Culture

special issue titled "Gender beyond 'Sexual Difference': Rethinking Feminisms and Visual Culture," slated for publication in spring 2006. The editors of this special issue seek manuscripts that offer new feminist strategies for examining visual culture, convincing critiques of earlier approaches to feminist visual analysis, and/or new models of feminist visual theory that accommodate the multivalence of women's identities and experiences. We are interested in essays that revise binary models of sexual difference by considering the coextensivity of gender and the myriad other aspects of identity (sexuality, race, ethnicity, etc.) defining contemporary experience. This special issue of Signs will explore the powerful political conflicts that inform the work of feminist visual theorists and practitioners today and will place a particular emphasis on the burdens and conflicts that fall on those whose work is simultaneously feminist, antiracist, queer, postcolonial, Marxist, and so on.

This issue will include works that attempt to rethink the nexus of feminisms (in the plural) and visual culture beyond the dualisms generally posed by "sexual difference" theory, as important as this theory was in developing critical models for analyzing the patriarchal structures of visual representation in Euro-American cultures. Located at a moment of intense shifts in conceptions and experiences of identity (national, international, class, ethnic, racial, sexual, gender, and otherwise), this issue intends to provide multiple points of view on the intersection of feminism and visual culture, to pose new critical models of reading imagery and/or interrogating how feminist visual theories and practices from the so-called fine arts to television, performance art, and the Internet might productively negotiate the increasingly complex pressures of global capitalism. Possible topics could include essays analyzing the productive or destructive conflicts between specific feminist visual theories and particular queer, antiracist,

Marxist, postcolonial, and/or other theories of identity; articles addressing key feminist works of art (e.g., Adrian Piper's performances) through models of analysis acknowledging the intersectionality of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, nationality, and so on; papers examining visual images or objects that articulate complex formulations of gendered identity as multiple and unfixed; or essays offering new feminist models of visual theory that accommodate the interdependence of gender and other aspects of identity.

The special issue editors are Amelia Jones (history of art, School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester) and Jennifer Doyle (English, University of California, Riverside). Please send submissions (three copies) no later than August 1, 2004, to Signs, "Rethinking Feminisms and Visual Culture," University of California, Los Angeles, 1400H Public Policy Building, Box 957122, Los Angeles, CA 90095-7122. Please observe the guidelines in the most recent issues of the journal or at http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/Signs/instruct.html.

The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State

My most important job as your President is to defend the homeland; is to protect American people from further attacks.

-George W. Bush, remarks given on March 29, 2002 (2002b)

Every man I meet wants to protect me. I can't figure out what from.

—Mae West

he American and European women's movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s contained a large segment that organized around issues of weapons, war, and peace. Creative civil disobedience actions wove webs of yarn at entrances to the Pentagon and set up colorful camps on cruise missile sites in England's Greenham Common. Writings of the women's peace movement tried to make theoretical connections between male domination and militarism, between masculine gender and the propensity to settle conflicts with violence, and these echoed some of the voices of the women's peace movement earlier in the twentieth century. By the early 1990s the humor and heroism of the women's peace actions had been all but forgotten.

Organized violence, led both by states and by nonstate actors, has certainly not abated in the meantime and has taken new and frightening forms (Kaldor 1999). Thus there are urgent reasons to reopen the question of whether looking at war and security issues through a gendered lens can teach lessons that might advance the projects of peace and de-

Earlier versions of this article were presented at conferences at Washington University in St. Louis and Lancaster University in England, and I have benefited from discussions on both occasions. I am grateful to David Alexander, Gopal Balakrishnan, Neta Crawford, Tom Dumm, Samantha Frost, Susan Gal, Sandra Harding, Anne Harrington, Aaron Hoffman, Jeffrey Isaac, Patchen Markell, John McCormick, Linda Nicholson, Sara Ruddick, Lora Vsola, Laurel Weldon, Alexander Wendt, and an anonymous reviewer for Signs for comments on earlier versions. Thanks to Anne Harrington and Kathy McCabe for research assistance.

mocracy. In this article I analyze some of the security events and legal changes in the United States since fall 2001 by means of an account of a logic of masculinist protection.

Much writing about gender and war aims to explain bellicosity or its absence by considering attributes of men and women (Goldstein 2001). Theories adopting this approach attempt to argue that behavioral propensities of men link them to violence and those of women make them more peaceful and that these differences help account for the structure of states and international relations. Such attempts to connect violence structures with attributes or behavioral propensities that men or women supposedly share, however, rely on unsupportable generalizations about men and women and often leap too quickly from an account of the traits of persons to institutional structures and collective action. Here I take 2 different approach. I take gender not as an element of explanation but rather one of interpretation, a tool of what might be called ideology critique (cf. Cohn 1993). Viewing issues of war and security through a gender lens, I suggest, means seeing how a certain logic of gendered meanings and images helps organize the way people interpret events and circumstances, along with the positions and possibilities for action within them, and sometimes provides some rationale for action.

I argue that an exposition of the gendered logic of the masculine role of protector in relation to women and children illuminates the meaning and effective appeal of a security state that wages war abroad and expects obedience and loyalty at home. In this patriarchal logic, the role of the masculine protector puts those protected, paradigmatically women and children, in a subordinate position of dependence and obedience. To the extent that citizens of a democratic state allow their leaders to adopt a stance of protectors toward them, these citizens come to occupy a subordinate status like that of women in the patriarchal household. We are to accept a more authoritarian and paternalistic state power, which gets its support partly from the unity a threat produces and our gratitude for protection. At the same time that it legitimates authoritarian power over citizens internally, the logic of masculinist protection justifies aggressive war outside. I interpret Thomas Hobbes as a theorist of authoritarian government grounded in fear of threat and the apparent desire for protection such fear generates.

Although some feminist theorists of peace and security have noticed the appeal to protection as justification for war making (Stiehm 1982; Tickner 1992, 2001), they have not elaborated the gendered logic of protection to the extent that I try to do here. These accounts concentrate on international relations, moreover, and do less to carry the analysis to

an understanding of the relation of states to citizens internally. My interest in this essay is in this dual face of security forms, those that wage war outside a country and conduct surveillance and detention inside. I notice that democratic values of due process, separation of powers, free assembly, and holding powerful actors accountable come into danger when leaders mobilize fear and present themselves as protectors.

Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, I argue, the relation of the leaders of the United States to its citizens is well illuminated by interpreting it under the logic of masculinist protection. The Bush administration has mobilized the language of fear and threat to gain support for constricting liberty and dissent inside the United States and waging war outside. This stronger U.S. security state offers a bargain to its citizens: obey our commands and support our security actions, and we will ensure your protection. This protection bargain between the state and its citizens is not unique to the United States in this period but rather often legitimates authoritarian government. I argue that the bargain is dangerous in this case, as in most others. The essay concludes with a gendered analysis of the war against Afghanistan of fall 2001. While the Bush administration initially justified the war as a defensive action necessary to protect Americans, its rhetoric quickly supplemented this legitimation with an appeal to the liberation of Afghan women. I suggest that some of the groundwork for this appeal may have been laid by feminist campaigns concerning the Taliban, which the Bush administration chose at that moment to exploit. I argue that the apparent success of this appeal in justifying the war to many Americans should trouble feminists and should prompt us to examine whether American or Western feminists sometimes adopt the stance of protector in relation to some women of the world whom we construct as more dependent or subordinate.

Masculinism as protection

Several theorists of gender argue that masculinity and femininity should not be conceptualized with a single logic but rather that ideas and values of masculinity and femininity, and their relation to one another, take several different and sometimes overlapping forms (Brod and Kaufman 1994; Hooper 2001). In this spirit, I propose to single out a particular logic of masculinism that I believe has not received very much attention in recent feminist theory, that associated with the position of male head of household as a protector of the family, and, by extension, with masculine leaders and risk takers as protectors of a population. Twenty years ago Judith Stiehm called attention to the relevance of a logic of masculinist

protection to analysis of war and security issues, and I will draw on some of her ideas (Stiehm 1982). Her analysis more presupposes than it defines the meaning of a masculine role as protector, so this is where I will begin.

The logic of masculinist protection contrasts with a model of masculinity assumed by much feminist theory, of masculinity as self-consciously dominative. On the male domination model, masculine men wish to master women sexually for the sake of their own gratification and to have the pleasures of domination. They bond with other men in comradely male settings that give them specific benefits from which they exclude women, and they harass women in order to enforce this exclusion and maintain their superiority (MacKinnon 1987; May 1998, chaps. 4–6).

This image of the selfish, aggressive, dominative man who desires sexual capture of women corresponds to much about male-dominated institutions and the behavior of many men within them. For my purposes in this essay, however, it is important to recall another apparently more benign image of masculinity, one more associated with ideas of chivalry. In this latter image, real men are neither selfish nor do they seek to enslave or overpower others for the sake of enhancing themselves. Instead, the gallantly masculine man is loving and self-sacrificing, especially in relation to women. He faces the world's difficulties and dangers in order to shield women from harm and allow them to pursue elevating and decorative arts. The role of this courageous, responsible, and virtuous man is that of a protector.

The "good" man is one who keeps vigilant watch over the safety of his family and readily risks himself in the face of threats from the outside in order to protect the subordinate members of his household. The logic of masculinist protection, then, includes the image of the selfish aggressor who wishes to invade the lord's property and sexually conquer his women. These are the bad men. Good men can only appear in their goodness if we assume that lurking outside the warm familial walls are aggressors who wish to attack them. The dominative masculinity in this way constitutes protective masculinity as its other. The world out there is heartless and uncivilized, and the movements and motives of the men in it are unpredictable and difficult to discern. The protector must therefore take all precautions against these threats, remain watchful and suspicious, and be ready to fight and sacrifice for the sake of his loved ones (Elshtain 1987, 1992). Masculine protection is needed to make a home a haven.

Central to the logic of masculinist protection is the subordinate relation of those in the protected position. In return for male protection, the woman concedes critical distance from decision-making autonomy. When the household lives under a threat, there cannot be divided wills and

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arguments about who will do what, or what is the best course of action. The head of the household should decide what measures are necessary for the security of the people and property, and he gives the orders that they must follow if they and their relations are to remain safe. As Stiehm puts it: "The protector cannot achieve status simply through his accomplishment, then. Because he has dependents he is as socially connected as one who is dependent. He is expected to provide for others. Often a protector tries to get help from and also control the lives of those he protects—in order to 'better protect' them" (1982, 372).

Feminine subordination, in this logic, does not constitute submission to a violent and overbearing bully. The feminine woman, rather, on this construction, adores her protector and happily defers to his judgment in return for the promise of security that he offers. She looks up to him with gratitude for his manliness and admiration for his willingness to face the dangers of the world for her sake. That he finds her worthy of such risks gives substance to her self. It is only fitting that she should minister to his needs and obey his dictates.

Hobbes is the great theorist of political power founded on a need and desire for protection. He depicts a state of nature in which people live in small families where all believe some of the others envy them and desire to enlarge themselves by stealing from or conquering them. As a consequence, everyone in this state of nature must live in a state of fear and insecurity, even when not immediately under attack. Households must live with the knowledge that outsiders might wish to attack them, especially if they appear weak and vulnerable, so each must construct defensive fortresses and be on watch. It is only sensible, moreover, to conduct preemptive strikes against those who might wish to attack and to try to weaken them. But each knows that the others are likely to make defensive raids, which only adds to fear and insecurity. In Hobbes's state of nature some people may be motivated by simple greed and desire for conquest and domination. In this state of nature everyone has reason to feel insecure, however, not because all have these dominative motives but because he or she is uncertain about who does and each person understands his or her own vulnerability.

In her contemporary classic, *The Sexual Contract*, Carole Pateman interprets Hobbes along the lines of contemporary feminist accounts of men as selfish aggressors and sexual predators. In the state of nature, roving men take advantage of women encumbered by children and force them to submit to sexual domination. Sometimes they keep the women around as sexual servants; thus arises marriage. These strong and aggressive men force other men to labor for them at the point of a sword. On Pateman's

account, this is how the patriarchal household forms, through overpowering force (1988, chap. 3).

One can just as well read Hobbes's ideas through the lens of the apparently more benign masculinity of protection. Here we can imagine that men and women get together out of attraction and feel love for the children they beget. On this construction, families have their origin in a desire for companionship and caring. In the state of nature, however, each unit has reason to fear the strangers who might rob or kill its members; each then finds it prudent at times to engage in preemptive strikes and to adopt a threatening stance toward the outsiders. On this alternative account, then, patriarchal right emerges from male specialization in security. The patriarch's will rules because the patriarch faces the dangers outside and needs to organize defenses. Female subordination, on this account, derives from this position of being protected. As I will discuss in the next section, however, Hobbes does not think that it is a good idea to leave this armed power in the hands of individual male heads of household. Instead, the sovereign takes over this function.

Both Pateman's story of male domination and the one I have reconstructed depict patriarchal gender relations as upholding unequal power. It is important to attend to the difference, however, I think, because in one relation the hierarchical power is obvious and in the other it is more masked by virtue and love. Michel Foucault (1988, 1994) argues that power conceived and enacted as repressive power, the desire and ability of an agent to force the other to obey his commands, has receded in importance in modern institutions. Other forms of power that enlist the desire of those over whom it is exercised better describe many power relations both historically and today. One such form of power Foucault calls pastoral power. This is the kind of power that the priest exercises over his parish and, by extension, that many experts in the care of individuals exercise over those cared for. This power often appears gentle and benevolent both to its wielders and to those under its sway, but it is no less powerful for that reason. Masculinist protection is more like pastoral power than dominative power that exploits those it rules for its own aggrandizement.

The state as protector and subordinate dtizenship

The gendered logic of masculinist protection has some relevance to individual family life even in modern urban America. Every time a father warns his daughter of the dangerous men he fears will exploit her and forbids her from "running around" the city, he inhabits the role of the male protector. Nevertheless, in everyday family life and other sites of interaction between men and women, the legitimation of female inequality and subordination by appeal to a need for protection has dwindled. My purpose in articulating a logic of masculinist protection is not to argue that it describes private life today but rather to argue that we learn something about public life, specifically about the relation of a state to its citizens, when state officials successfully mobilize fear. States often justify their expectations of obedience and loyalty, as well as their establishment of surveillance, police, intimidation, detention, and the repression of criticism and dissent, by appeal to their role as protectors of citizens. I find in Hobbes a clever account of authoritarian rule grounded in the assumption of threat and fear as basic to the human condition, and thus a need for protection as the highest good.

Hobbes tells a story about why individuals and families find it necessary to constitute a sovereign, a single power to rule them all. In response to the constant fear under which they live, families may join confederations or protection associations. Such protection associations, however, no matter how large and powerful, do not reduce the reasons for fear and insecurity. As long as the possibility exists that others will form larger and stronger protective associations, the nasty state of war persists. As long as there is a potential for competition among units, and those units hold the means to try to force their desires on one another, they must live in fear. Without submission to a common power to which they yield their separate forces, moreover, members of a protective association are liable to turn on one another during times when they need to rely on one another for protection from others (Hobbes [1668] 1994, chap. 17, 3, 4; cf. Nozick 1974, chap. 2). So Hobbes argues that only a Leviathan can assure safety and quell the fear and uncertainty that generate a spiral of danger. All the petty protectors in the state of nature give up their powers of aggression and defense, which they turn over to the sovereign. They make a covenant with one another to live in peace and constitute civil society under the common rule of an absolute authority who makes, interprets, and enforces the laws of the commonwealth for the sake of peace and security of subjects.

Readers of Hobbes sometimes find in the image of Leviathan a mean and selfish tyrant who sucks up the wealth and loyalty of subjects for his own aggrandizement. Democratic values and freedoms would be much easier to assert and preserve in modern politics if the face of authoritarianism were so ugly and easy to recognize. Like the benevolent patriarch, however, Leviathan often wears another aspect, that of the selfless and wise protector whose actions aim to foster and maintain security. What I

call a security state is one whose rulers subordinate citizens to ad hoc surveillance, search, or detention and repress criticism of such arbitrary power, justifying such measures as within the prerogative of those authorities whose primary duty is to maintain security and protect the people.

The security state has an external and an internal aspect. It constitutes itself in relation to an enemy outside, an unpredictable aggressor against which the state needs vigilant defense. It organizes political and economic capacities around the accumulation of weapons and the mobilization of a military to respond to this outsider threat. The state's identity is militaristic, and it engages in military action but with the point of view of the defendant rather than the aggressor. Even when the security regime makes a first strike, it justifies its move as necessary to preempt the threatening aggressor outside. Security states do not justify their wars by appealing to sentiments of greed or desire for conquest; they appeal to their role as protectors.

Internally, the security state must root out the enemy within. There is always the danger that among us are agents who have an interest in disturbing our peace, violating our persons and property, and allowing outsiders to invade our communities and institutions. To protect the state and its citizens, officials must therefore keep a careful watch on the people within its borders and observe and search them to make sure they do not intend evil actions and do not have the means to perform them. The security state overhears conversations in order to try to discover conspiracies of disaster and disruption, and it prevents people from forming crowds or walking the streets after dark. In a security state there cannot be separation of power or critical accountability of official action to a public. Nor can a security state allow expression of dissent.

Once again, Hobbes explains why not. It is necessary that the sovereign be one. The commonwealth can secure peace only if it unites the plurality of its members into one will. Even if the sovereign consists of an assembly of officials and not only one ruler, it must be united in will and purpose. It is the mutual covenant that each man makes to all the others to give over his right of governing his own affairs to the sovereign, on condition that all others do the same, that gives the sovereign both its power and unit of will (Hobbes [1668] 1994, chap. 17, 13). Sovereign authority, then, must be absolute, and it cannot be divided. The sovereign decides what is necessary to protect the commonwealth and its members. The sovereign decides what actions or opinions constitute a danger to peace and properly suppresses them. "The condition of man in this life shall never be without inconveniences; but there happeneth in no commonwealth any greater inconvenience, but what proceeds from the subject's

disobedience and breach of these covenants from which the commonwealth hath its being, and whosoever, thinking sovereign power too great, will seek to make it less, must subject himself to the power that can limit it, that is to say, to a greater" (Hobbes [1668] 1994, chap. 20, li, 135).

Through the logic of protection the state demotes members of a democracy to dependants. State officials adopt the stance of masculine protector, telling us to entrust our lives to them, not to question their decisions about what will keep us safe. Their protector position puts the citizens and residents who depend on state officials' strength and vigilance in the position of women and children under the charge of the male protector (cf. Berlant 1997). Most regimes that suspend certain rights and legal procedures declare a state of emergency. They claim that special measures of unity and obedience are required in order to ensure protection from unusual danger. Because they take the risks and organize the agency of the state, it is their prerogative to determine the objectives of protective action and their means. In a security state there is no room for separate and shared powers, nor for questioning and criticizing the protector's decisions and orders. Good citizenship in a security regime consists of cooperative obedience for the sake of the safety of all.

The authoritarian security paradigm, I have argued, takes a form analogous to that of the masculine protector toward his wife and the other members of his patriarchal household. In this structure, I have suggested, masculine superiority flows not from acts of repressive domination but from the willingness to risk and sacrifice for the sake of the others (Elshtain 1987, 1992). For her part, the subordinate female in this structure neither resents nor resists the man's dominance, but rather she admires it and is grateful for its promise of protection.

Patriotism has an analogous emotive function in the constitution of the security state. Under threat from outside, all of us, authorities and citizens, imagine ourselves a single body enclosed on and loving itself. We affirm our oneness with our fellow citizens and together affirm our single will behind the will of the leaders who have vowed to protect us. It is not merely that dissent is dangerous; worse yet, it is ungrateful. Subordinate citizenship does not merely acquiesce to limitations on freedom in exchange for a promise of security; the consent is active, as solidarity with the others uniting behind and in grateful love of country.

The United States as a security state

A security state is what every state would have to be if Hobbes were right that human relations are always on the verge of disorder and violence, if

only an authoritarian government that brooks no division of power or dissent can keep the peace, and if maintaining peace and security is unambiguously the highest value. Democratic theory and practice, however, question each of these Hobbesian assumptions. Democrats agree that a major purpose of government is to keep peace and promote public safety, but we deny that unquestioning obedience to a unified sovereign is the only means to achieve this, and we question whether values of freedom and autonomy must be traded against the value of security. In a nonideal world of would-be aggressors and states having imperfect procedural justice, transparency, accountability, and lax rights enforcement, every state exhibits features of a security state to some extent. It seems to me, however, that, in recent months, the United States has slipped too far down the authoritarian continuum. The logic of masculinist protection, I suggest, provides a framework for understanding how government leaders who expand arbitrary power and restrict democratic freedom believe that they are doing the right thing and why citizens accept their actions. It also helps explain this state's righteous rationale for aggressive war.

A marauding gang of outsiders attacked buildings in New York and Washington with living bombs, killing thousands in barely an instant and terrifying large numbers of people in the country. Our government responded with a security alert, at home and abroad. Many were frightened, and the heads of state stepped up to offer us protection. Less than a week after the attacks, the Bush administration announced the creation of an Office of Homeland Security to centralize its protection efforts. "Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans" (George W. Bush speech, September 14, 2001 [quoted in Roth 2001]).

The events of September 11, 2001, are certainly a turning point for U.S. politics, for the relation of the government to its citizens and to the rest of the world. Americans learned that "oceans no longer matter when it comes to making us safe" (Bush 2002a), that we are just as vulnerable as persons elsewhere who have long lived with the awareness that some people have the motive and means to kill and wound randomly. More than a year later, it appears that little has changed, either in the fear that some Americans say they have of another attack or in the material ability of law enforcement to predict or prevent one (Firestone 2002). Much has changed in the letter and application of the law in the United States, however, and in the environment of democracy. The Bush administration has repeatedly appealed to the primacy of its role as protector of innocent citizens and liberator of women and children to justify consolidating and centralizing executive power at home and dominative war abroad.

It is arguable that, before September 11, airports and other public places in the United States were too lax in their security screening protocol. I welcome more thorough security procedures; this essay is not an argument against public officials taking measures to try to keep people safe. The key questions are how much power should officials have, how much freedom should citizens have, how fair are the procedures, how well do they follow due process, and how easily can citizens review official policies and actions to hold them accountable. With respect to these questions, there have been very large and damaging changes in the United States since fall 2001, although a direction toward some of them had been enacted by legislation and judicial action in the years before.

The U.S. security state has expanded the prerogative of the executive and eroded the power of the legislative and judicial branches to review executive decisions or to be independent sources of decision making. In the week after the September 11 attacks, for example, Congress passed a resolution effectively waiving its constitutionally mandated power to deliberate and decide on whether the state shall go to war. Months later, again with virtually no debate, Congress approved the largest increase in the military budget in twenty years. Since the war on terrorism has no declared ending, the executive may have been granted permanent legal discretion to do what it wants with U.S. military personnel and equipment, at current taxpayer expense of nearly \$400 billion per year.

Drafted quickly and passed with almost no debate, the USA PATRIOT Act, signed on October 26, 2001, severely reduces the power of courts to review and limit executive actions to keep organizations under surveillance, limit their activities, and search and seize or detain individuals. Under its provisions, individuals and organizations have had their records investigated, their assets seized, and their activities and correspondence monitored. Citizen access to government files and records that took so much struggle to achieve in the 1970s has been severely reduced, with no fanfare and thus no protest (Rosen 2002). Thousands of people have been detained, interrogated, or jailed at the discretion of law enforcement or immigration officials, and hundreds remain in jails without being charged with any crime. Few are allowed access to lawyers. Many foreign residents have been deported or threatened with deportation, sometimes without time to arrange their lives. Laws with similar purposes have been passed in other supposedly liberal democratic states, such as the United Kingdom and Australia.

The U.S. executive branch has taken other steps to enlarge and centralize its power and to put itself above the law. In November 2002, Congress approved the creation of the Department of Homeland Security,

which merges twenty-two existing federal agencies. The Bush administration has flouted principles of a rule of law at the international level by holding captured citizens of many countries prisoner and declaring its prerogative to bring any or all of them before secret tribunals.

These and other legal and policy changes have far-reaching implications. The most ordinary and fundamental expectations of due process are undermined when search and surveillance do not require court approval, when persons can be jailed without charge, and when there is no regularity or predictability to the process that a person in custody will undergo. The basic American principle of the separation of power has been suspended, with no reversal in sight. Legislatures and judiciaries at federal and more local levels have been stripped of some formal powers and decline to use much of what they have left to question, criticize, or block executive action. Most citizens apparently register approval for the increased policing and war-making powers, and the ability of those who do not to organize, criticize publicly, and protest in public streets and squares has been seriously curtailed, not only by fear of peer and employer disapproval but also directly by official repression and intimidation.

How can citizens and their representatives in a democracy allow such rapid challenge to their political principles and institutions, with so little discussion and protest? The process of limiting civil liberties, due process, and deliberation about war has itself been deeply undemocratic, a bold assertion of dictatorial power. One part of the answer lies in a conviction that most people believe that their own rights and freedoms will not be threatened. Aliens will be subject to surveillance and deportation, and these enemies who have infiltrated deserve to be routed out by any means, and we can leave it to the discretion of police officers, immigration officials, and military personnel to determine who they are. Already many of those whose records have been seized or who have been detained without charge are U.S. citizens, however, and the new legislation and guidelines do not make any citizen immune. Well, then, many of us tell ourselves, the ones whose privacy is invaded or freedoms limited by government action must be doing something wrong and deserve what they get. Since I am not doing anything wrong, I am protected. The move from a relatively free society to one over which the state exercises authoritarian domination often occurs by means of just this logic; citizens do not realize how easily they may find themselves under suspicion by authorities over whose decisions there is no public scrutiny. The principle of trial by a jury of peers in which the accused is presumed innocent is an important protection any person has from false charge and arbitrary power. The slippery slope from the fearsome outsiders, to the aliens within, to the bad fellow citizens is likely to end at my brother's front door.

The deeper explanation for why people who live in what promotes itself as one of the most enlightened democracies in history so easily allow and even support the erosion of basic rights lies in the mobilization of fear. John Keane (2002) challenges the opinion that democracies privatize fear. On the contrary, he claims, contemporary commercial communications media in democratic societies often exploit and incite fear. Although freedom of speech and press make possible such public accumulation of fear, the process threatens to shut down civic freedom. "Fear is indeed a thief. It robs subjects of their capacity to act with or against others. It leaves them shaken, sometimes permanently traumatized. And when large numbers fall under the dark clouds of fear, no sun shines on civil society. Fear saps its energies and tears and twists at the institutions of political representation. Fear eats the soul of democracy" (Keane 2002, 235).

Public leaders invoke fear, then they promise to keep those living under them safe. Because we are afraid, and our fears are stirred by what we see on television or read in the newspaper, we are grateful to the leaders and officers who say that they will shoulder the risk in order to protect us. The logic of masculinist protection works to elevate the protector to a position of superior authority and to demote the rest of us to a position of grateful dependency. Ideals of democratic equality and accountability go by the wayside in the process. Although some researchers claim to have noticed a shift in the acceptability of women occupying positions of authority since fall 2001 (O'Connor 2002), in the contemporary United States the position of protector and the position of those protected does not correspond to that of men and women. A few of the most securityminded leaders are women, and many of those who accept the promise of protection are men. What matters, I believe, is the gendered meaning of the positions and the association of familial caring they carry for people. It also matters that this relationship carries an implicit deal: forgo freedom, due process, and the right to hold leaders accountable, and in return we will make sure that you are safe.

is it a good deal?

I discussed earlier how the logic of masculinist protection constitutes the "good" men who protect their women and children by relation to other "bad" men liable to attack. In this logic, virtuous masculinity depends on its constitutive relation to the presumption of evil others. Feminists have

much analyzed a correlate dichotomy between the "good" woman and the "bad" woman. Simply put, a "good" woman stands under the male protection of a father or husband, submits to his judgment about what is necessary for her protection, and remains loyal to him. A "bad" woman is one who is unlucky enough not to have a man willing to protect her, or who refuses such protection by claiming the right to run her own life. In either case, the woman without a male protector is fair game for any man to dominate. There is a bargain implicit in the masculinity protector role: either submit to my governance or all the bad men out there are liable to approach you, and I will not try to stop them.

I have argued so far that the position of citizens and residents under a security state entails a similar bargain. There are bad people out there who might want to attack us. The state pledges to protect us but tells us that we should submit to its rule and decisions without questioning, criticizing, or demanding independent review of the decisions. Some of the measures in place to protect us entail limitation on our freedom and especially limitation of the freedom of particular classes of people. The deal is this: you must trade some liberty and autonomy for the sake of the protection we offer. Is it a good deal?

Some years ago, Susan Rae Peterson likened the state's relation to women under a system of male domination to a protection racket. The gangland crowd offers protection from other gangs to individuals, their families, and businesses, for a fee. If some people decline their services, the gangsters teach them a brutal lesson and by example teach a lesson to others who might wish to go their own way. Thus those who wish to break free of the racketeer's protection discover that they are most in danger from him. Insofar as state laws and policies assume or reinforce the view that a "good" woman should move under the guidance of a man, Peterson argued, the state functions as a protection racket. It threatens or allows men to threaten those women who wish to be independent of the individualized protection of husbands or boyfriends. Not only do the protectors withhold protection from the women who claim autonomy, but they may become attackers (Peterson 1977; cf. Card 1996).

The security state functions as a similar protection racket for those who live under it. As long as we accept the state's protection and pay the price it exacts not only in taxpayer dollars but also in reduction of our freedom and submission to possible surveillance, we are relatively safe. If we try to decline these services and seek freedom from the position of dependence and obedience in which they put us, we become suspect and thereby threatened by the very organization that claims to protect us.

Current forms of "homeland security" in the United States look like

a protection racket. As long as we are quiet and obedient, we can breathe easy. If we should step out of the bounds of "good" citizens, however, we may find ourselves unprotected and even under attack by the protector state. If we publicly criticize the state's policies, especially the war or foreign policy, we may land on lists of unpatriotic people published to invite our neighbors or employers to sanction us. We may find that we are no longer allowed to assemble in some public places, even when we wish to demonstrate about issues other than war and the security regime, and that we are subject to arrest if we try. When we are able peaceably to protest, government officials nevertheless threaten us with horses and tear gas canisters and cameras taking our pictures. Organizations we support may appear on lists of terrorist organizations at the discretion of bureaucrats, and we will not even know that they are monitoring our e-mail or tapping our phones.

Some citizens become defined as not good citizens simply because of their race or national origin. Although public opinion only recently claimed to disapprove of policy and security practices that use racial or ethnic profiling, many now accept the state's claim that effective protection requires such profiling. Residents who are not citizens, especially those from places defined as sources of danger, lose most of the protection they may have had from attack by neighbors or arbitrary and punitive treatment by state agents.

The United States is by no means unique in enacting such measures and justifying them by appeal to protective emergency, nor is this the first time in the past century when such logic has been apparent. This is not the first time either that citizens have applauded the threatening and surveillance activities of the security regime because they are anxious for protection and believe that such measures will only apply to others—the terrorists, the foreigners, and the disloyal citizens—and not to themselves. We endanger democratic practice, however, when we consent to this bargain. When we fail to question a legal distinction between the good citizen and the bad citizen that affords less legal protection to the latter, and when we allow the rhetoric of fear to label any foreigners as enemies within, increasing numbers of us are liable to find that our attributes or activities put us on the wrong side of the line. If we allow our fear to cow us into submission, we assume the position of subordinates rather than democratic citizens equal to and not above our neighbors, equal to and not beneath our government.

There is little evidence that the way the United States has chosen to conduct its war on terrorism has in fact made us or others in the world any safer. Indeed, it may have put Americans at even greater risk. When

U.S. planes began bombing Afghanistan in October 2001, officials publicly admitted that the action put Americans inside and outside the country at greater risk from retaliating attackers. It is plausible to suggest that the stances of increased belligerence between India and Pakistan that emerged in summer 2002 resulted in part from U.S. military actions, and it seems that the government of Israel has been emboldened by the U.S. example to conduct its own brutal war on terrorism. The Bush administration has buried the cold war doctrine of deterrence and announced its willingness to make preemptive strikes against what it decides are terrorist threats. The United States waged a war against Iraq that has made the region more disorderly. Even before the war, many Americans believed that the likelihood of terrorist attacks against Americans would increase if the United States went to war against Iraq (Longworth 2002). The claimed desire to protect by means of guns generates a spiral of danger and uncertainty (cf. Tickner 1992, 51–53).

The logic of masculinist protection positions leaders, along with some other officials such as soldiers and firefighters, as protectors and the rest of us in the subordinate position of dependent protected people. Justifications for the suspension of due process or partial abrogation of privacy rights and civil liberties, as well as condemnation of dissent, rest on an implicit deal: that these are necessary trade-offs for effective protection. The legitimacy of this deal is questionable, however, not only because it may not be effective in protecting us but also because it cheapens and endangers democracy. Subordinate citizenship is not compatible with democracy. The relation of leaders to citizens under democratic norms ought to be one of equality, not in the sense of equal power but in the sense that citizens have an equal right and responsibility with leaders to make policy judgments, and thus that leaders entrusted with special powers should be held accountable to citizens. Institutions of due process, public procedure and record, organized opposition and criticism, and public review both enact and recognize such equal citizenship. Trading them for protection puts us at the mercy of the protectors.

War and feminism

The logic of masculinist protection, I have argued, helps account for the rationale leaders give for deepening a security state and its acceptance by those living under their rule. There are two faces to the security state, one facing outward to defend against enemies and the other facing inward to keep those under protection under necessary control. So far I have concentrated on describing recent legislative and executive actions of the

U.S. government in terms of the inward-looking face. Now I shall turn to the outward looking face, the United States as war maker.

In fall 2001 the United States led a bombing campaign against Afghanistan. Even though that state had not taken aggressive action against the United States, the United States justified the war as a defensive reaction to the attacks of September 11. Perhaps because the claim that the state of Afghanistan actively supported al-Qaeda was weak, the United States quickly repackaged the war as a case of humanitarian intervention to liberate the Afghan people. The logic of masculinist protection appears in the claimed relationship of the United States to people outside the West, particularly in Islamic countries, ruled by brutal dictatorships. The United States will fight and sacrifice to save them. The Bush administration used the same discourse to justify a proposed war against Iraq. The United States defends not only itself in this scenario, but all the world's freedom for which the weapons Iraq might have are a threat. By saving ourselves we also save the Iraqi people from domination. So the United States is the protector of the world. Through this logic the American people and others who choose to identify with the actions of the United States can put themselves into the role of the protector, even as the state restricts our freedom for our own good.

Packaging the war against Afghanistan as a humanitarian war to protect the Afghan people from domination was particularly effective because the Bush administration and journalists focused on women (cf. Tickner 2002). The women of Afghanistan constituted the ultimate victims, putting the United States in the position of ultimate protector. Use of the rhetoric of women's rights by the Bush administration during and after the war against Afghanistan should make feminists very uncomfortable. I wonder whether some seeds for such cynical appeals to the need to save women might not have been sown by some recent discourse and practice that positioned North American and European feminists as protectors of oppressed women in Asia and Africa.

On November 17, 2001, Laura Bush became the first wife to give the president's Saturday morning radio address, which was devoted to condemning what she called the Taliban's war on women and justifying the U.S. war as an effort to free Afghan women (Stout 2001). After the overthrow of the Taliban regime, the Bush administration repeatedly invoked women's liberation to justify the war. In his 2002 State of the Union address, for example, George W. Bush said, "The last time we met in this chamber the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government" (George

W. Bush speech, January 29, 2002 [Bush 2002c]). On International Women's Day, Laura Bush spoke to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, linking the terrorist attacks with the oppression of women and thus, by implication, the war on terrorism with the liberation of women:

The terrorist attacks of September 11 galvanized the international community. Many of us have drawn valuable lessons from the tragedies. People around the world are looking closely at the roles women play in their societies. Afghanistan under the Taliban gave the world a sobering example of a country where women were denied their rights and their place in society. Today, the world is helping Afghan women return to the lives they once knew. Women were once important contributors to Afghan society, and they had the right to vote as early as the 1920s. . . . This is a time of rebuilding—of unprecedented opportunity—thanks to efforts led by the United Nations, the United States, the new Afghan government, and our allies around the world. (Laura Bush speech to United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, March 8, 2002 [L. Bush 2002])

Years before the attacks of September 2001, U.S. feminists mounted a campaign directed at saving the women of Afghanistan from the Taliban. Although they lobbied the Clinton administration to put pressure on the Taliban government regarding women's rights, neither Clinton nor Bush evinced any concern for the situation of women under the Taliban before the war. Appeal to women's rights was thus a cynical attempt to gain support for the war among the citizens of the United States and other liberal countries. Some feminists jumped onto the war bandwagon. Shortly after the war began, for example, Eleanor Smeal, leader of the Feminist Majority, chatted cordially with U.S. generals: "They went off about the role of women in this effort and how imperative it was that women were now in every level of the Air Force and Navy,' said Smeal, who found herself cheered by the idea of women flying F16s. 'It's a different kind of war' she says, echoing the President's assessment of Operation Enduring Freedom" (Lerner 2001).

Certainly the Taliban should have been condemned for its policies, as should all the world's governments that perpetrate or allow systematic and discriminatory harms to and subordination of women. The Taliban stood with only a few other governments in the world in the degree of legally enforced restriction of women's freedom and horrible punishments. Even before the war it seemed to me, however, and still seems to me,

that feminist focus on women under the Taliban constructed these women as exoticized others and paradigmatic victims in need of salvation by Western feminists, and it conveniently deflected attention from perhaps more intractable and mundane problems of gender-based violence, domination, and poverty in many other parts of the world, including the enlightened West. What is wrong with this stance, if it has existed, is that it fails to consider the women as equals, and it does not have principled ways of distancing itself from paternalist militarism.

The stance of the male protector, I have argued, is one of loving selfsacrifice, with those in the feminine position as the objects of love and guardianship. Chivalrous forms of masculinism express and enact concern for the well-being of women, but they do so within a structure of superiority and subordination. The male protector confronts evil aggressors in the name of the right and the good, while those under his protection submit to his order and serve as handmaids to his efforts. Colonialist ideologies have often expressed a similar logic. The knights of civilization aim to bring enlightened understanding to the further regions of the world still living in cruel and irrational traditions that keep them from developing the economic and political structures that will bring them a good life. The suppression of women in these societies is a symptom of such backwardness. Troops will be needed to bring order and guard fledgling institutions, and foreign aid workers to feed, cure, and educate, but all this is only a period of tutelage that will end when the subject people demonstrate their ability to gain their own livelihood and run their own affairs. Many people living in Asian, African, and Latin American societies believe that not only U.S. military hegemony but also international trade and financial institutions, as well as many Western-based nongovernmental development agencies, position them in this way as feminized or infantilized women and children under the protection and guidance of the wise and active father.

In its rhetoric and practice, according to some scholars, the British feminist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries aligned itself with the universal humanitarian civilizing mission invoked as the justification for the British Empire. Feminists endorsed male imperial leaders' assessment of the status of women in other nations as a measure of their level of moral development. Such interest in the status of women was useful to feminists in pointing out the hypocrisy of denying women's rights in the center as one fought for them in the periphery. Providing services for Indian women and other oppressed women in the empire also offered opportunities for the employment of middle-class professional women (Burton 1994).

Some contemporary feminists have worried that Western feminism today has had some tendency to express and act in similar ways in relation to non-Western women. In a well-known essay, Chandra Mohanty, for example, claims that Western feminists too often use an objectified general category of third-world women, who are represented as passive and victimized by their unenlightened cultures and political regimes (1991). Uma Narayan claims that much feminist discussion of the situation of women in Asian and African societies, or women in Asian immigrant communities in Western societies, "replicates problematic aspects of Western representations of Third World nations and communities, aspects that have their roots in the history of colonization" (1997, 43).

Assuming that these criticisms of some of the discourse, attitudes, and actions of Western feminists have some validity, the stance they identify helps account for the ease with which feminist rhetoric can be taken up by today's imperialist power and used for its own ends. It also helps account for the support of some feminists for the war against Afghanistan. Sometimes feminists may identify with the stance of the masculine protector in relation to vulnerable and victimized women. The protector-protected relation is no more egalitarian, however, when between women than between men and women.

According to some recent reports, the lives of women in Afghanistan have changed little since before the war, except that some of them have lost their homes, their relatives, and what little livelihood they had (Reilly 2002). The oppression of most of them remains embedded in social structure, custom, and a culture of warlord anarchism. I would not argue that humanitarian reasons can never justify going to war against a state. I think, however, that such protectionist grounds for military intervention must be limited to situations of genocide or impending genocide and where the war actually makes rescue possible (Young 2003). Even if the U.S. government is sincere in its conviction that its military efforts are intended to save the world from evil, its political and military hegemony materially harms many poor and defenseless people of the world and positions most of the world in a position of subordination that nurtures resentment.

Democratic global citizenship

The contemporary security state in the United States, like many security states, has two faces, one looking outward and the other inward. Each aspect reinforces the other. Both threaten democratic values in the institutions and practices of the United States, as well as globally. Citizens and residents who accept the security state because they fear attack allow them-

selves to be positioned as women and children in relation to paternal protector-leaders. At the same time, to the extent that we identify with a rhetoric of war for the sake of saving the victims of tyranny, we put ourselves in a position superior to those we construct as in need of our aid. Whether looking outward or inward, adopting a more democratic ethos entails rejecting the inequality inherent in the protector-protected logic.

When leaders promulgate fear and promise to keep us safe, they conjure up childish fantasies and desires. We are vulnerable beings, and we want very much to be made safe by a being superior in power to all that might threaten us. Democratic citizens, however, should resist leaders' attempts to play father over us. We should insist that government do its job to promote security without issuing guarantees it cannot redeem or requiring subordination from the people it promises to protect.

Democratic citizenship should first involve admitting that no state can make any of us completely safe and that leaders who promise that are themselves suspect. The world is full of risks. Prudence dictates that we assess risks, get information about their sources, and try to minimize them, and we rightly expect our government to do much of this for us. In a democracy citizens should not have to trade this public responsibility for submission to surveillance, arbitrary decisions, and the stifling of criticism.

In making this claim I am extending recent feminist arguments against a model of citizenship that requires each citizen to be independent and self-sufficient in order to be equal and fully autonomous. Feminist theorists of care and welfare have argued that the rights and dignity of individuals should not be diminished just because they need help and support in order to carry out their chosen projects (Tronto 1994; Kittay 1999). Persons who need care or other forms of social support ought not to be forced into a position of subordination and obedience in relation to those who provide care and support; not only should they retain the rights of full citizens to choose their own way of life and hold authorities accountable but also they ought to be able to criticize the way in which support comes to them (Sevenhuijsen 1998; Hirschmann 2002, chap. 5; Young 2003). This feminist argument rejects the assumption behind a notion of self-sufficient citizenship that a need for social support or care is more exceptional than normal. On the contrary, the well-being of all persons can be enhanced by the care and support of others, and in modern societies some of this generalized care and support ought to be organized and guaranteed through state institutions. The organization of reasonable measures to protect people from harm and to make people confident that they can move and act relatively safely is another form of social support.

Citizens should not have to trade their liberty of movement or right to protest and hold leaders accountable in return for such security.

Democratic citizenship thus means ultimately rejecting the hierarchy of protector and protected. In the article I cited above, Stiehm argues that rejection of this hierarchy implies installing a position of defender in place of both that of the protector and the protected. A society of defenders is "a society composed of citizens equally liable to experience violence and equally responsible for exercising society's violence" (1982, 374). Modern democracies, including U.S. democracy, are founded partly on the principle that citizens should be able to defend themselves if they are also to defend the republic from tyranny. In the twenty-first century, in a world of organized and less organized military institutions and weapons capable of unimaginable destruction, it is hard to know what it might mean for world citizens to exercise collective self-defense. It certainly does not mean that every individual should amass his or her own weapons cache. Nor does it mean whole groups and nations engaging in arms races. The distinction between defender and protector invokes an ideal of equality in the work of defense, and today this may have at least as much to do with political processes that limit weapons and their use as with wielding arms.

The United States claims to use its arms to do this, much as a policeman does in domestic life. In a democratic relationship, however, the policeman-protector comes under the collective authority of the people whose neighborhood he patrols. Democratic citizenship at a global level, then, would constitute a relationship of respect and political equality among the world's peoples where none of us think that we stand in the position of the paternal authority who knows what is good for the still-developing others. To the extent that global law enforcement is necessary, it is only legitimate if the world's peoples together have formulated the rules and actions of such enforcement (cf. Archibugi and Young 2002).

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Exceptional Women, Expert Culture, and the Academy

t bears remembering that Shakespeare's sister, Virginia Woolf's mythical female progenitor of A Room of One's Own (1929), was a woman with a past. By that I mean a cultural past, for Judith Shakespeare's genesis cannot be credited solely to the reproach of an obscure bishop as Woolf's essay suggests.1 Female Shakespeares were in fact part of a much larger cultural debate over women's aptitude at the turn of the last century, one notable instance of which can be found in the question-"Where's the woman Shakespeare?"—hurled some twenty years before Woolf set her Judith in print by a male art student at a Trafalgar Square rally of suffragettes, a scene depicted in Elizabeth Robins's two works on the British suffrage movement, the drama Votes for Women (Robins n.d., 74), and the novel adaptation The Convert (Robins 1907, 265). In both the play and the novel, the student's taunt attempts to undermine women's political competence by tying it to artistic success, implying that the absence of exceptional women, of a female Shakespeare or Plato or Michelangelo or Beethoven or Raphael, as this provocation was also framed, offered proof positive of

The argument for this essay is drawn from my larger book project on modernism and expert culture titled "The Female Intellectual and the Modernist Clerisy." I wish to thank Rita Raley and Dolora Wojcichowski, for reading and commenting on drafts of the essay, and also the reviewers and editors at Signs, for their very helpful comments. To the Huntington Labrary and its director of research, Robert C. Ritchie, I extend a sincere thanks for the fellowship that enabled me to research and complete the essay. I presented an early version of this work at the Second Biennial Feminism(s) and Rhetoric(s) Conference in Minneapolis in October 1999.

¹ I am indebted to Lisa Tickner's work for introducing me to the history of this figure. In the famous gloss on George Macauley Trevelyan's history, Woolf avers: "It would have been extremely odd, even upon this showing, had one of them [the women of the Elizabethan age] suddenly written the plays of Shakespeare, I concluded, and I thought of that old gentleman, who is dead now, but was a bishop, I think, who declared that it was impossible for any woman, past, present, or to come, to have the genius of Shakespeare" (1929, 69–70). See also n 6 below, which details the 1920 debate between Woolf and Desmond McCarthy over women's ability and Shakespeare's genius.

women's disqualification from citizenship.² Rising to the bait, Robins's suffragette activist, Miss Levering, rebuffs the student's affront and affirms women's capabilities, demanding to know how many prodigies are present in the audience and further: "How many Shakespeares are there in all England to-day? Not one. Yet the state doesn't tumble to pieces. Railroads and ships are built—homes are kept going, and babies are born. The world goes on! (bending over the crowd) It goes on by virtue of its common people" (Robins n.d., 74–75; emphasis in original).³

Although the suffragette's ennobling of "the common people" is clearly aimed at repulsing presumptions of male superiority, it also included in its broadside a rejection of female superiority. As Robins made clear in a suffrage address the following March, female Shakespeares were the chimera of women's liberation. What she called "the deadening illusion entertained about, and shared by, the 'Exceptional Woman'" was "a Drug in the Market" that deludes women into putting individual pursuits before collective interests and the common good ([1907] 1913a, 53, 70). Her conclusion that "women are less disposed in these days to over-estimate their individual value" (Robins [1908] 1913b, 73) discounted, however, the currency the figure of the exceptional woman continued to gain over the next decade with, among others, Woolf and her peers.

Indeed, in 1911, the exceptional woman provided the raison d'être for the creation of the protomodernist journal, *Preewoman: A Weekly Feminist Review*, which advocated in its premier issue a feminism that would be above all "self-conscious and introspective." "For the first time," its editorial asserted, "feminists themselves make the attempt to reflect the feminist movement in the mirror of thought" (1911b, 3). Significantly,

² The play was staged in spring 1907 by Harley Granville Barker at the Court Theater of London and subsequently published as a novel that same fall. In 1909, the play also had a run of sixteen performances at Wallack's Theater in New York. In an essay for Colluer's Weekly on June 29, 1907, "The Feministe Movement in England," Robins admitted: "I am one of those who, until comparatively recently, was an ignorant opponent of Woman Suffrage." The transforming event that led her to espouse the cause of women's suffrage appears very like the one dramatized in Votes for Women at Trafalgar Square: "But on that Sunday afternoon, in front of Nelson's Monument," Robins recounts, "a new chapter was begun for me in the lesson of faith in the capacities of women" ([1907] 1913a, 40).

In her 1905 essay collection, Marie Corelli answered the want of a female Shakespeare by declaring: "I do not think we shall ever have a female Shakespeare, for instance. But, at the same time, I equally do not think we shall ever again have a male one!" (1905, 174). A few years later, in "Genius and Women Painters," Mary Lowndes would remonstrate: "How many times have women been reminded—in season and out of season, in conversation, by platform speakers, in print—that their sex has produced no Michael Angelo, and that Raphael was a man?" (1914, 31)

this same inaugural issue also demoted franchise reform to "a rough and ready expedient." And when outraged suffrage activists and sympathizers vigorously objected, the feminist weekly responded by taking an even stronger stand: "To be a freewoman one must have the essential attribute of genius," the second issue proclaimed. "Last week we implied it, and this week we state it" (1911a, 21). "It is the work of the Suffragist women to guard the rear," it declared, "[and] it is that of the Freewomen to steer the van." In the following issue, cofounder Mary Gawthorpe addressed the suffrage movement directly, maintaining her support of female franchise but stressing the critical importance of the Freewoman's editorial policies in support of knowledge creation. "It is most essential," she wrote in "To the Women's Social and Political Union," "that a vehicle for the expression of uncompromising and sincere opinions should exist" (Gawthorpe 1911, 42).

Some eighteen years later, Woolf joined the debate and covered over the divide by making the lowborn genius Judith Shakespeare the focal point of her 1929 polemic and, proleptically, the starting point for a genealogy of exceptional women writers. The effects of this symbolic genesis were to deflect suffrage's rhetoric of equality and to grant the exceptional woman hailed by the *Preewoman* the instant name recognition of a Shakespeare and a prefab literary lineage for Woolf's own and future generations. Nor should her canny elevation of the exceptional woman entirely surprise. Even before the outcast Judith Shakespeare's literary debut, before even the postbellum limited extension of the national franchise mollified suffrage reformers on the British and U.S. sides of the Atlantic, Woolf, along with fellow female modernists Dorothy Richardson,

- * Presweman 1911b, 3. It should be recalled that the founding editors of the Presweman, Dora Marsden and Mary Gawthorpe, were themselves active in the militant Women's Social and Political Union; Gawthorpe was even imprisoned for her suffrage activism in 1906. While the fate of the weekly, in its morphing to New Presweman and then to the Egoist, edited by Exra Pound, is generally read as the capitulation of its feminist ideals (see Fermhough 2000, 491), its attachment to the critical values of the exceptional and creative intellect, which we now readily associate with modernism, remained intact.
- *Nor for one moment do we wish to support the view that all women will be free, any more than all men are free" (*Presidental 1911a, 21). It did concede, however, that the disparity between ordinary and exceptional women had social causes that could be ameliorated by greater cultural opportunities: "So many women appear ordinary, not because they are born ordinary, but because they are bundled pell-mell into a sphere in which they can show no special gift; and because they are expected to be so bundled, they are deprived of that training which would enable them to make their individual revelation communicable, that is, of their chance to become artists" (*Presidental 1911a, 21).

Katherine Mansfield, Gertrude Stein, Djuna Barnes, H. D., and Mina Loy had already subscribed to some version of the exceptional woman and detached themselves from franchise activism. Like the founders of the *Preewoman*, they espoused an antiwoman sentiment in their criticism of the cult of domesticity and were decidedly more quiescent about suffrage reform as the primary means of emancipation. Yet they took these positions even as they denounced, often stridently, a male monopoly of the arts. Critical of male privilege and ambivalent about female suffrage, these early modernists enjoyed the dubious status of being classed, by turn, as hostile to men, and thus suspected of being unwomanly, and as disloyal to women, and thus accused of masculine hubris. In consequence, their appearance on the literary scene further complicated the egalitarian foundation of feminist ideology and the identitarian politics inherent in the binary of male versus female.

I begin with this brief recitation of the cultural debate surrounding female Shakespeares and their generic equivalent, exceptional women, and the different and complex paths female intellectuals such as Woolf chose for liberation as a means to underscore tensions apparent in the opening decades of the last century that should strike a familiar, albeit dissonant, chord today. The disagreement then by feminists over extraordinary versus ordinary women, intellectual engagement versus political reform, "steer[ing] the van" as opposed to "guard[ing] the rear" brings to mind the dissension that has flared in the 1990s over the direction of feminism, present and future, especially as this dissension arises from disparate accounts of feminism's recent past and its current status in the academy.

One powerful installment of the debate over feminism's prospects occurred in issues of *Critical Inquiry* between Susan Gubar (1998, 1999) and Robyn Wiegman (1999a, 1999b), in which Wiegman countered Gubar's elegizing of the halcyon days of feminism's institutional ascent through the practice of literary scholarship by calling for another stage in

⁶ A duel in the press over the intellectual abilities of women, sparked by the publication of Arnold Bennett's Our Women (1920), was also a likely antecedent of Woolf's later creation of Judith Shakespeare. Woman's intellectual endowment, according to Bennett and then to Desmond MacCarthy in his column in the New Statemen, was not only less than man's but also resistant to improvement. "Some women undoubtedly have genius," MacCarthy allowed, "but genius in a lesser degree than Shakespeare, Newton, Michael Angelo, Beethoven, Tolston" (MacCarthy 1920). To their remarks Woolf took considerable exception, and she spoke directly to the importance of the exceptional woman in her two responses under the title "The Intellectual Status of Women" (Woolf 1920; Woolf 1977–84, 2:342; see also Fox 1984, 145–47 and notes). See my discussion of Woolf's reticence about suffrage (Cucullu 1997, 30–33, 56–57).

knowledge production, charging the movement, as she had enjoined an introductory class of women's studies students, "[to] resist the impulse to reproduce only what it thinks it already knows; it must challenge the impulse to repeat" (Wiegman 1999b, 371). Where Gubar bemoaned the replacement of feminist literary scholarship with the recondite methodologies of a new generation of academic feminists that pushed her own and other literary critics' work to the sidelines, Wiegman saw feminist discourses in the 1990s constructively "preoccupied with narrating the history of feminism as both a political movement and an intellectual discourse" (1999b, 367). This preoccupation was a necessary one, according to Wiegman, who argued that "the academy is not a place outside or separate from the political, nor is its dedication to intellectual labor insignificant in the reproductive practices of a whole host of social dominations" (1999b, 371).

Despite Wiegman's assurances, Gubar's objections to feminism's espousal of highbrow esotericism were repeated that same year by Martha Nussbaum's censure of what she termed feminism's new insularity. Disputing, like Gubar, its institutional vitality, Nussbaum, in a New Republic review titled "The Professor of Parody" (1999), criticized academic feminism's new disciplinary interests, best exemplified by the works of Judith Butler, that had led to an abandonment of feminism's founding values. In Nussbaum's review, Butler's social constructionism amounted to little more than a "hip quietism" that was conducting a rising generation of academic feminists into the cul-de-sac of empty politics and away from the real-world political commitment of social justice for all women. "It tells scores of talented young women," Nussbaum chafed, "that they need not work on changing the law, or feeding the hungry, or assailing power through theory harnessed to material politics. They can do politics in the safety of their campuses, remaining on the symbolic level, making subversive gestures at power through speech and gesture" (1999, 45). Spoiled by feminism's institutional success and under the thrall of hyperintellectualism, in Nussbaum's view, Butler and her theory cohorts threatened to dispense with not simply literary criticism and the prestige of a founding generation of university feminists, as Gubar had protested, but with political activism and, worse still, the very category of woman itself. In the aftermath of Nussbaum's appeal for a return to an old-style/real-world feminism centered on women, a thoughtful Wiegman coolly observed, in "Feminism, Institutionalism, and the Idiom of Failure," that "to conjoin

Wiegman 1999b, 371. Gubar's original essay was published in the summer 1998 issue. Wiegman's response and Gubar's rebuttal both appeared in the winter 1999 issue.

academic to feminism today is almost always a distinct insult, an accusation that draws its blood precisely because politics and academics have come to be so firmly opposed" (1999a, 108). Here she tellingly surveyed the divide of feminist doers and knowers along a fault line that, not surprisingly, was located with the academy. That academic success should mark a crisis she explained this way: "It is this opposition between the political as a set of social movement ideals and the institutional as a project of academic transformation that underlies to a great extent the mood swing in academic feminism in the 1990s, where feminist articulations of the political agenda that impelled it into the academy have been held in check by a diagnostic analysis that seeks to understand the tenor of bad feeling (and hurt feelings) of feminism's current institutional success" (1999a, 108). As Wiegman subsequently noted, in "Feminism's Apocalyptic Futures," such distinguished feminists as "Linda Gordon, Susan Gubar, Nancy K. Miller, Tania Modleski, Martha Nussbaum, Naomi Schor, among others, have expressed their regret about the failure of feminism's present tense. For some of these feminist thinkers, failure is defined by measuring the present according to the ethos, intentions, and critical dimension of a purportedly more activist feminist past, a time prior to both the academic institutionalization of feminism and its public-sphere decline" (2000, 807).

Complicating the dispute over feminism's vigor inside and out of the academy has been the axial disquiet about the resiliency of the humanities and, what is more, of the university as an intellectual institution. Gubar's worry over the humanities' downsizing that "discourages feminist critics from assuming that we will have successors and what successors mean a future" (1999, 392) and Wiegman's over the fragile status of any resistant knowledge or knowledges in institutions increasingly under transnational and corporate mandates have been shared by Joan Scott who, in the special issue of differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies that she edited on the future prospects of women's studies, situated the uncertain fate of feminist knowledge within the larger context of forecasts over the humanities' decline (1997). With the ongoing restructuring of the university, not only has feminist knowledge been put at risk, but the humanities mission overall has come under siege—and this at a time when women make up 56 percent of the student populations in U.S. colleges and universities, a figure predicted to rise still higher—and when the new

⁸ Scott expressed these concerns in "Women's Studies on the Edge: Introduction" (1997, 1–1v). In the same issue, see also Wendy Brown's "The Impossibility of Women's Studies" (1997).

century's vista of digital literacy and transgenic technologies fast approaches. At a moment in which feminist interventions appear particularly acute, Gubar's requiem for the movement's earlier activism and Nussbaum's rebuke of its new ultraintellectualism assume even greater significance and make more urgent the institutional support Wiegman deems vital for disciplinary robustness.

The present friction, therefore, over political commitments and institutional accomplishments, over the worth of recent feminist knowledge, over the breach between the agent and object of feminist practice, and, aggravating this, the question of the absolute ontological status of the category woman, not to mention the bad feelings the foregoing have occasioned, makes the former debate over exceptional women and Woolf's answering persona two decades later more than an intriguing parallel. In fact, if we take Nancy Cott's point, made in her study of modern feminism, that exceptional women were decisive in the elaboration of twentieth-century women's liberation, then the disagreement of a century ago, excised from the cultural memory of feminism's more recent instantiation, may be seen to signal a divisiveness that has dogged metropolitan feminism from its inception.

Accordingly, to respond to the current debate over "whither" or "withering" feminism, I suggest going further back than the meager temporal allowance of the last thirty years. This is especially the case if among the objectives are, as Wiegman has persuasively argued, to understand and decouple "the discipline's continued commitment to British intellectual and geopolitical colonialism" and "[to] disarticulat[e] the history and meaning of academic feminism from the prototypical plot of white women's subjectivity" (1999b, 375, 379). To grasp the changing circumstances that feminism, along with the humanities and the university, faces at the beginning of a new century, we need to understand more fully feminist accreditation at the opening of the last century, by which I mean the process and logic through which feminist intellectuals became agents of knowledge, empowered to reproduce experts like themselves. For those of us whose disciplines are centered in literature departments, this means disturbing the corpus once again of what to Wiegman would be that dead white woman of the British canon, Virginia Woolf, already much in evidence on these pages. Exhuming Woolf, however, gains fresh impetus

[&]quot;In contrast to nineteenth-century women's small likelihood of distinction except in women's rights or women-oriented activities," Cott contends, "twentieth-century women stood out as individuals, for pursuits not obviously determined by sex nor undertaken for the advancement of their sex" (1987, 239).

from Catherine Gallagher's claim of late, in "A History of the Precedent: Rhetorics of Legitimation in Women's Writing," that it was the writer's charismatic rhetoric in A Room of One's Own and, specifically, her invention of the female precursor, Judith Shakespeare, that fueled feminism's advance over the course of the last century (2000, 323–27). Germane to my interests are the content and logic of Gallagher's argument, not the least its recovery of a female writer that not only illustrates again the persistence of the debate over exceptional and ordinary women but also points to the process of accreditation at the heart of disciplinary practice.

Taking Woolf as exemplar, I shall argue in what follows that female literary modernists, with their claims to unique knowledge and with the cultural and intellectual capital these obtained, helped fashion a distinct paradigm of feminist reformation around the arts that has had far-reaching consequences for academic feminism as a mode and practice of knowing. This paradigm, decisively shaped by Woolf's discursive deployment of the exceptional woman, once heralded by the *Freewoman* as indispensably "steer[ing] the van," gave to the movement a singularly modern inflection from which reverberates the current discord over the value of its intellectual and institutional achievements. In making this argument, I shall attempt to place the modernist movement, a key intellectual component that has, on the whole, been absent from historicizing feminism, into the amalgam of feminism and its profession.

Crosshairs

It remains more than a passing cultural curiosity that Virginia Woolf was installed as lightning rod and icon of feminist ideology in the closing decades of the twentieth century as she was concurrently being enshrined in the high modernist canon. ¹⁰ This seemingly contradictory investiture—snooty Bloomsbury author as feminist high priestess, on one hand, and women's champion as highbrow modernist, on the other—was precisely the doubled position she sought with "Shakespeare's Sister" and the ru-

¹⁰ These two very different but related treatments of Woolf, as feminist and as modernist, can be seen converging in Toril Mol's mid-cighties work, Secural/Tectual Politics (1985). Replying to what Elaine Showalter described as Woolf's equivocal feminism, Moi countered with a critical deconstruction of the traditional humanist aesthetics privileged by Showalter and concluded by glorifying Woolf, the avant-garde modernist, as feminism's "great mother and sister" (1985, 15). The referent is, of course, Showalter's chapter on Woolf, "Virginia Woolf and the Flight into Androgyny," in A Literature of Their Own (1977). For a very helpful overview of the criticism on Woolf's feminism, see Laura Marcus (2000), "Woolf's Feminism and Feminism's Woolf."

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dimental one from which she urged women to join her in the professions in her now famous 1931 speech, "Professions for Women." Woolf's talk, in effect, bestowed on women aspiring to the professional class the readymade tradition that Judith Shakespeare conferred on the modern woman writer. The peroration of A Room of One's Own and the 1931 speech suggested that both novelist and professional were Judith Shakespeare's rightful heirs. As Woolf declared to her audience at the London Society for Women's Service, professional ascension was as vital an avenue to women's intellectual and economic liberation as had been her ascent as a novelist. Her address notably gave voice to the growing recognition that the accessibility of university education had made professional accreditation increasingly attainable by women. With professional standing, women could broker knowledge and culture, support themselves financially, participate more fully in public life, and thereby tender the model and means for succeeding generations of spirited women to follow. Her talk thus confirmed two trends visible by 1931: one was the crescent of the professional class, and the other the unprecedented number of women seeking admission to it. Recollecting these should call to mind as well that her invitation marked the zenith of female professional participation in these decades rather than further increase.

Revisiting this earlier site of metropolitan feminism's ideological formation—the cultural moment of Woolf's literary modernism and her incitement to professionalize—I want to suggest that her essay and speech served not simply as a rallying cry for female inclusion in the twenties and thirties. They also came to serve feminism's subsequent revival and, more particularly, its ascent in the academy and the professions. From the 1970s forward, A Room of One's Own and "Professions for Women" functioned in tandem as a master narrative of feminist progress, of a feminist teleology, if you will.¹² One unmistakable mark of the narrative's growing prestige was the inclusion of "Shakespeare's Sister" and "Professions for Women" in the fourth edition of The Norton Anthology of English Literature

Woolf spoke, along with Ethel Smyth, composer, writer, and suffrage activist, before the London Society for Women's Service, a professional women's group The typescript appeared as "Speech before the London/National Society for Women's Service, January 21, 1931," in The Pargiters, which Woolf first conceived as an experimental composite of essay and fiction. Her experiment gradually evolved into the novel The Years, with the speech published posthumously in a much reduced state as "Professions for Women" in The Desth of the Moth and Other Ecosys (1942) This reduced version was later included in Woolf's Collected Ecosys (1931) 1966-67).

¹² See Joan Scott's query on the fate of such narratives in her introductory essay in defferences, "Women's Studies on the Edge" (1997).

(Abrams et al. 1979) and soon afterward in The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English (Gilbert and Gubar 1985). The lone representation of "The Mark on the Wall" in the 1968 Norton and its tepid allowance of Woolf as a "brilliant minor figure" (Abrams et al. 1968, 1379) gave way in the 1979 edition to selections of fiction and nonfiction, to include her feminist polemics, all capped by this consummate display of intellectual doublespeak in the cover note: "Virginia Woolf now becomes the major author she has always been."13 Academic publishing's "major author" upgrade acknowledged the literary modernist's new cultural stature and, by default, the feminist ideology woven into her coattails. Although women scholars in literary and language fields were most immediately advantaged by this notice, it also played a key role in galvanizing and legitimating female intellectuals to write and to speak with authority across academic and professional disciplines. It is no exaggeration to state that Woolf's model and her utopic community of women had broad application outside the practice of literary studies.

Yet feminists' endorsement of Woolf's utopic narrative obscured, to lengthen the above conceit slightly, the modernist ideology lining these same coattails. Here we might take up Gallagher's reassessment of the novelist and of feminism's process of accreditation that discloses the import of neglecting the alliance of feminism and modernism. Although Gallagher's declared purpose in "A History of the Precedent" is to identify the different rhetorics by which women of various epochs have authorized themselves as writers, she conspicuously chooses Woolf as her last example and makes her the prime exemplar of feminism's rise in the twentieth century. That her model also proceeds from an expressly modernist ethos merits, however, only this passing remark: "Like most modernist authors, [Woolf] derives rhetorical power from the idea of ber singularity," . . .

¹⁸ Not only was Woolf's work "signally increased" by the editors and cofounders of the anthology, M. H. Abrams and David Daiches (Abrams et al. 1979, xxxviii) but also added for the first time was a significant portion of work by such writers as Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Shelley. The sixth (Abrams et al. 1993) and now seventh (Abrams et al. 2000) Norten Anthology editions carry A Room of One's Own in its entirety. As Margaret Ezell has remarked of Woolf's essay, "no single theoretical text has had as much impact on shaping both the contents and the vocabulary of existing anthologues and teaching texts as Woolf's lecture senes to the students at Newnham and Girton" (1993, 44) And no group of feminist scholars has employed Woolf's text more resolutely than Showalter, Moers, Gilbert, and Gubar. Ezell credits them with collectively producing the linear historical narrative of female creativity that underwrote not only their own scholarly endeavors but also the development of the field of women's studies.

"her inability to proceed comfortably along the normal routes of either reason or custom" (Gallagher 2000, 324; emphasis added).

Slighting Woolf's modernist attachments turns out to be a telling omission. Allowing that the charismatic precedent of A Room of One's Own "is so familiar to us that we sometimes have difficulty grasping the specifics of its authorization" (323), Gallagher owns up to having once dismissed, in the 1970s, such early women writers as the sixteenth-century's Margaret Tyler for their lack of charisma. Her justification reads like a summary of A Room of One's Own and "Professions for Women": "Certain as I was that early modern women were afraid to write, that they felt the lack of antecedents and encouragements, that their writing must therefore be interpreted as resistant or rebellious," and Gallagher then goes on to concede that she had rejected Tyler's writing because of a rhetoric that was traditional, ordinary, "doing nothing new" (310). Without the "new," a quality famously linked to the modernist authors Gallagher casually references, Tyler's rhetorical style lacked, by 1970 feminist critical standards, the generative potency and cachet of Woolf's self-proclaimed singularity and, hence, authority and value. By contrast, armed in 2000 with the understanding that Woolf's singularity is only one of several available modes of legitimation, Gallagher can now correct Tyler's previous omission and admit her to the elect. The changing context is instructive. By identifying with Woolf's charismatic model, "so familiar to us that we sometimes have difficulty grasping the specifics of its authorization" specifics that included its modernist underpinnings—and rejecting Tyler's ordinary model, Gallagher reveals the exclusionary logic at work in legitimating female writers in the 1970s, but she does so without attending to the full implication of its operation. "Like most modernist authors," Woolf and, in her footsteps, Gallagher adopted singularity over reason or custom and chose antecedents accordingly. Beyond certifying predecessors, however, this same logic was employed in authorizing and rejecting contemporaries—other women writers or female scholars or their fields of inquiry or communities of women. To insist of the selection process, as Gallagher then does, that "a rational-legal universalist concept of individual rights underlay it" (326) is to ignore the restrictive terms and turns of her own argument and, by extension, of the larger movement of feminist professionalization.

The consequences of privileging singularity become clearer with Gallagher's final admission. Tyler's belated election is not a felicitous illustration of feminism's increasing inclusiveness but yields instead the sobering conclusion of charismatic feminism's demise. The loss of charisma and its coeval, the loss of exclusion, is of greater moment to feminism,

apparently, than any progress toward the "rational-legal universalist concept of individual rights underl[ying] it." In withholding a progressive outcome, the exclusion pulled off in the 1970s is effectively replicated in 2000. Surely, this inference must adhere in Gallagher's closing grievance that the downfall of Woolf's founding charisma spells the limit of academic feminist success: "Its long march through the institutions, especially those of the American academy, have resulted in what [Max] Weber called 'the routinization of charisma'" (2000, 326). Feminism's apotheosis is tied to charismatic practice, and its attenuation to postmodern decline: herein, evidently, lies the root of feminism's doldrums.

Yet, what Gallagher's earlier disparagement and reappraisal point to is not simply the range of rhetorical precedents available to women writers or, more complexly, their diminution in the present. Rather, they demonstrate the process of feminism's disciplinary accreditation at the heart of its institutionalization. Without attending to the logic and history of Woolf's modernist interpellation and second-wave feminism's adoption of it, her argument lacks the capacity to disentangle its own enmeshment in modernism's exclusionary practices and, along with it, the ability to discern that possibly only its implementation has become enervated, and not academic feminism or the movement more generally.

For a more productive mechanism by which to understand the function of the charismatic mode and its consequences for Woolf and feminism, we might turn instead to Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of "the fields of cultural production" and his broader explanatory category of "charismatic ideology." When applied to modernism's miscellany of charismatic authors associated with Woolf, Bourdieu's analysis usefully describes the process by which these writers used declarations of their own uniqueness or manifestos of their work's technical or aesthetic mastery to distinguish themselves from rival contemporaries and styles and, even more, to challenge outright the prestige of those dominant in a field that lacks the obvious institutional controls, legal guarantees, and hereditary legacies—all gate-keeping protocols—by which election may be bestowed and acknowledged. Bourdieu's analysis is particularly well suited to literature as a

¹⁴ Bourdieu 1992, 61–76. As Bourdieu observes. "The history of the field anses from the struggle between the established figures and the young challengers. The aging of authors, schools, and works is far from being the product of a mechanical, chronological, slide into the past; it results from the struggle between those who have made their mark (fint data—'made an epoch') and who are fighting to persist, and those who cannot make their own mark without pushing into the past those who have an interest in stopping the clock, eternalizing the present stage of things" (1992, 339–40). He describes this cultural circuitry in his dialectics of cognition (connaissance) and recognition (reconnaissance) (1990, 22, 111)

field because the boundaries that separate it from other disciplines and from its lay audience tend to be, as Terry Lovell has so cogently explained, highly porous, such that its expertise is continually being absorbed—and no more so than when it is the most compelling, at which point it is transformed from special knowledge of the expert into the common knowledge of the laity, a point I return to below (1987, 143–44). Bourdieu's approach to the frisson between generations, contemporaries, and experts provides a means to read Gubar's and Nussbaum's elegies for the feminists of their generation and their special knowledges, and, at the same time, to pursue Wiegman's entreaty, "to challenge the impulse to repeat" in a way that Gallagher's charismatic rhetoric does not allow.

Here I propose that the conjunction of feminism with modernism and the professions that opened this section and that subtends Gallagher's recent analysis is neither mere happenstance nor anomaly but is fundamental to Woolf's ascription as both modernist and feminist, and thus bears significantly, perhaps even fundamentally, on academic feminism. As the "exceptional woman" par excellence, Woolf not only helps explain the logic informing the neglected alliance of metropolitan feminism, modernism, and expert culture but also helps make sense of the contentious setting and precarious circumstances in which feminism finds itself today. At stake, I suggest, is the agency of social reproduction and the model and knowledge this agency empowers. For one key to this understanding, I turn to the modern expert with this all too brief disquisition on the professions.

Cult status

The now critical commonplace that the expert class became increasingly necessary by the end of the nineteenth century and ultimately indispensable in the twentieth owes much to the work of, among others, Burton Bledstein (1976), Magali Sarfatti Larson (1977), Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich (1979), Alvin Gouldner (1979), Harold Perkin (1989), and the aforementioned Bourdieu. As their genealogies of modern professionalism imply, the old bourgeois model ideal for producing a national polity of hardworking, god-fearing, law-abiding, thrifty-in-expenditure, and prolific-in-offspring citizens was gradually challenged by another model. This emergent model was, in contrast, decidedly secular and worldly in outlook, more

and in his introduction to Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste (1984, 1–7). For another complementary perspective on charismatic ideology as the modern professional ethos, see Bledstein (1976, 93–97).

prodigal in spending habits, considerably less sedulous about propagation, and increasingly acculturated to urban technologies and markets to realize the material and cultural progress that we now collapse under the idiom "lifestyle." In short, the nineteenth-century model best equipped to spit out, as it were, the propertied and conjugal bourgeois couple or its wannabes was slowly superseded by one that made the dominant classes (industrialists, statesmen, merchants) more and more reliant on expert knowledge for governance, a dependency that the professional classes were only too happy to accommodate with their special know-how.

Yet the intervention of specialists was felt decisively in the one area that those who study the sociology of the professions have only recently begun to accredit as a critical anterior site of expert production. Their studies' oversight became the very insight Woolf's experimental works of the twenties register: experts came to power in no small measure by supplanting the social order that had become reliant over the Victorian century on the autonomous bourgeois household under the domestic woman's regulation.¹⁶ As feminist literary scholars Nancy Armstrong, Mary Poovey, Anita Levy, and, more recently, Elizabeth Langland and Monica Cohen have demonstrated, the domestic woman's immediate supervision of everything from the mundane matters of daily life to complex affective and kinship relations was as instrumental as any public policy or state institution in outfitting the industrial and imperial nation-state with the very citizens and social stability it required.¹⁷ Middle-class women presided over a domain that secured procreation and regulated the affective relations of courtship, domestic romance, monogamous marriage, and

¹⁶ Weber's distinction of classes and status groups merits quoting "With some over-simplification, one might say that 'classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special 'styles of life'" (1946, 193; emphasis in original).

¹⁶ Peter Laslett's study of the family as a social organization argues that social scientists tended to view its history through the lens of "folk memory" and used contemporaneous family models of so-called primitive societies as the historical past of "advanced" Western ones. It is this very erasure of the immediate past of the Western family and its replacement with a primitive model that allowed social scientists to assert disciplinary control over the field of the family and household by denying their own historical context. As Laslett revealingly notes: "The very term *history* itself represents an earlier phase in their [social scientists'] development which probably had to be rejected if properly empirical and adequately comparative research was to get under way" (Laslett and Wall 1972, 2–4, emphasis in original).

¹⁷ I refer, of course, to Armstrong 1987; Poovey 1988, and Levy 1991b. For refinements to these, see Langland 1995 and Cohen 1998.

the family. What they administered in aggregate enabled the reproduction of a labor force, the transfer of property between families and generations, and the social stability necessary for industrial development, imperial expansion, and national unity. Cashier the domestic woman, and the net effect is to jeopardize the social fabric that held the nation together. Nonetheless, this is, in essence, what transpired. The social knowledge that once accumulated in the middle-class household and left through its portals as a kind of affective literacy by the end of the nineteenth century was brought increasingly into the home by outside experts from such diverse disciplines as domestic science and sexology, transforming it and the social, subjective, and conjugal reproduction once its near exclusive office. 18 The class of specialists that materialized within a professional and not a strictly social or religious or commercial milieu-which arose in response to the epistemic and economic transformation of the Victorian epoch—nonetheless took the private arenas of home and human consciousness as prized loci of its disciplinary mandate.

It is with this paradigmatic displacement by expert culture of the bourgeois household's authority to include its cultural envoy, the domestic novel, that literary modernists and their technical innovations ought also to be located. Not only did writers and artists have to embrace an aesthetic version of "professional" expertise or forfeit their cultural standing to such disciplines as psychology, anthropology, sociology, medicine, and law, but they also had to bring the social matrix of the home into their cultural orbit if their literary knowledge was to continue to carry any import. In other words, they had to claim the arts as the special province of their expertise or relinquish their positions as social interpreters and cultural mediators. Thus it was against domestic jurisdiction and the professionalization of knowledge that the literate culture that literary modernists came to dominate defined itself.

Latecomer to the literary avant-garde though she was, Woolf grasped the predicament in which she and her fellow artists found themselves better than any of her contemporaries. Thus, in her celebrated domestic novels of the midtwenties, *Mrs. Dalloway* ([1925] 1953) and *To the Lighthouse* ([1927] 1955), Woolf returns to the familiar terrain of the Victorian drawing room to modernize the novel with a new model of affective literacy, encased in the eminently portable and highly reproducible tech-

¹⁸ This premise owes much to Levy's Other Women (1991b) and, in particular, her epilogue "Modernism, Professionalism and Gender," which points specifically to the trespass on domestic governance by the expert knowledge of psychology and of social sciences and then links their expertise to literary modernism; see, as well, Levy 1991a.

nology of consciousness. Here she effectively incorporates the household's affective sensibility within an aesthetic of consciousness that renders the emotional realm subject to her stylistic and disciplinary innovations. In successive steps, she first puts upper-class party hostess Clarissa on the streets and then the faculty wife Mrs. Ramsay on canvas, marketing both as aesthetic objects of high art that disguise the novelist's arrogation of domestic ideology and expiate her culpability in usurping it.

In aestheticizing the consciousness of her characters in a distinctly poetic language, Woolf rewrote affective relations and, in so doing, provided a new mechanism by which readers would come to view fictional characters and, more significantly still, to recognize themselves as discrete individuals and as a modern social aggregate. Not only does Woolf's technology of aesthetic interiority, what she called in her diary "dig[ging] out beautiful caves" ([1931] 1977-84, 2:263), help to secularize the household, but this technology, in pulsing along apparently unfettered through London streets in Mrs. Dalloway, also hollows out an imaginary public space as the authentic private space of consciousness for the laity to read in novels such as hers. This portable technology, ideally suited for what one critic has termed "the homeless mind," operates as a kind of black box of consciousness, ever ticking away, in daydreams and sleep, recording that innermost babble, that ineffable hum of the psyche.¹⁹ It is thus held to record our most secret desires and fantasies, hidden motivations and fears, innermost ambitions and inhibitions—and to this apparatus, literary modernists have given a distinctive, if esoteric, language that functions as an innovative form of emotional literacy. As such, this consciousness contraption came to instruct educated and common readers alike, both male and female, on how to make silent determinations about their fellow pedestrians of the metropolis and, of even greater consequence, to make silent determinations of themselves, suggesting that they no longer need, nor can they rely on, the angel in the house whispering in their ears what they should or should not feel or do or think. The Victorian woman's social knowledge was, in short, rendered obsolete. In its place, modernist technology hardwired us all. So naturalized has this technology become, an example of Lovell's insight, that we are hardly cognizant of its history, much less able to recognize how our individual consciousnesses daily reproduce it.

My larger point here, however, is to draw attention to how the modernist Woolf undertook to displace a singular form of female social knowl-

¹⁹ Homeless mend is the term, according to Hilde Heyen's Architecture and Modernity (1999), that best captures the condition of the mobile and rootless indigene of modernity.

edge and the Victorian model it served with her own arguably unique knowledge and model. This appropriation of authority over a paradigm under stress should not be lost on us in the present moment, nor should the means by which it was accomplished. A highly lyrical prose and a technology for narrating consciousness masked Woolf's interests in replacing the material, affective, and ideological bases of the domestic household with her own: the social angel and Victorian novelist for the metropolitan subject and literary modernist, if you will. Of critical importance is this: just as the social model of the middle-class household screened the political interests of the propertied middle class and defused class conflicts under the cover of emotional truth, so, too, does this literary model, under the cover of stylized emotional truth, come to screen the evidence and political interests of its own ideological production, and with this end in view.²⁰ The erasure operates under the supervision and for the benefit of modernist experts such as Woolf. For it is their specialized knowledge that becomes a new mechanism of social reproduction and, inasmuch as the cognoscenti hail it as the primary means by which modern consciousness can be known, it also becomes a new standard of cultural accreditation. Literary modernists, in asserting their uniqueness and autonomy, in deploying, according to Gallagher, not a traditional or rational but a specifically charismatic rhetoric, appropriate the domestic woman's ideological con, I am suggesting, of shielding their social disciplinary apparatus of affect and emotion under the cover of innovative language and take it into new territory with their aesthetic of interiority. In lieu of the private household as the disciplinary locus of emotional truth, we have the aesthetic preserve of modern consciousness produced by literary artists—allegedly separate from other knowledges and professedly exempt from commercial taint, yet eminently mobile and universal—and this for the edification of an elite literary constituency and, more broadly, for the laity. The end result is a versatile apparatus of social reproduction that relies on and legitimates literary modernists' expertise. Viewed from a metacritical vantage point, it suggests that modernism obeys the same logic as do those disciplines that formally professionalize themselves and

Mary Poovey provides the clearest gloss on this operation: "One of the functions of the opposition between the private, feminized sphere and the masculine sphere of work outside the home was to mitigate the effects of the alienation of market relations. The illusion that freedom and autonomy existed for the man within the home therefore depended on the illusion that within the home no one was alienated—and this depended on believing that woman desired to be only what the man wanted her to be—that her reproductive capacity dictated her 'maternal nature' and this nature was not sexually aggressive but selfless and domestic" (1988, 77–78).

thus establishes its literary expertise as an autonomous and valuable domain of knowledge and its practitioners as the specialists who determine and dispense their esoteric knowledge as universal truth.²¹

In the process, literary modernists gain social standing and cultural capital for their intellectual and artistic labor. Of equal remark, the novelist Woolf's success, in effect, elevates female intellectuals and artists as exceptional practitioners on a par with their exceptional male counterparts. It is from this expert position and with the cultural capital of her critical and commercial successes from Dalloway to Orlando that Woolf can first entreat women to become independent writers in A Room of One's Own by proleptically constructing a genealogy based on her imaginary female predecessor Judith Shakespeare, and thereafter to enter the professions tout court in "Professions for Women." Put differently, for Woolf, it was a short step from the logic of the expert to the cult of the expert. As the stuff now of feminist myth, in "Professions" she baldly murders the Angel in the House, the personification of Victorian domesticity, and thereby bids farewell to domestic governance. In her next breath, she summons the educated daughters of the deposed matriarch to join her in the professions. Thus it is with these liberatory exploits that Gallagher can read "Woolf's rhetoric as an attempt to create an emancipatory alternative inside a charismatic trend," thus effectively doubling her singularity: Woolf is the exceptional writer who is also an exception to modernist charisma, or, by way of Weber's taxonomy of rhetorics, Woolf represents "the transformation of charisma in an anti-authoritarian direction" (Weber 1947, 386, quoted in Gallagher 2000, 325). And to the extent that women have heard and heeded, Gallagher is, of course, quite correct, but, as her belated rescue of Margaret Tyler suggests, some women were more directly summoned than others. So I return to the vexed problem of inclusion: Who were hailed, and on whose terms?

Professional syntax

To address these questions, let me return for a moment to the scholars who write on the expert class for a description of its logic and credential

²¹ As Bledstein describes expert culture more generally: "The culture of professionalism required amateurs to 'trust' in the integrity of trained persons, to respect the moral authority of those whose claim to power lay in the sphere of the sacred and the charismatic. Professionals controlled the magic circle of scientific knowledge which only the few, specialized by training and indoctrination, were privileged to enter, but which all in the name of nature's universality were obliged to appreciate" (1976, 90).

process. According to Alvin Gouldner, this new class is fundamentally antiegalitarian: "The special privileges and powers of the New Class [of professionals] are grounded in their individual control of special cultures, languages, techniques, and of the skills resulting from these" (1979, 19; emphasis in original). For Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, the logic of professionalism operates by the appropriation and suppression of the functions and knowledge of an indigenous or native group (1979, 319). Of this acquisitive practice, Mary Poovey's study of gender ideology in the Victorian epoch implies that the professional class recharacterized the separate sphere model into specialist versus nonspecialist as a means to consolidate its authority (1988). Describing this vetting process more bluntly still, Magali Sarfatti Larson calls it the structure of "modern inequality." In her view, "professionalization [is] the process by which producers of special services [seek] to constitute and control a market for their expertise" (1977, xvi). While Larson's focus is the public and economic realms and not the cultural realm of artists and intellectuals per se, her insight is nonetheless relevant. She posits that expert culture "inaugurated a new form of structured inequality," the implementation of which "prefigure[d] the general restructuring of social inequality in contemporary capitalist societies." One singular outgrowth is "the achievement of socially recognized expertise" (Larson 1977, xvii; emphasis in original).

Antiegalitarian, monopoly of expertise, structured inequality, confiscation, and suppression of local knowledges—such logic and terms surely describe literary modernism, not only by my calculation but by its own, with its elite ethos, its claims of uniqueness and aesthetic mastery, its insistence on autonomy and rupture with the past, and its experimental practice patterned on scientific inquiry.²² Most of these criteria have, in fact, found a target in the modernist Woolf. They have thus made tenuous from the start any attempt to construct a fire wall between her modernism and her feminism. The reason for the tenuity, I suggest, is that the logic of expert knowledge, which underlies her ascription as a charismatic modernist, is the same logic that informs her ascription as a charismatic feminist. She is the self-professed exceptional woman writer, the self-spawned issue of an imaginary female Shakespeare. Indeed, the speech "Professions for Women" provides a veritable bildung for such female progeny. With the reflexive overture, "my profession of literature," Woolf breezily recounts

²² For a more developed list of these criteria, see Huyssen 1986, 197. See also John Carey's study of the elitism of modernist intellectuals in which he contends that "the spread of literacy to the 'masses' impelled intellectuals in the early twentieth century to produce a mode of culture (modernism) that the masses could not enjoy" (1992, 214)

to a rising generation of young British women of the educated bourgeoisie how she quit hack journalism, offed the Angel in the House, and opted for the higher caste and independence of creative novelist, backed, it should be noted, by an inheritance and the classy consumables of pedigree cat and private motor car ([1931] 1966-67, 284-87). Her derogation of domestic ideology (local female knowledges), promotion of novelistic expertise (lyrical prose and technical innovations in the novel), and emphasis on income and quality objects (cats and cars) detail the process of professional accreditation whether in the service of authorizing her modernism or her feminism. Her peroration is simple and direct: social reproduction now rests with the expert class; either join it or become its object. Agent of knowledge or object of study appears to be the alternative. These moves indicate an awareness of where power resided and how professional ascription would function in the decades to come. Just as momentous, this charismatic speech, which details the mechanism of modernist investiture as a model to women of her educated class, became, in the hands of second-wave feminists, what I earlier called a master narrative of feminist progress that helped authorize feminism in the field of literature and, more broadly, in the academy in the closing decades of the last century and, in no small manner, contributed to the success that is presently drawing fire.

Ouo Vadis

My points on the convergence of feminism, modernism, and the professions are several. To begin with, their convergence helps explain why Gallagher considers that "feminism's charisma [became] a victim of its own success" (2000, 326). With its institutionalization, "we bury the charismatic corpse," from which she extrapolates, with a perspicacity similar to Gubar's, that "critical reflection inside the academy repeats and reinforces fragmenting trends that have intensified the differences between women in the society at large" (2000, 326–27). Yet, instead of burying the charismatic corpse or bemoaning fragmenting trends and the intensification of differences as unexpected or uncommon or debilitating outcomes, let me offer a different response and direction.

We would do well to acknowledge that professional and modernist ideology, out of which emerged the cult of the modern expert, helped empower feminist discourses in the academy and, at the same time, made them complicit with structures of domination active over the last century. These structures operate by producing specialists that suppress others as less knowledgeable and that selectively credentialize others to sustain, extend, and reproduce their expertise. In fact, we can trace this operation

and its consequences in Woolf's neglect of her contemporaries, as Ann Ardis and Suzanne Clark have so lucidly demonstrated.²³ Or, to pursue the earlier example, we find it in Woolf's deprecation of domesticity. Not only did the writer, along with her modernist peers, male and female alike, encourage the dismantling of household authority and the domestic woman's social knowledge, but her apparent desire as a feminist to replace it with literary and professional expertise carried new terms of exclusion. Making the household the universal measure of all women's oppression allowed educated white feminists of Woolf's time and of the 1970s to overlook the conditions of their own privilege. Ignoring the bourgeois household's historical and social specificity, they dismissed out of hand complex differences of class and race, ethnicity, and sexuality that made for other equally compelling and contingent instantiations of the home. Thus, for example, as Harriet Jacobs's nineteenth-century liberation narrative Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl ([1861] 1987) instructs, slave and manumitted women's claims to marriage and children, to possessions and labor, were not unequivocal evidence of their oppression in the anteand postbellum United States. On the contrary, their ability to marry and to nurture their own children might function as clear manifestations of their emancipation. More than a century later, same-sex couples, in agitating for these rights (marriage, family, children, and property), plead a similar case. Despite these counterexamples, metropolitan feminists, even in the present moment, continue to cut their academic teeth, as it were, by acceding to the central orthodoxy that disparages domesticity.24

Moreover, despite efforts of greater inclusion and more nuanced historical narratives, there remains this impasse over Woolf's advocacy—and that is the problem of class, which is my second point. Critics long recognized, and academic feminists apologized for, the British novelist's inability to hurdle class barriers, but on the assumption that the failure arose from social values and a class standing that Woolf inherited and that they had subsequently expunged. She knew better but could not do better, or

²⁸ See Ardis's (1990) study of Woolf's slighting of New Woman novelists and fiction and Clark's (1991) of sentimental affect

²⁴ I am not here advocating a return to the cult of domesticity of either the Victorian epoch or the cold war era. Instead, I suggest that to discredit domestic models out of hand is to ignore their contingency and specificity and to overlook as well one central means by which modernists and feminists, as well as the professional classes, authorized themselves Efforts to dismantie the separate sphere taxonomy, which has become a virtual cottage industry of feminist criticism, as had earlier efforts of uncovering it in every literary and historical text from Chaucer to Faulkner, testify to the importance of domesticity in the founding and elaboration of feminist discourse

so the story has gone. How different both her position and that of academic feminists become once we understand that she actively erected exclusionary barriers as part of the ideology of the expert and that these very barriers, aesthetic ones among them, made her ascent as modernist artist and feminist intellectual possible. In essence, these same barriers have authorized female intellectuals after her, not the least feminist scholars and writers who, like myself, made her model theirs.

These barriers, be they ones of intellectual or aesthetic capital, institutional position, professional privilege, or academic pedigree, have insured that, whether the feminist teleological horizon is assimilation or absolute difference, uplift or solidarity, its limit would never be reached by all at once or even once and for all. For academic feminists whose lineage owes much to the enfranchised elite of the educated bourgeoisie, this vista holds forth the promise of further interventions to achieve broader participation and the necessity of greater and updated knowledge, my third point. Both are characteristic of the professions and modernism and equally address Gubar's and Wiegman's very different responses. Gubar's complaint that the once feminist elect subsequently becomes its abjected is, in one sense, of a piece with Wiegman's encouragement of feminists to think anew, to resist repeating what is already known. Apparent opposites, they manifest the twin sides of professional ideology, what the modernist credo expresses in faire nouveau, out with the old and in with the new, the imperative of a modern culture driven by innovation and harried by obsolescence. This imperative, intrinsic to the expert classes, exerts significant pressure on them, according to Gouldner. who observes that because knowledges are not of themselves productive, experts must continually update, renew, and justify their specializations, or watch them be cast aside. This imperative has made for a kind of congenital transience for the professional class that appears to disturb academic feminism as well. Understood in the context of Bourdieu's analysis of "fields of cultural production," it suggests that "in every field, the dominant have an interest in continuity, identity, and reproduction, whereas the dominated, the newcomers, are for discontinuity, rupture and subversion" (1992, 340, n. 15). So in a way, Gubar's feminist gothic, Nussbaum's theory lampoon, and Gallagher's charismatic corpse have got it right as they worry whether the chosen and what they know may well become routine, ordinary, or passé tomorrow. But such turnover is not unequivocally deleterious or, indeed, the entire story. Wiegman's incitement to make feminist knowledge new and relevant, though clearly not meant to be self-serving, alerts us to the dynamic pace of change we

confront as intellectuals and must account for in our research, not the least of which is this: the knowledge production that made possible women's educational advances (including academic success), vital as they have been, is contingent and will not necessarily answer for the future. As well, Wiegman's charge reminds us that knowledge is itself a commodity, and while the pressure to make it profitable or productive or useful has perhaps never been greater, its value cannot be so easily measured or predicted, which is a point that Nussbaum neglects in her criticism of Butler's theoretical scholarship. Moreover, as knowledge requires capital to produce and sustain it, so also do resistant knowledges that challenge the dominant order, rendering them, as Wiegman noted, particularly fragile endeavors.

Which introduces a fourth point: by making clear the hegemonic mechanism of social reproduction that academic feminists have practiced from inside the academy when speaking and representing women on the outside with all the privileged nuances these Spivakian terms convey, I hope to put in some perspective the complexity of the mandates that informed this essay—the present antagonism over feminists' academic success, the generational rift between feminists, the disagreement over methodologies and objects of study, the uncertain future of feminist discourse. To understand these tensions, it is not enough, I suggest, to decouple "the discipline's continued commitment to British intellectual and geopolitical colonialism" and to "disarticulat[e] the history and meaning of academic feminism from the prototypical plot of white women's subjectivity" (Wiegman 1999b, 375, 379) if these ignore the underlying exclusionary practices subscribed to irrespective of field or of any lingering Anglophilia. Decoupling British hegemony and disarticulating white women's subjectivity, compelling and necessary objectives as they are, will remain insufficient as long as the professional ideology informing them is not also acknowledged.

Taking seriously Woolf's model and what it became for feminists, a master narrative of progress, with all its checkered history and results, we would do well to heed its logic of appropriation and displacement. And Joan Scott's and, more recently still, Mary Poovey's unease over the position of the humanities helps explain why. There is little argument that the United States (and not the United Kingdom) succeeded as an imperial nation-state in part by subsidizing knowledge production through the institution of the university in a way unprecedented over the last century.²⁶

²⁶ Poovey's account of government support of the university deserves quoting at length:

Notwithstanding, every indication suggests, as Bill Readings's prescient study has proposed, that this project and the creation of the modern intellectual class within the university are being radically altered as are, along with them, the humanities.²⁶ In my view, we are witnessing the transformation of the professional model as it operated over the last century, and of those enfranchised by it, to include academic intellectuals. By now we can all parse the several trends in the academy that make this change appear inexorable: the decommissioning and corporatization of the research university, the emergence of brick-and-click hybrid institutions more attuned to markets than dedicated to research and teaching, the proletarianization of the professoriate, the replacement of faculty and their expertise in the classroom with digital technologies, the "free market" conversion of the humanities curriculum into a content industry and its instructors into content providers. As such, this restructuring of the university and the humanities' mission directly affects academic feminist scholarship and feminism's future efficacy. Yet, to argue that the expert model, which helped to advance the profession of feminism in the academy, is changing is not to argue that feminist intellectuals and knowledge production will not be needed in the future or that the movement has surpassed itself. For academic feminism, given its historical contingency, is not synchronous with the feminist movement, nor can it be collapsed with the feminist movement, any more than could be Gubar's "literary" feminism. These are critical distinctions.

If the professional model as it functioned over the last century has reached its limit, then feminist knowledges and the movement writ large may be more necessary than ever. Here we might take our bearings from

[&]quot;Between the 1940s and 1964, government investment in university science grew at an exponential rate, at which point it stopped increasing. The long history of the university's reliance on government funds means that the ideal of disinterested inquiry has always been more myth than reality. Nevertheless, and especially after World War II, government support for university science heavily favored research over the development of specific products, and guidelines that regulated the use of federal funds, like the provision for indirect costs, enabled universities to support programs not directly linked to the sciences. Paradoxically, then, the combination of government support for university science and provisions that allowed universities to redistribute this wealth beyond the sciences enabled universities to acquire a remarkable degree of relative autonomy in modern U S. society. This autonomy is signaled by the universities' ability to foster programs that do not pay for themselves, to establish and maintain standards of academic freedom, and to successfully defend the institution of tenure, despite complaints that the latter violates the principles of a free market in labor" (Poovey 2001, 3–4).

²⁶ Readings's work (1996) is only one of several examining the plight of the humanities. See also Nelson 1997; Bérubé 1998; Scholes 1998; and Showalter 1999.

the 1911 editorial policy of the short-lived Freewoman. Its advocacy of "guarding the rear" as it urged on "steering the van"—risked at the highly contentious moment in which suffrage seemed all in all and Judith Shakespeare's name was yet unspoken—suggests that neither greater inclusiveness nor the creation of new knowledges is a cataclysmic sign of betrayal or of disintegration—even when such a move entails, as 1990s antagonisms register, a reduction of charisma for some methods or fields or practitioners or generations and an increase for others. Instead of the perspective that "critical reflection inside the academy repeats and reinforces fragmenting trends that have intensified the differences between women in the society at large," which Gallagher proposes (327), we should perhaps attend to this greater one: the feminist movement was a partner to the most profound social change of the last century; how we answer this trust in a new century is most crucial, especially as it is unclear, in these extraordinary times, all we shall need to know, much less the models we will confront and seize.

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Typewriters and the Vote

1914 advertisement for Underwood typewriters, published in the suffragist magazine The Woman Voter, conflates typing and voting. It recommends that "Every Prospective Woman Voter / Should raise her right hand in favor of the writing machine generally" because "The soulless little typewriter has done as much toward gaining 'Women's Rights' as all the arguments and agitation of centuries." Not content with this single act of voting, the advertisement calls for a doubled vote: "But the feminine voter should raise both hands for the Underwood / Because on it were made all International Records for Speed, Accuracy and Stability" (Underwood 1914). Invited to raise her hands in this way, this "feminine voter" summons up not only the image of voting but also that of typing. Picturing her raising both hands for the Underwood, we must also imagine her raising them from the Underwood and perhaps holding them up in the spread-finger pose standardized by those winners of "international records" in their victory photographs. Thus the physicality of typing conditions the image of "the feminine voter," whose double vote puts her at odds with the rallying cry of the liberal franchise: "one man, one vote."

This advertisement neatly encapsulates a trope of the "feminine voter" that I wish to explore here, one that embodied women in relation to the machine and exploited that embodiment to figure women's political subjectivity. To begin to specify this trope: in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the word *typewriter* had a double meaning. It meant both the machine for typewriting and the person—usually and iconically the woman—who operated it for a living. This double meaning, I am going to argue, opened up the theoretical possibility of a third meaning, one that this ad begins to indicate—the word *typewriter* might also mean, in the ad's phrase, the "prospective woman voter," positioned in relation

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to the material practices of voting and the ideology of the liberal franchise but marked by her alterity to them. Every man votes once, his individuality synecdochically represented by his single voting hand. The typewriter votes doubly, with two hands trained to write and labor together. The liberal voter enters the mode of abstraction; the typewriter takes form through a circuit of mind, body, text, and machine. Through her comparable difference from the modal voter, the figure of the typewriter exposes something otherwise invisible—the practices through which turn-of-the-century voting constituted the liberal citizen's abstraction. Next to her doubleness—her two hands, her double vote, her double constitution as woman and machine—the citizen's supreme singularity looks like just one option among others, whose authority and priority reveal their customary but nevertheless arbitrary basis.

Thus in Grant Allen's satirical novel, The Typewriter Girl, the heroine, taking orders from a surly head clerk, reflects with ironic resignation, "but was he not a man-a vote-wielding citizen, empowered to take his share (vicariously) in the counsels of the nation? and was not I but a Shorthand and Type-Writer (female)?" (1897, 30). The typewriter experiences her subordination across several hierarchies: man/woman, enfranchised/disenfranchised, speaking subject/laboring object, author/copyist. As opposed to the counsel-taking citizen, she "continued to click, click, click like the machine I was" (Allen 1897, 34). Instead of speaking, she mediates documents, and she must seem to leave no human imprint on her work, no mark of labor. Yet she also undercuts the incorporated citizen's authority in the nation by noting, in her lethal parenthetical, that he participates vicariously, that is, that representative democracy is itself a mediating system whose promises of voice and dignity rest on carefully policed routes of transmission and symbolic acts of substitution. By staging a relation to the dominant terms of citizenship, the figure of the typewriter opened up a space of destabilization and critique.

But why do we need to discern such a space? The figure of the type-writer, I want to suggest, complicates our understanding of the models of female political subjectivity that were available to women's suffrage discourse and, ultimately, to us today. To recent historians, suffragist argument has itself looked double, and problematically so. Suffragists split between two ways of anchoring women's political qualification, both determined by long-standing liberal arguments that had set the terms of women's exclusion in the first place. Suffragists sometimes argued that women should have the vote because they shared the cognitive, moral, and human attributes that qualified men; at other times, they argued that women possessed essential qualities, such as superior virtue or instincts

toward maternal care, that they would bring to civic life if they were granted the vote (Kraditor 1981, 43–74; Cott 1987, 13–50). Another common way to put this is that suffragists argued that women could be abstractly universal and that they would bring the gift of their particular difference to the polls. Feminist political theorists have long argued that this polemical incoherence had its roots in the conditions of liberal citizenship and that it structured women's citizenship as a contradiction that continues to haunt the feminist project of devising sustainable frameworks for articulating rights (Paternan 1988, 1989; Scott 1990; Connolly 1991).

Discerning the typewriter promises to let us loosen the stranglehold that this paradox has exerted on our understandings of women's political subjectivity and its grounding. The typewriter constitutes—or literally inscribes-alternatives to those conceptions of identity and citizenship that dominated debates about women's enfranchisement. The typewriter's situation in the materiality of mechanized writing requires us to imagine some kind of subject besides the abstract universal. Yet at the same time we must also imagine a subject other than the essential and organic feminine one that suffragists began increasingly to promote around the turn of the century and that scientists solidified in studies positing organic sexual difference (Kraditor 1981, 96-122; Stepan 1998). The figure of the typewriter exploited conceptions of essential difference—women's dexterous fingers and also their ideal passivity, which suited them to their permanently subservient post in the office. But this figure also moved beyond those conceptions by positing the transformation of both the organic body and that body's psyche through their symbiosis with the machine. The female typewriter thus assumes the guise of an artifact rather than an essence; she begins to suggest some of the ways in which the body and identity are made things, created in a nexus of the material, the economic, and the social.1 Excavating the typewriter's placement in relation to both abstract and essentialist formulations of women's identity and citizenship allows us to see the circumstances under which the figure of the typewriter became more than just an alternative subjectivity—that is, not only those moments when it sponsored critical leverage on the discourses of citizen-subjectivity that surrounded it but also those mo-

¹ It might thus be tempting to see the typewriter as an origin for Donna Haraway's liberatory cyborgs, who have no imagined organic bodies through which to reaffirm the antinomies of domination (nature/culture, public/private, and others that we know so well). Except, of course, that cyborgs resist origin myths, since origin myths imply coherent bodies, natural orders, and rigid teleologies (Haraway 1991, 150–51). We might then see the typewriter as a starting point for inquines rather than morphologies.

ments when it inscribed desires outside of the logic of normative state citizenship.²

My primary archive for the discussion that follows is turn-of-the-century fiction about typewriters. Typewriter fiction offers us a particularly rich resource because it is here that the objective qualities of the machine its speed, the placement and operation of the keys, the manner in which mistakes are made and corrected on it—are mobilized as formal properties, where the medium is very pointedly the message, to invoke Marshall McLuhan's famous slogan. In addition, mapping the subject of the typewriter also requires an archive of secretarial handbooks, typewriting manuals, advertisements, and magazine articles. But my archive is necessarily speculative and incomplete. The typewriter frequently inspired the observation that printed texts had become ephemeral in American culture, where every wave of newspapers, magazines, books, and other texts was quickly followed by another. Many of the physical documents of this chapter's archive were produced under this presumption of ephemerality. Printed on acidic paper now in an advanced state of decay, they crumbled under my fingers; my investigation helped chase their friable pages materially into the past. Partly in tribute and partly by necessity, I will thus also be interested here in how the assumption that writing about, by, and done on typewriters would not last informed its possible significance as well. That is to say, the texts that will guide us both perform and concern the status of the typewritten text at the twentieth century's turn.

The typewriter and democratic ideology

Observers of the typewriter at the turn of the twentieth century and recent historians alike have asserted the typewriter's relation to struggles over

² Mark Seltzer has explored a more wide-ranging body-machine nexus in turn-of-the-century America (1992). I am interested here in specifying a particular conjunction of human being and machine that pressured conventional and polemical links between the category of the human and that of the citizen. Priedrich Kittler's groundbreaking work on the writing system of the typewriter has provided a complicated theoretical inspiration for the essay that follows. His argument that the typewriter supplanted the circuit of written and printed texts that had excluded women from textual production points toward the connection between media of writing and sexual difference. His assertion, however, that the typewriter "makes humans (and women) as equal as equal aigns" describes a philosophical possibility not borne out by either the literature of the typewriter or the lives of actual typewriters (Kittler 1999, 231) Kittler's work encouraged me to look for what difference the typewriter's mediality did make to efforts to think through women's relation to discourses of equality. See also Kittler 1990, 347–68.

women's citizenship, usually in terms of the increased public visibility and economic opportunities that came with the jobs that opened for female typewriters from the mid-1880s on. The introduction of the mass-produced typewriter, coupled with shifts in the organization of corporate labor, ushered women by the thousands-mostly single, white, and native born—into the white-collar workforce.3 With them came an enormous and varied set of discourses about the female typewriter's presence in the visible spaces of work and amusement. The figure of the typewriter often signified the modernity of feminine autonomy and competence, a meaning so firmly established by as early as 1882 that an advertising circular for the Caligraph typewriter exploited it: "A spirit of independence seems to have taken hold of [our young women] and now, not content with passive idleness at home, which many looked upon as their unfortunate but inevitable lot, they have caught the zeal and energy which characterize workers in this lively age" (Caligraph Quarterly 1882, 12). At the same time, and not surprisingly, the typewriter could just as easily signify the full range of anxieties about women's presence in the spheres of work and the public. In popular fiction, performance, and even common idiom, the figure of the typewriter took a range of stereotyped forms—the slangy flirt who invaded the office straight from the dance hall, the genteel woman who brought the comforts of home to the workplace, or the inhumanly efficient operative of the new corporate culture, to name a few of the most evident.4 Such representations typically channeled both the

Women constituted a mere 5 percent of office stenographers in 1870, but they made up 64 percent of the workers listed under the category "stenographers and typists" in 1890, 77 percent in 1900, 83 percent in 1910, and a near unanimous 92 percent in 1920 (Kwoleck-Folland 1994, 30). According to Margery W Davies, "In 1890, 90 8 percent of all clencal workers had been born in the United States, while only 8.8 percent had been born abroad, and a mere 0.4 percent were nonwhite. In 1900 the distribution remained virtually unchanged: 91.3 percent of all female derical workers were native-born whites, 8 3 percent were foreign-born whites, and still only 0.4 percent were nonwhite. The distribution for women in all occupations, however, is markedly different. Only 56.2 percent of United States working women in 1890 were native-born whites, while 20.3 percent were foreign-born whites, and 23.5 percent were nonwhite. The mix had shifted very slightly by 1900, when native-born whites increased to 59.2 percent, and foreign-born whites decreased to 17.2 percent. The proportion of nonwhite women workers remained basically the same at 23 6 percent." In terms of marital status, "92.7 percent of all female clerical workers were single, compared to only 76.3 percent of all female breadwinners" (1982, 76).

⁴ For examples of the typewriter as a genteel woman, see *Practical Phonographer* 1884a; White 1897; and Barr 1899, 1900 For the typewriter as working-class flirt, see *Practical Phonographer* 1884b. More fully drawn working-class heroines can be found in Graham ca. 1903 For the typewriter as melodramatic heroine, see White 1907 and Moore 1908. A short theatrical sketch that plays across stereotypes is Dumont 1903.

anxieties and the optimism that were sparked by those transformations in the category of womanhood that accompanied major shifts in economic organization and the uneven erosion of separate-spheres ideology.

Even though female typewriters usually received bare subsistence wages—or less—typewriting jobs were hailed as a route to economic independence and social dignity for masses of women. A trade journal called the Practical Phonographer, for instance, triumphed in 1884 that typewriting jobs had opened "doors to womankind, leading to planes of independence, comfort, and consequent self-respect" (Practical Phonographer 1884a). For advocates of women's suffrage, the typewriter's capacity to earn linked up with contemporary arguments for the vote. Women's economic independence had long been a goal of women's rights advocates. While these advocates certainly had in mind the immediate benefits that women would gain by being able to own and control property, they also argued that women's economic independence validated women's right to vote within the conventional terms offered by U.S. liberal ideology. As Nancy Cott points out, "there was every reason" for suffragists to insist on the link between women's economic independence and their right to the vote; "women had been historically excluded from the political initiative of the franchise because they were defined as dependent, like children or slaves" (1987, 117). Women earning money as typewriters signified women's capacity for self-support and thus also women's capacity for the disinterested judgment that liberalism associates with economic independence.⁶ Such arguments became so widely known and approved that even typewriter advertisers trumpeted the link between this supposed self-support and the suffrage, at least in contexts hospitable to such arguments. Thus the advertisement with which I opened declares that the typewriter has done "much toward gaining 'Women's Rights'" by introducing women into an economic "field of independence," and a 1923 monograph on the American inventor of the typewriter goes so far as to credit feminism itself to the typewriter: "Economic emancipation was won and from this great triumph has resulted every other development of modern feminism. The suffrage, the winning of greater social freedom,

⁶ See also discussions in Dubois 1978, 42–46, and Leach 1980, 158–89. Judith Shklar (1991, 64–93) provides a fuller discussion on the link between "earning" and citizenship in American political thinking.

⁶ These arguments gained currency for defining women's economic and cognitive independence, even though wage labor was not the conventional ground for male independence, since wage labor made the worker dependent on his employer. As we shall see later in this essay, the democratic capacity of the wage laborer was still controversial at the turn of the century.

the wider participation of women in every phase of public life, all these are children of the same parent" (Herkimer County Historical Society 1923, 140). By 1923, then, the female typewriter had moved from being the "prospective woman voter" to being the actual one, whose vote, capacity to organize politically, and globally enhanced social inclusion all flow from the typewriter's meager salary.

This is one story of the typewriter and the vote, but it is not the one that I wish to unfold here. The argument that women's earning power entitles them to the vote relies on the logic of citizenship to which, I am claiming, the figure of the typewriter provided an alternative. It recapitulates the requirement that political actors achieve disinterested cognition and abstraction in order to participate not only in formal civic governance but also in the many other modes—such as public speaking, journalism, and lobbying—that also derive authority from this same form of political subjecthood. Arguments for the vote based on women's economic independence thus implicitly countenance the disenfranchisement of people defined by marriage, poverty, race, or age as dependents. Moreover, the figure of the typewriter in these arguments is significant only insofar as she commands a means of income; a teacher or an unusually successful shop girl would do almost as well. In order to properly discern the resource that the typewriter provided for thinking about the terms of women's identity and civic incorporation we must situate the typewriter—both "it" and "her"—within the material culture that constellated texts, bodies, and citizenship at the turn of the twentieth century.

Voting and the writing hand

In the 1890s, voting and typewriting had this in common: they both were tasks done by hand that signified subjectivity within the nexus of printed and handwritten texts. Thus their comparability in the advertisement with which I opened. But while the Underwood advertisement offered this comparison through the archaic image of the raised hand, the analogy between typing and voting had its more recent and more fully elaborated basis in two contemporary discourses that were united by their obsession over how acts of writing work to signify human subjects—debates over balloting practices and a much broader and more diffuse interest in how the double subject of the typewriter (human female and machine) took form in and through her production of texts. These two discourses on the significance of writing's materiality intersect explicitly in several textual instances I have been able to uncover. The Underwood advertisement, and Mabel Clare Ervin's series of short stories, As Told by the Typewriter

Girl (1898), are those that will concern us here. Given the ease with which these instances assert the connection, I can imagine that an exhaustive search through the texts and performances of the turn of the century might uncover even more examples. Such a search, however, is hardly possible, especially given that much of the writing about typewriters found its forum in pulp fiction, small dailies, burlesque performance, and other imperfectly preserved sources, nor would it be necessary in order to grasp the theoretical possibilities for the subject and the citizen that the typewriter opened up. Those possibilities emerge from the dynamic we can observe between debates about new voting practices and those concerning new writing practices. Pursuing the relations between these allows us to specify turn-of-the-century understandings of how not just acts of writing but media of writing—or, better yet, the mediality of writing—conditioned, and might differently condition, the citizen-subject.

To begin with the ballot: voting practices, including the form of ballots, the architecture of voting places, and methods of voter identification, became a source of contention and focus for reform in the 1880s and 1890s (Fredman 1968; Schudson 1998, 144-87). These contests sprang from a conflict between the liberal ideology of the franchise and the social and economic conditions of universal manhood suffrage. Property qualifications for the vote had been mostly eliminated in the United States by the 1830s; however, the rising power that party politics, political cronyism, and industrial interests exerted over economically or politically vulnerable voters seemed to confirm the long-standing theory that voters without economic independence could not vote disinterestedly. They voted instead under the compulsion of their personal interest in not offending their employers or the locally dominant party (Ludington 1911, 22; Fredman 1968, 20-40). As The Nation lamented in 1892, "thousands of workmen" cast their votes "in obedience to the orders of their employers, whose agents stood at the polls to see that those orders were obeyed" (The Nation 1892, 368). This problem hit the philosophical core of liberal democracy, as concerned nineteenth-century commentators took care to note. Under universal manhood suffrage in the economically unequal United States, they argued, the public character of the franchise had been corrupted by private instrumentality; in the words of one observer, "an election is no longer an appeal to the people . . . but to the little ring of party bosses

⁷ See also Allen 1897, which is too deeply involved in the specifics of the British context and in Allen's own idiosyncratic understanding of the value of women's suffrage to take up fully here

who exist by the support of men who must be bought in one way or another, and who therefore cannot if they would, be honest or public-spirited" (Lusk 1896, 226–27).

While this corruption was widely understood as an index of economic and social inequality, democratic reformers also perceived it primarily as a logistical problem. Instead of decrying the systemic misdistribution of economic resources, they protested that bribery and intimidation undermined democratic principle by intervening within the concrete practices of voting. Before the 1890s, U.S. polling practices varied widely, but most exposed voters to public scrutiny. The secret ballot had yet to be accepted, so voters often submitted their ballots in full public view, opening the door to coercive forces at the point of voting.8 Parties and employers stationed operatives to surveil voters; beatings and other forms of retribution against nonconformists were frequently reported. The fact that the government did not yet issue its own official ballots eased the job of party and industrial operatives. Parties and employers printed their own ballots, which voters were required simply to turn in, rather than mark; these ballots were often printed on distinctively colored, sized, or marked paper in order to facilitate the task of surveillance (Schudson 1998, 169-70).

In light of our recent democratic catastrophe of the "hanging chad," it is uncanny to observe how the last turn of the century obsessed over the materials and techniques of voting and tabulation, both framing and resolving as a problem of voting media (ballots, implements, and ways of reading them) what might be otherwise (or also) construed as major philosophical issues of the public sphere. National debates on the democratic perils posed for and by economically and socially vulnerable citizens focused on changes in technique that would secure what we might understand as the purely formal equality of all voting citizens, without in any way challenging or even conceptualizing issues of equality in extra-formal ways. Because liberally oriented observers saw conventional polling methods as a set of practices through which workingmen became self-interested and unfree, they sought reformed polling procedures that they

⁸ It also fortified what historian Michael Schudson has called the social character of citizenship in the late nineteenth century. Enfranchised men often used voting to perform and reaffirm their social affiliations to their political party—they sometimes gloried in demonstrating their loyalty and in observing the loyalty of others (1998, 173).

⁹ Labor unions in favor of economically oriented reforms also supported ballot reforms aimed at ending the coercion of working men. That they could agree with the elitist Mugwumps on many aspects of ballot reform, however, suggests the generally conservative trend of the debates and remedies (Schudson 1998, 168–74)

asserted would produce ideal liberal voters—that would protect "the freedom of action of the individual in opposition to the overpowering influences which wealth, position, and influence might enable others to bear upon [them]" (Lusk 1896, 228).

To this end, most states eventually adopted the Australian ballot system, or some modification of it, in the 1890s. The system instituted three main changes in voting procedure: voter registration, secret voting, and official ballots, preprinted at public expense and marked by the voter's hand. All three techniques sought to individualize the identity of the liberal citizen within technologies of writing. Voter registration replaced the informal means of voter identification that had begun within face-to-face communities, where officials at the polls could realistically be expected to identify every voter because they knew every enfranchised man in the precinct. With registration came bureaucratic regulation and a slew of documents, meant to correlate votes to individual citizens. Registration thus had the immediate effects of individualizing the vote by taking it out of communal control and of augmenting the newly individualized voter's direct relationship to the state (Schudson 1998, 173). This correlation between man and vote, however, took on the weight of traditional liberal democratic ideology within the secret voting booth. Voting booths protected voters from the scrutiny of interests and organizations that might attempt to compel a particular vote (Wigmore 1889, 2-53; The Nation 1892, 368-69).10 By shrouding in invisibility the moment of contact between the voter and the sign he would make on his own behalf, the system attempted to ensure that no intermediary pressure could deform the liberal

¹⁰ Ironically, from the perspective of women denied the vote, the secret ballot was imagmed to be an ethical aspect of a universal franchise only, rather than of a selective franchise. As Fredman notes, in the 1860s John Stuart Mill "contended that the restricted franchise was not a right but a duty and should be exercised publicly and in accordance with the voter's most conscientious opinion of the public good." Under a restrictive franchise, the open ballot argues for the public-spirited, rather than individualistic, character of voting; a secret ballot allows the vote to be a personal, individual expression. In a situation of universal manhood suffrage, women are denied a vote without even the ability to hold particular men accountable for their representation of "the public good", the equation between men and publicness becomes suspect (Fredman 1968, 12). This debate was replayed during late nineteenth-century U.S. contests over the Australian ballot system. John H. Wigmore, a late nineteenth-century American advocate of the Australian ballot system, glossed the liberal British resistance to secret voting as follows: "But secret voting has in England always had to encounter a special argument of predominant influence. It is difficult to sum it up in a few words, but its burden is that the open vote tends to create and maintain the self-respect of the voter, and that the secret vote is the parent of hypocrisy" (Wigmore 1889, 13).

The authenticity of that expression required not just the voter's secrecy but also his writing hand, and it is here that we can see the full material mediality of the ballot in action. Under the Australian ballot system, the government replaced preprinted party tickets with its own officially printed and distributed ballots. Most new ballots listed the candidates alphabetically, and all required the voter to mark the ballot by hand, most usually with an "X." This voter's mark, nestled amid print, gains its ability to authorize the liberal voter through the meaning that handwriting had achieved in relation to print in the late nineteenth century. We are very accustomed to the association between the writing hand and the individual person; we might be tempted to say of the voter's "X" what Susan Stewart has said of handwriting more generally: "Because writing by hand assumes the speed of the body, it is linked to the personal. . . . To sign your name, your mark, is to leave a track like any other track of the body" (1993, 14).11 But we should not say this, at least not if we hope to grasp the historical legibility of handwriting as a media among other media. Stewart here reproduces essentialist notions that came to infuse handwriting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notions that obscured the status of handwriting as a technology. In order to see handwriting as a "track of the body," we must forget that it might otherwise be considered the track of a particular technology and its materials—the alphabet, a style of cursive, and the pen and writing surface. Historically, the handwritten mark came to signify the particular person only after a print culture developed against which handwriting could be differentiated. And until fairly recently, the particular person made legible in handwriting was not the individualized, authentic presence that developments in print cultures and cultures of the person have since taught us to seek in handwritten marks.¹² Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century handwriting registered a performance of social or mercantile character; only as late as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did handwriting, either in conjunction with or

¹¹ See also Martin Hesdegger's discussion of the humanity of the writing hand, reprinted in Kittler 1999, 198–200.

¹² From the eighteenth to about the mid-nuneteenth century, handwriting was associated with the performance of social identity; the contours of a handwriter's letters were like his or her formal dothes. Handwriting itself—the wrought curves of letters and the ornament of the page—signified rank, occupation, and gender rather than interiority, which narrative writing practices such as novels, dianes, and letter writing developed (Thornton 1996, 3–42, 109–41).

even opposed to its content, appear to expose individual identity. The typewriter affixed authenticity fully to the writing hand by creating a contrast—by making it much easier for mass numbers of people to produce printed texts and thus for handwriting to be distinguished from typed texts. It is also in this moment that the handwritten mark, settled amid and in comparison to the printed matter of the ballot, came to signify the voter's "freedom of action." The writing hand's authority springs from its placement within a historically shifting culture of print.

Writing about the British context, Elaine Hadley has helpfully described the Australian ballot system as a "formalist" technique for managing the constitutive contradictions of liberalism. The new ballot, she argues, "define[s] a particular sort of relation between abstraction and embodiment that produce[s] the liberal subject as generic but also distinctive" (Hadley 1999, 3). The voter under the Australian ballot system becomes generic and abstract insofar as the secrecy of the booth allows him to stand cognitively free of his status as an employee under the power of industrial interests or as a person vulnerable to party pressure. At the same time, his written mark asserts his particular self, establishing his individual agency and political desire. His cross on the ballot-both abstract as a generic sign and particular as the work of his hand-provides a material textual correlative to the liberal political subject, whose ability "to flow gracefully between the particular and the generic . . . constitutes a life well lived" (Hadley 1999, 3). In the context of U.S. ballot debates about the peril posed to liberal political subjectivity by widespread and widely observed structural and economic inequality, the Australian ballot system promised to restore the liberal voter-otherwise subverted by the full complexity of social and material conditions—formally and medially, in the narrow space where handwriting and print meet.

The difference of typing

The writing hand that produced voters, then, derived a large part of its significance (understood as its ability to individualize, its patina of nostalgia, its aura of authenticity) from its difference from typewriting. This fetish of the writing hand, in turn, fed back into the meaning of typewriting, defining typing by its difference from handwriting. In light of the typewriter, handwriting came to look like originary wholeness; in light of handwriting, the typewriter often came to look like the Fall. ¹³ But this

¹³ Along these lines, Mark Seltzer has described the typewriter as not so much a machine for writing as it is a machine for introducing difference into the field of the writing subject. In

Fall was an opportunity. The typewriter's mechanical writing gained an ability to signify identity and self-representation beyond the logic of the authenticating and individualizing hand that establishes human coherence when it marks the ballot (or the page). The typewriting machine introduced new materials and practices of writing that drew attention to themselves as mediations of the word, without indulging the fantasies of continuity, self-sameness, and unique individuality that came to infuse the writing hand. Elinor Dawson's Confessions of a Typewriter, a 1903 typewriter novel, gives us the means to specify and discern politically some of the ways in which the typewriting machine organized writing and its authors. Confessions radicalizes the mediality of the typewriter. In this narrative, the alienation and segmentation of certain bodily and affective capacities promise to free the narrator from the way in which the identity category of "woman" fuses economic, erotic, and affective life. She pursues these alienations in the sphere of labor, but she ultimately splits herself in another way, between her narrative and her writing. By grounding writing in the mechanisms of typewriting, she exploits the "typewriter" as a site of textual counterproduction to a narrative mired in the perils of modern womanhood.

Confessions of a Typewriter is sensation literature, presented as an autobiography about work and sex, character and error; it becomes, on its four hundredth page, a Christian Science tract that disavows the heroine's quest for sexual and economic autonomy. The story begins with the narrator, Elinor Dawson, in a sexual and economic snare: her mother is trying to force her into a mercenary marriage with a man who repels her. Considering this a form of prostitution, Elinor flees to Chicago, where she becomes a typewriter because, as she says, "typewriting and stenography offered the clearest means of support" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 188). Earning her living as a typewriter permits her to refuse marriage offers like her first one and to seek out a space of affect and sexuality uncontaminated by market relations. When another unattractive but wealthy suitor proposes, she tells him, "But you are asking me to be unnatural. You want me to marry you and that, too, when I have said that I can't love you" (226). Elinor here speaks the modern and newly developed idiom of

his words, "The linking of hand, eye, and letter in the act of writing by hand intimates the translation from mind to hand to eye and hence from inward and invisible and spiritual to outward and visible and physical, projecting in effect 'the continuous translation from nature to culture.' The typewriter, like the telegraph, replaces, or pressures, that fantasy of continuous transition with recalcitrantly visible and material systems of difference: with the dislocation of where the hands work, where the letters strike and appear, where the eyes look, if they look at all" (1992, 10).

feminine sexuality, which equates women's personal freedom and agency with free sexual choice, made without the compulsions of economic need and material interest (Haag 1999, 74-88). This idiom reached its broadest articulation in romance literature and advice columns but had its political development in the writings of feminists and radicals who argued that women would remain unfree as long as their sexuality was required to serve, in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's words, "an economic relation" (Gilman [1898] 1966, 5). Elinor hopes that if she alienates her labor, she can retain her sexuality as a space of freedom and self-authenticity. She finds, however, that at work sexuality and economics are still conflated on her body. The men she meets at work perceive her not as a worker but as a potential wife. They court her and tell her she is best suited to "adorn a home" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 240); they promise economic support in exchange for her domestic adornment. She laments, "They told me when I came that this was the most commercial of all towns, but I find that everyday they mingle love with business" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 204). Exhausted, she gives up and makes a mercenary marriage. The space she imagined for her sexuality outside of the market disappears—she calls her wedding "the ceremony of my self-sale"—and she joins the ranks of other married women she sees about her, "ghosts of dead desires" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 328, 329).

After her marriage, her narrative becomes one of economic, physical, and emotional decline, followed by an eleventh-hour moral redemption. Like the physician husband who administers the rest cure in Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper," Elinor's husband enforces her passivity, forbidding her to work or read serious books (reading "undomesticates" her, he says [Dawson (1903) 1912, 332]). She falls into a desperate affair with an ardent lover who attracts her sexually. When he abandons her and her husband evicts her, she sinks into debilitating illness and drug abuse. As she lies alone and dying in a hospital for the destitute, a Christian Scientist converts and heals her. Her missionary is a woman, perhaps emphasizing the positions of power women held in Christian Science circles and the critiques of normative gender relations opened up by Christian Science theology.¹⁴ But if Christian Science historically sponsored what we may now regard as an incipient feminism, in Confessions of a Typewriter it puts a certain end to Elinor's fluency in feminist discourses. Drawing on the Christian Science idea that belief in the reality of the material world is an "error," the correction of which will lead to health, Elinor reflects that

¹⁴ For discussion of the gender dynamics of Christian Science, see Knee 1994, 19-20, 27-30; Thomas 1994, 235-36, 300-309, and Satter 1999.

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her "old moral error life had passed away" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 416). She disavows her search for erotic autonomy and economic independence and implicitly condones the punishments the narrative has inflicted on her—humiliation, hunger, and illness. Elinor begins to compose her autobiography: "Early the next morning I began to write, and it seemed that for the first time all of my faculties, memory, judgment of self, came into full being" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 440–41). Significantly, she emphasizes that she composes by hand; she engages, that is, in a material culture of wholeness. There is a certain irony in her emphasis on handwriting; since the Christian Scientists regard belief in the material world as in itself an error, Elinor's care in asserting the ability of a material practice to unify her mind is a minor heresy.

It might then come as no surprise that her writerly integration is belied by the trope that frames her story—that of the confessing typewriter. Elinor's closing promise in Confessions of a Typewriter is that "no error of my own escaped from under a just and proper emphasis" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 439). She refers, of course, to the Christian Science understanding that the belief in the material world is an "error." At the same time, however, Elinor's usage points in another direction—toward the discourse on typewriter error that defined the ways in which the human typewriter asserted her material and subjective presence in the text. Advocates of typewriting often noted that both the process of typewriting and the printed appearance of typewritten texts "forced attention to the problems" of spelling, punctuation, and grammar—that they, like Elinor, emphasized error (Mares [1909] 1985, 14). As a training guide for aspiring stenographer-typewriters put it, "Type-writing has one disadvantage (if it can be called so) compared with pen-writing; it shows up any laxity or deficiency in the way of punctuation or the proper use of capital letters, which would probably pass unnoticed if the writing was done with a pen" (Baker 1888, 55). It is not only errors themselves, however, that come to the fore when they appear in typewritten texts; the person who typed, the machine, and the practice of typing itself were thought to come powerfully into view. The error on the page, in effect, was seen to speak the typewriter. Short pieces in magazines worried over the tendency of human typewriters to insert errors into literary texts that they copied for authors. Errors revealed the typewriter's presence as not only her "corruption of a text" (O'Brien 1904, 427) but also her self-assertion. The typewriter's error signified her identity. A 1911 piece on typewriting, for instance, recounted the anecdote of a newspaper correspondent whose work went out to three different typewriters: "The nature of the errors, the quality of the spacing, the touch of the operator . . . inevitably revealed to him

the identity of the person who wrote it." These errors are the mark of the human typewriter's body—"the touch of the operator"—and subjective presence, or the "psychology of the letter" (*The Writer* 1911, 152).

In typewriter manuals and pedagogy, the problem of "error" became a rich site for articulating and elaborating the person and body of the human typewriter. Efficiency studies focused intensive and detailed disciplinary practices on the errors of human typewriters, tying these errors to the distinct and coordinated psychological and physiological character of the human operator. Like typographically inclined Puritans, students were encouraged to chart their errors, to look for their distinctive patterns of mistake. One university study on the process of learning to type noted that errors indexed the student's emotional state: "So far as facts go they show that the feelings do quite as much toward inducing and emphasizing certain fluctuations in attention and effort as vice versa" (Book 1908, 177). Typographical errors thus become a locus for self-scrutiny, selfunderstanding, and self-representation. At the same time, they evidence the tendency of the typewriter to write doubly. The typewriter writes both a manifest text and a latent text—the text of the words she copies or composes and the text of her errors.

It is in these terms, then, that we might understand Elinor's declaration in the preface to Confessions of a Typewriter that her book is "literal rather than literary" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 7). Literal, that is, insofar as it follows not only the first definition of the word, "of or pertaining to letters in the alphabet," but also the last, "a misprint of a letter" (OED, 3d ed.), or "a small error, usu. of a single letter" (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed.). It is errors, after all, that she promises to commit to the page. As the discourse on typewriter error lets us know, the error is what the typewriter authors. For Elinor, the "error" is where she makes evident her identity, her body, her labor, and her semiotic excess to her tale's narrative and ideological closure. Typewriter error distinguishes Elinor's mode of subjectivity and conditions what she terms the "moral" (Dawson [1903] 1912, 7) of her tale. She is not a subject made coherent through her narrative. Both narrating and typing, the typewriter writes doubly. Where narrative works to produce meaning from event, Elinor points to the material level of textuality—the misstruck character on the page—that doubles with the conversion tale that ultimately claims to have organized her experience. We have to look not only to the subjectmaking effects of narrative writing but also those of mechanized writing to read Elinor's mark. Identified in her title as a "typewriter," rather than as a Christian Scientist or even a woman, Elinor indicates that her errors are the primary place where her self-representation can be found—at the

point where her body and machine make their sign, in that element of the text that is otherwise supposed to be disregarded, corrected, or thrown out. The double-voiced typewriter thus has it both ways at once: she has her saving redemption, and she encodes her protests, too. Her orchestration of medium and message permits a complexity of articulation unavailable to the singularity of the writing hand. Her significance includes the modes and conditions of writing, which work in conjunction with—in tension with—her narrativity. Her mode of writing thus contrasts with that of the voting hand, whose conditions of production become invisible as such, even though they were an obsessive topic of reformers. The secret ballot booth and the marking hand are supposed to catalyze an individual imagined to be already there, though previously subjected to the deformations of economic coercion and social surveillance. The typewriter, though, situates her double content in the materiality of writing rather than the abstractions of citizenship.

Mechanical subjects

I want now to broaden our picture of the typewriter-subject to include not only the materiality of the page but also that of the act of typing. The action of typing and the pedagogy around that action wove the doubleness of the typewriter not only through her texts but also into her nervous system. The female typewriter's mechanization was what we might call overdetermined. The typewriter's activity of labor strengthened the link between woman and machine implied by their shared designation—her job was to reproduce mechanically, not to compose, texts. Literary writers who employed copyists could thus exploit the typewriter's job title as a pun for their desire to have them exist only as mechanical instruments perfectly suited to prepare their writing for publication. As one writer remarked in a magazine for professional writers, "The speediest copyists and typists the writer has met were those who worked mechanically and did not know what a story was after it was copied" (The Writer 1911, 152). Changes in office work that accompanied the introduction of the typewriter also encouraged the symbolic fusion of woman and machine. While the mid-nineteenth-century office employed almost exclusively men and was structured by what was at least presumed to be a permeable hierarchy, tasks were increasingly separated into discrete, often more rigidly stratified jobs over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The new writing machines, mass produced by the 1880s, fit into and also furthered the trend toward segmenting tasks and firming up the division between managerial and support staff. The job of the

female typewriter was usually confined entirely to the tasks of taking dictation and transcribing office documents. ¹⁶ Performing one mechanical task over and over, without participating in corporate brainwork, the female typewriter worked like a machine would. The trope of the machine could easily expand to encompass the entire existence of the female typewriter, as it does in a chapter of a clerical guidebook titled "Making Your Body an Efficient Machine," in which the female office worker is enjoined to think of her body as a piece of her company's office equipment (Remington Typewriter Co. 1916, 68–74).

Not only did the trope linking the human being and the machine subtend conceptions of the labor of the typewriter and her total absorption into the interests of corporate capitalism; the trope was literalized (literally, as in "made into a matter of letters") in typewriter pedagogy. Typewriting manuals approached the body as a machine. Exercises promised to recondition the reflexes of nerves and muscles, to lay bare the machine beneath the social surfaces of the human body. An early typewriting manual from 1890, to cite one of many possible examples, advised students to "practice words in the exercise until the fingering becomes mechanical" (Barnes 1890, 16). In the new typewriting courses that sprang up in business colleges and in homes and offices where students with guidebooks taught themselves to type, fingers hit key sequences over and over in accordance with a bodily discipline that sought to make the labor of typing "sink into the automatic," to make the experience of typing into the experience of the self as a mechanical assemblage of parts and reflexes (Crosier 1921, 20).

In these contexts, the operator's entanglement with the machine clearly indexes her exploitation and subjective effacement. It was possible, however, for the co-mechanization of the woman and the word to reveal other possibilities. Such a difference is what we find in the episodes that comprise Ervin's As Told by the Typewriter Girl, which produce a discourse mimetic of the machine. This mechanical discourse opens up possibilities for new identities and new pleasures that find their culmination, as we shall see, in the voting booth, where the typewriter triumphs over the Australian ballot system. As Told by the Typewriter Girl recounts the urban adventures of Madge, the fastest typewriter in her firm, in twenty-nine episodes that appeared in the supplemental section of the Sunday Chicago Chronicle over the course of 1898 and were then compiled into a book. Tropologically confounding speech and typing, machine and "girl," As Told by the Typewriter Girl defines itself not as a series about narrative content—the

¹⁶ Rotella 1981; Davies 1982; Fine 1990; Strom 1992; Kwoleck-Folland 1994.

life of a woman, the travails of a community, the unfolding of a historical event—but, rather, as an expression of how the conjunction of the woman and the machine inflects the act of telling, creates content out of its mechanical mode.

It may be accurate to say that in As Told by the Typewriter Girl, Madge's narrative voice has a certain generic quality associated with lively, urban, working-class heroines from vaudeville through classical Hollywood screwball comedies; her stream of text is verbose, unschooled in grammar or high style, and ironical, ingenuous, and suggestive all at once. Yet however much this performance tradition may hover about Madge, the formal qualities and content of her episodes indicate a mimetic relation between the narrative and the machine, between the subjective texture of her tales and the physical practice of typing them. Contemporary observers of the typewriter noted that the machine promoted a kinetic momentum in the fingers that translated into narrative style and content. One writer, for instance, remarked that at the typewriter, "the fingers run riot through sheer physical inertia" (The Writer 1911, 151). As opposed to the pen, which requires to be held and moves slowly as it is deliberately wielded into curves and arches, the typewriter produces words speedily in response to a clearly physical compulsion. As a writer for The Nation put it: "Your slightest mental effort meets the response given by a spirited horse to an almost inaudible cluck . . . it is impossible to keep the fingers still" (The Nation 1913, 226).

These writers are mocking typewriter prose. Other commentators, however, saw the typewriter's mechanical speed as a mental stimulant. One of the earliest advertisers of the typewriter, an overtly interested party to be sure, claimed that "the use of the Caligraph becomes habitual and the motions required for it stimulate the flow of thought" (Dawes 1883, 17). In a much more disinterested fashion, an article by an educator advocating the adoption of typewriters in public schools made a similar point, claiming that "hand-dexterity begets thinking; it is an incentive to mind-dexterity.

The machine becomes a vehicle for thought" (Bacheler 1899, 628). Such thought takes its form from the machine. As McLuhan would later argue, "composing on the typewriter has altered the forms of language and of literature.

Seated at the typewriter, the poet, much in the manner of the jazz musician, has the experience of performing as composition" (1964, 260).

McLuhan sees the speed and spontaneity encouraged by the typewriter as the return of an archaic oral culture within modern technology, what he calls a "characteristic reversal" that "happens in all extremes of advanced technology" (1964, 262). This is a provocative axiom, but one that hardly

permits us to specify the nexus of linguistic form, technology, and subjectivity. Walter Benjamin's concept of "innervation" (1996) promises to serve us better. As Miriam Hansen has argued, "innervation" figures for Benjamin the return to the subject of physical sensation and affect that has been split off by the numbing and alienating operations of modern technology, a return effected through the very bodily actions associated with that alienation. Benjamin hypothesized that the process of learning the routinized bodily movements required by modern technologies split off a portion of the psyche that was then somatized in a manner analogous to a hysterical symptom. He imagined that under certain conditions, bodily movement could restore that piece of the psyche to the subject, though in a changed form. Because it is impossible to restore the sensorium as it existed before assaultive modern technologies appropriated it for their operations, Benjamin "seeks to reactivate the abilities of the body as a medium in the service of imagining new forms of subjectivity" (Hansen 1999, 321). Benjamin speculated that the typewriter might one day function in this fashion, that once "the precision of typographic forms has entered directly in to the conception of [an author's] books," then writing might bear witness to "the innervation of commanding fingers" (1996, 457).

Such a possibility might seem particularly relevant to the professional female typewriter, whose acts of writing were defined by alienation and routinization. Encouraged, as we have seen, to make her typing "sink into the automatic," the typewriter somatized her labor. As one typewriting champion observed, "the effort becomes purely mechanical; the brain ceases to occupy the position of guide, for the fingers take up the task" (quoted in Barnes 1890, 20). The psychophysiological process recommended is mirrored here at the level of syntax. The fingers take on the grammatical position of the subject. Creating this condition—ceding the position of the subject to the fingers—becomes the goal of the human typewriter. But, we might ask with Benjamin, could the motion of the fingers return a new subjectivity to the human operator who is thus reformed through her dynamism with the machine?

Madge's narration in As Told by the Typewriter Girl suggests just such a possibility. The episodes move at a sort of breathless pace, with a speed that reflects Madge's technical skill. Her fastness is both literally and figuratively characterological, as some banter Madge records suggests. Commenting on her ability to catch on to a joke, for instance, a man on the street who has recognized her as "The Typewriter Girl" of the Chicago Chronicle remarks, "Girls are not so slow these days," before he turns his observation into a sexual pun by emphatically adding, "or nights" (Ervin

1898, 59). Her anecdotes have a kind of playful lightness, moreover, that seems to celebrate a slightness of mental effort, a retreat from labor, and a dedication to the culture of amusement available to urban clerks after business hours. If her speed serves her firm when she types business correspondence from stenography, it serves her in her own writing by capturing her compatibility with the sped-up rhythms of urban life and by creating a kind of affective experience not easily expressed through the standards of pared-down, aestheticized prose and the refined cultural sensibility associated with high style.

Not only the speed but the motions, feel, and method of typing take on significance. Following Benjamin's conception of "innervation," we would expect that the body's accommodation to elements such as the mechanical typewriter's rhythm, the movement of its parts, its tendency to break or jam, the habits of composition and syntax it fosters, promise to recover and transform psychic energies that get split off when typing "sink[s] to the level of the automatic." Thus Madge's exuberant rush of words, and also her syntax. As one opponent of the typewriter complained, "It is a clumsy task to alter a word, or change the order of clauses, or make interlineations while the paper is on the cylinder, so we decide to wait until the sheet comes off the machine. By the time we have reached the bottom of the page the projected amendment has slipped our memory" (O'Brien 1904, 426). Because the typewriter makes it difficult to revise recursively, the writer instead tends to emend serially, by adding on, as does the mysteriously self-actuated, mechanical typewriter featured in an 1890 short story. The typewriter's owner comes home one night and discovers that, in his absence, the typewriter has produced its own text, which assimilates the process of correction to its narrative flow. It reads in part; "the high character of the Boards of Edcation. I should have said 'Education,' but such a trivial mistake is of no consequence" (Brackett 1890, 680). Writing on its own, the typewriter, it seems, modifies by addition, through a linear movement of words governed not by the conventions of literary prose style but by its own mechanical operations—the register moving to the left and advancing the paper upward. Madge also tends toward serial clarification and correction. When, for instance, she explains a plot she hatches on fellow boarders at her house, she offers the pronoun of the sentence without antecedent, only to clarify in the subsequent clause: "One Sunday we determined on revenge, the lawyer, the medical students, and I" (Ervin 1898, 19). The habits encouraged by the typewriter underwrite, moreover, the larger structure of narrative. As the observer in The Nation remarked, when one writes at the typewriter, "there is little temptation to look back, which with writers

of former generations often discouraged them from ever going on" (The Nation 1913, 226). The episodes of As Told begin seemingly in midflow, alluding familiarly to places and characters previously unmentioned. They have no discernible order, and the text does not sustain narrative memory across installments. The humor of the episodes often revolves around cases of mistaken identity made possible not only by the ability of Madge and other characters to misrepresent themselves in the fast-flowing culture of print but also by their constant self-reinvention. The unreliable quality of social identity is an old comic saw, but here the framing trope of the typewriter gives it distinction. The flow of type, the self-forgetting and self-creating string of sentences, construct a mobile subjectivity not anchored in the body or the fiction of coherent subjectivity but forged over and over again with each new return of the typewriter's carriage. 16 The "Typewriter Girl" narrates in the sustained moment of perpetual newness motivated by her machine and mirrored by the seriality of the periodical in which her episodes appear. Her writing internalizes the machine. Rather than sustaining a fantasy of wholeness or integration that produces an individual by disavowing the material contexts in which subjectivity can appear as such, the typewriter produces possibilities of subjecthood in a dynamic relation to the materiality of the letter. Her narrative, subjectivity, and social identity take shifting forms derived from the machine's apparatus and constant motion.

Votes for typewriters

But how might the typewriter mobilize these qualities in a political world in which identity and representation are constructed via an ideology of liberalism and administered through a state bureaucracy? I have presented the typewriter as an alternative to conventional inscriptions of identity; the typewriter runs counter to economic womanhood, organic wholeness, and narrative self-continuity. Moreover, the double figure of the typewriter, as I have recounted it, not only facilitates alternative inscriptions, and potentially salutary ones at that, but also draws attention to the multiple processes of inscription themselves, thus denaturalizing the relations

¹⁶ Madge compares her mobile subjectivity favorably to the more stable forms of female subjectivity constructed in other more conventional material cultures of the sign. In one episode, for instance, she observes how the conceits of romance "engrave" (68) identity in seemingly coherent forms that nevertheless turn out to be false (Ervin 1898, 66–70). In another, she parodies the ways in which gothic conventions fix women in states of endless mourning for their lost mothers (Ervin 1898, 237–45). The liberatory power of her typing comes through powerfully when compared to the perils of other narrative forms.

between writing technologies and forms of subjecthood and between forms of subjecthood and power, showing these relations to be a matter—the matter—of mediation. How, then, does this critical leverage meet with the practices and forms of liberal citizenship?

In Ervin's As Told by the Typewriter Girl, the typewriter's constant production of the self in the present tense through the innervation of the typing fingers reaches its political horizon in an episode in which the typewriter votes, or, more precisely, commits voter fraud. She does so by, on the one hand, manipulating the material culture of print, paper, and writing through which the franchise is administered and, on the other, by exploiting liberal democracy's desire for the political subject's authentic self-identity and self-representation. The episode is a lark, and, like so many episodes, it demonstrates Madge's ability to navigate modern systems of social and textual management. When the typewriter votes, she exposes—and undermines—the material culture of the liberal subject that the Australian ballot system instituted through its secrecy and its ideology of the authenticating hand.

The female typewriter's trip to the voting booth begins when a young man at her boardinghouse, named Dickie Hart, praises the Australian ballot system. Rather than emphasizing that the system secures the disinterested and individualized participation of voters, Dickie notes how it fortifies a restricted franchise. Addressing Madge and another (voteless) typewriter, he exults that the system's operation secures his privilege: "An illegal vote cannot possibly be cast. . . . Because the system of voting is so managed that a person who has no right to vote is not allowed to do so" (Ervin 1898, 32–33). Madge sees this as a challenge, a dare of the irresistible sort that conventionally sets a comic plot in motion. But this dare also emphasizes the conditions of Madge's disenfranchisement—not only the ideological conditions of her exclusion from the vote but also the systemic production and management of authorized voters through the media and methods of balloting.

Madge's response exploits the textual mediation of voting, inviting comparisons between her mobile, mechanical subjectivity and that of the stabilized liberal citizen. When Madge schemes to cast an illegal vote, she inserts herself into the techniques through which the liberal citizen is produced and managed. Madge begins by betting Dickie that she can defeat the controls set in place by the Australian ballot system. Telling him, "You won't lose your vote, Dickie, but you can't cast it," she promises to impersonate him: "I'll cast an illegal vote and win my bet," she pronounces (Ervin 1898, 33). Dickie accepts the bet, presumably because he fails to discern the space of mediation that constitutes the vote. Like an

author who hopes that a female typewriter will reproduce his texts mechanically, leaving no sign of her own, Dickie fails to foresee the difference, so to speak, that mediation might permit. He thinks that his vote will be just as much his own if it passes through the hands of the typewriter.

To cast her illegal vote, Madge dresses as Dickie. As she comments, Dickie "looks exactly like me, and clothes have nothing to do with it, for he is a boy" (Ervin 1898, 31). If clothes have nothing to do with how they are alike, they have a great deal to do with how they are different, and the difference most urgently at stake here is that in their statuses as citizens. As she lingers in delighted detail over the process of cross-dressing, however, it becomes clear that the difference in citizenship is encoded in a range of other artifices—dress, gesture, and erotic identity. Madge performs masculine manners, bluffly slapping Dickie on the shoulder and "gallantly" assisting her female friend, known only as the Brunette, with her wraps (Ervin 1898, 37). Madge immediately converts her new masculine identity into a performance of heterosexual masculine pleasure, a performance she couples with the privilege of democratic citizenship itself; as she says, "Dickie spent his time telling me how I would know the Republican ticket and where to put my cross, while I paid great attention to the Brunette and flirted with every girl we passed" (Ervin 1898, 37). She is, certainly, camping it up and taking erotic pleasure from her occupation of a new symbolic position (she presses the Brunette's hands "tenderly"; the Brunette "threw her arms about me and cried, 'Madge, . . . I'm falling in love with you'" [Ervin 1898, 39]). She is also, however, insisting on an analogy between her self-representation and the representational act of voting; citizenship operates through a gendering (i.e., masculine) and eroticizing (i.e., performatively heterosexual) logic. 17 Her masquerade suggests the ways in which acts of representation produce, rather than reflect, interiority. Representing herself as a man gives her a scope not only to express but to have new feeling states. 18 Her flirtations thus frame the operations of other representational systems, namely, that of the Australian ballot and that of the typewriter with which she retells this story. She prepares the ground for her exposure of the manner in which the Australian ballot creates, rather than preserves, a certain kind of subject, one defined by his isolated (and therefore disinterested) cognition and the authenticated circuit between his body and consent, materialized in his voting hand.

¹⁷ On heterosexuality and citizenship, see Berlant 1997 and Berlant and Warner 1998.

Other episodes explore the erotics of her relationship to the Brunette, but here erotics take the public form of her self-representation as Dickie Hart.

When the typewriter girl gets the preprinted ballot, the secrecy of the voting booth permits her to fill it out beyond Dickie's surveillance. She reports, in architectural and graphical detail: "As I took my ticket I spoke my name in manly tones, 'Dickenson R. Hart' and passed into the little room partitioned off from the men. There I glanced at the ticket. Dickie said I must vote Republican, all but one candidate, that for the council, and there must 'cut.' Oh, yes, our system is very simple. I recalled Dickie's instructions, reread the ticket, then took my pencil and cast a straight Democratic vote" (Ervin 1898, 38–39). She uses the secret ballot just as it was intended—to cast her chosen vote, remote from disciplinary surveillance. And she uses as well the space constituted for the hand in the printed document, inserting the sign of the body into the body politic.

In so doing, she makes use of the contradiction in liberal ideologies of the citizen that is also the condition of women's exclusion. The space for the hand on the printed ballot is the space where the voter is constructed not only as an abstract subject but, at the same time, as an embodied one-instrumentalized and longed for as the real, authorizing circuit of transmission from the citizen to the state. That is, the authorizing function of the body's hand exposes the fact that citizens are not universal and disembodied abstractions; only certain bodies are authorized to begin with, namely, the white, male, heterosexual body. Madge maneuvers herself into position to exploit liberal democracy's actual ideological reliance on the body, as well as its necessity to produce that body textually, through the Australian ballot system, as the proof of consent and coherent subjectivity. But at the same time she is, as are all citizens, ultimately bound by the terms of the ballot's material culture. Within the framework of the franchise, her fraud is a tactic rather than a strategy. Madge manipulates the several spaces of authentication that mediate the voting process, but the very requirement that she undermines with her cross on the ballotthe stabilized masculine identity of the voter, signified through the writing hand—remains the same requirement through which she is systemically excluded from state citizenship, even though she can push that system into a series of local failures. As she comments on her one-time lark, "Why shouldn't I? I will never vote again" (Ervin 1898, 39).

But she will type again, and it is her typing, more so than her prank, that undoes the closures of identity and the version of citizenship instituted by the Australian ballot system. As she brags, "The joke was too good to keep" (Ervin 1898, 39). By not keeping the joke, she explodes not only the secrecy of the ballot but the ballot's secret: that rather than transparently representing the voter's will, it creates the voter as a textual effect. She disabuses Dickie of the idea that her space of mediation is one of

subjective blankness and political inconsequence; when he glories in the "fun" of the prank by finally noting that "it made no difference, you know. You did the thing for me and put in a good Republican vote," she counters, "Oh, no, Dickie; just the reverse. I'm a Democrat, you know" (Ervin 1898, 39). He imagines that the typewriter girl will serve as the perfectly invisible amanuensis, whose making of a mark on his behalf will "make no difference." As she replies, "just the reverse": she not only makes the singular difference of casting her own vote, she also establishes the medial space in which the typewriter operates as one where material and representational acts go hand in hand, so to speak. Madge's handthe hand of the typewriter—does not pretend to orchestrate the movement from particularity to abstract embodiment that the normative voter's hand strives to embed in his "X." The typewriter's hand, which becomes here the hand of an actual rather than prospective woman voter, offers a synecdoche not for the process of abstraction but that of materialization, where subjectivity flows from the dynamic interrelation of girl and machine, and from the medial space of paper, textual surface, psychophysiological interplay, and narrative that they ground. While liberal abstraction requires a citizen "so stripped of individual substantiation and specification (his unique self), that he could stand for every man" (Stepan 1998, 28), the typewriter substantiates her body, her historicity, her artificiality, and her labor within representational acts that instead of narrowing her horizons of identity and expression pluralize and complicate them. She provides us with a reason for optimism that countercultures of the woman citizen—of the "feminine voter"—flourish amid materials that are historically and technologically at hand and function to provide not only explicit critique of the dominant technologies of the citizen but also resources for-or perhaps a type for-alternatives.

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Margins, Centers, and Democracy: The Paradigmatic History of Women's Suffrage

America has in many things stepped in advance of the mother country. How often has she shown us the advantages of things the English mind feared to attempt, though it does not disdain often to adopt these innovations, and, as Mr Gladstone says, "Americanize our institutions"? Why should not New Zealand also lead? Why ever pursue the hard-beaten track of ages? Have we not enough cobwebs and mists to cloud our mental gaze, enough fetters to impede our onward progress here, that we must voluntarily shackle ourselves with old world prejudices in the way of Government?

-Mary Muller, "Femmina" ([1869] 1992, 59)

he age of democracy began with the systematic disfranchisement of women. On the eve of the French Revolution, Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat Condorcet had observed that the absence of women's voting rights was "a deprivation contrary to justice although authorized by almost universal practice" (Condorcet [1788] 1986, 293). The revolutionary era was to make the rare exceptions acknowledged by that "almost" a great deal rarer.

The term *democracy* has a very long history. In early modern Europe and its colonial offshoots the word was rarely used to characterize any existing political system but indicated a hypothetical alternative that was very likely not viable, especially in any large state. The impracticality of democracy was just as well, since far more often than not it was seen as

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highly undesirable. But in the 1780s some opponents of existing institutions took on the newly coined label democrat (Brunner, Conze, and Koseleck 1972–84, 1:821–99), a term that soon spread widely. In the 1790s, as the new United States managed to govern itself with neither monarchs nor lords and the revolutionary French were shockingly successful on the battlefield, the possibility that democracy might be viable after all—for good or ill—took hold. We may think of this as the moment democracy escaped from fairly esoteric debates about abstractly conceived political systems and came to summarize institutions that could actually be created, a prospect some could view with hope and others fear. But precisely what would be this new democracy's institutions? Who precisely were "the people" from whom the new constitutions were to claim their authority derived and to whom elected representatives were to be accountable?

Losing limited rights

In the European world and its overseas extensions on the eve of the democratic breakthrough, the making of decisions by vote in assemblies and the election of representatives by vote were widely known in villages, towns, guilds, some ecclesiastical bodies, and provincial or national diets. Where corporate notions suggested that families were represented by heads of household, notions of independence that property was a requirement for an independent vote, and the concept of "virtual representation" that a dominant party might speak for dependent persons (as parents might be said to represent their children or lords their peasants), it was imaginable that female heads of household would have voting rights. Such corporate notions of representation entitled female fief holders and members of convents to be represented in France's Estates-General of 1789 through male surrogates while the widows of urban guild masters and female heads of rural households could attend town and village assemblies in person (Cadart 1952). Thus Condorcet could comment: "Several of our noble deputies owe to ladies the honour of sitting among the representatives of the nation" ([1789] 1982, 13).

In five villages in Burgundy studied by Robert Schwartz (1998), before the Revolution all heads of household, women included, belonged to village assemblies that exercised considerable decision-making authority, including authority over the choice of village officers with a wide variety

¹ For some early instances of voting by women in England, see Hirst 1975, 18-19

of responsibilities. It is not clear to what extent women participated nor how widely or rarely similar institutions existed elsewhere. To whatever limited extent French village women had such political rights, they were to lose them in the Revolution, partly because more distant power superseded these village semidemocracies and partly because the new forms of citizenship excluded women—village women did not have voting rights again until 1944.

Any survey of the new practices on either side of the Atlantic would show that such rights of political participation some women had hitherto held were being ended. Those with full rights to participate in the new structures of governance were to be those whose independence of judgment was conferred by nature, formed by education, and supported by property or income. Social institutions might limit women's education and deny them property—title to a woman's possessions, for example, might pass to her husband upon marriage. Women therefore might be denied suffrage on the same grounds as uneducated or propertyless men. When those criteria failed to exclude them, however, their natural inaptitude for public affairs was the ultimate fallback argument. This may be seen from those geographically diverse instances where the new rules of participation were formally organized around property requirements with no mention of gender. Although many women had no legal claims to property, small numbers sometimes did, and they or their supporters might take the new rules of property-based suffrage as an implicit enfranchisement. Such implicitly enfranchised women would be, a little bit down the line, excluded nonetheless.

Under notions of "coverture" as understood in North America (Kerber 1980, 139–55)—and equivalent notions existed elsewhere—all marital property was the husband's, whose responsibility it was to speak for the household. But what of unmarried women (including widows) whose property, under prevailing standards, was sufficient to indicate a capacity for independence? In a few places small numbers of women were in fact able to vote in colonial North America—some propertied women in Massachusetts, "two old Widdows" in New York (Dinkin 1977, 30).

In the era of revolution, the rationale for excluding such propertied and presumptively independent women seemed flimsy to a few (Gutwirth 1993). And as revolutionaries of various stripes in various countries hoped to mobilize supporters, it was evident to some that the mobilization of women as revolutionary patriots entailed an acknowledgment of their capacity for independent action (Kerber 1980). So there were a few instances of revolutionary female enfranchisements. When revolutionary

New Jersey put a gender-neutral property requirement into its constitution the way was open for unmarried women with property to vote.² The numbers involved may have been substantial. Rivals for elective office assiduously courted New Jersey's women voters until the legislature wrote a new, explicitly males-only rule into its 1807 constitution.

The few other such short-lived instances highlight the great standardizing trend. The active citizens, to use the terminology of the French constitution of 1791 (Sewell 1988), indicating a distinction elsewhere implicit, were to be men. In the national referendum on the French constitution of 1793, the votes of women were counted in a few places, but the constitution on which they voted did not recognize female suffrage (Baticle 1909, 511-12). However, the constitutions spawned by the age of democratic revolution did not always explicitly define the voter as a man. From Montesquieu's sense of republican virtue it followed that ideally women would internalize their dependence and social consensus would enforce it; explicit legislation would be unnecessary. "In republics," he commented, "women are free by law and restrained by manners" (Montesquieu [1748] 1950, 1:191). Even where laws permitted women's voting, if only by silence, informal definitions of women's roles seem to have effectively kept their participation low. In the elections for the Estates-General, for example, those women entitled to participate only very rarely did so (Naudin 1984, 497-98).

Some early constitutions relied on manners rather than explicit exclusion. In the new United States, the national constitution had no gender restriction. Of the thirteen U.S. states in 1790, two retained prerevolutionary electoral statutes that had no explicit gender exclusion, three were governed by new constitutions written since the beginning of the American Revolution that similarly lacked such an exclusion, and eight had new constitutions that defined the voters as male or freemen.³ In four of the five states without an explicit exclusion there was no significant voting by women. (The big exception was New Jersey.)

Sometimes women attempted to assert that the absence of explicit exclusion constituted an implicit inclusion. But generally, where the initial regulations were insufficiently unambiguous and some women managed to participate in electoral activity—or even only attempted to do so—laws

² See McCormick 1953, 78, 93, 98–100; Williamson 1960, 104; Klinghoffer and Elkis 1992, Kruman 1997, 103–6.

³ This count follows data in Keyssar 2000, table Al

and practices were made unambiguous in the course of the nineteenth century. If manners proved inadequate, laws would do.

Consider, as an example, some Chilean events as described by Erika Maza Valenzuela (1995). In 1874 a new law tripled the size of the electorate. Fearing that the absence of explicit exclusion might encourage members of certain social categories to attempt to vote, the Chilean Senate debated a proposed bill that would bar clergy in regular orders as well as women. One senator held women's exclusion unnecessary because "there had never been a single case of a woman wanting to exercise voting rights," to which the author of the bill acquiesced that "it is evident that women do not have voting rights" (quoted in Maza Valenzuela 1995, 18). Such arguments apparently carried the day. But small numbers of women did indeed register to vote in several towns, which triggered a new electoral law in 1884. This latest in a long series of laws for the first time identified women as an excluded category. A professor at the law school of the University of Chile explained this novelty to his students: "The exclusion of women dates only from 1884, since earlier no woman tried to register" (Rojas 1964, 105).

In a few places the absence of an explicit gender test permitted women in narrowly defined social categories to vote even later than in New Jersey. A few women in Montreal (including one candidate's mother) voted in an election of 1809, and women were voting in other places in Quebec province at least until 1834; in 1849 the legislature made clear that women were denied the vote (Cleverdon 1950, 214–16). It is very likely that the Quebec shutdown was a cross-border reaction to the founding moment of the U.S. women's rights movement at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. This may have been what spurred the eastern Canadian provinces of New Brunswick, Quebec, and Nova Scotia to replace the gender-neutral language of their electoral laws to explicitly disqualify women in 1848, 1849, and 1851, respectively (Cleverdon 1950, 149).

It could even happen that narrowly defined voting rights of this sort might be expanded by adding new categories. In Habsburg Austro-Hungary, not only could male proxies cast votes on behalf of women nobles but, starting in the mid-nineteenth century, on behalf of women property holders and professionals as well (on which more below). This attenuated voting right for selected women continued as late as 1907 when universal male suffrage displaced it.

The Austro-Hungarian example illustrates an extension of democracy for men that brought rights for restricted categories of women to an end. Generally speaking, when limited women's suffrage had been encapsulated within hierarchical and corporate social conceptions, democracy's anticorporate practices terminated them. As voting rights expanded, it would be made clear, if it had not been made clear already, that this meant for men only.

In general, then, the social upheavals that opened the question of democracy generated laws that either explicitly excluded women or presumed by silence that they would not vote. When even small numbers of women attempted to give that silence a more favorable spin, lawmakers responded with formal exclusion. Limited rights for limited categories of women did occasionally remain in place or were even expanded, but expanded notions of suffrage rights for men could sweep these aside. Alexis de Tocqueville did not hesitate to characterize the extension of U.S. men's rights that so fascinated him as "universal suffrage," although no women were part of that universe ([1835] 1990, 1:47, 151-55, 213).5 The achievement of voting rights for women as adult citizens, rather than as members of far more restrictive categories (fief holders, guild members' widows, members of a religious order, unmarried property holders, possessors of certain university degrees, close kin of military veterans), was a long struggle in which democracy—originally understood widely as perfectly compatible with the exclusion of half the adult population from the vote—had to be redefined. Where were the breakthroughs?

Tracking women's suffrage in space and time

Women's suffrage was pioneered in lesser places in the geography of wealth and power and then advanced to more central locations. This proposition applies at various scales: within the world as a whole, within broad geocultural regions (such as Europe or Latin America), and within individual national states.⁶

- ⁴ Condorcet seems to have foreseen that democratization might well contract women's political rights rather than, as he advocated, enlarge them: "Why, if we find it absurd to exercise the citizenship rights by proxy, remove this right from women, rather than leave them the liberty of exercising it in person?" ([1789] 1982, 13).
- ⁶ Tocqueville comments. "In our time the principle of the sovereignty of the people has attained in the United States all the practical development that imagination is capable of conceiving" ([1835] 1990, 47).
- To avoid a more cluttered presentation, when I address the pioneering places on a world or continental scale I will consider specifically the achievement of the right to vote for contestants for national office (such as parhamentary representative or president). When I turn to national states, I will look for regional variation in achievement of the right to vote for national office and for office in such major subnational divisions as states or

World pioneers

Consider first the innovating states on a world scale.7

New Zealand.—When New Zealand's women gained the right to vote for Parliament in 1893, that country became the first national state to enact women's suffrage in national elections. For some decades there had been considerable discussion of enfranchisement in various forms by women activists as well as failed parliamentary proposals. The successful suffrage drive was led by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, established in New Zealand by an organizer from the United States eight years earlier (Grimshaw 1972). It was a moment when a contemporary observer could call New Zealand the "experiment station' of advanced legislation" (Rodgers 1998, 55) as a new government enacted a wide array of programs that excited progressives in distant countries.

Australia.—In Australia women gained voting rights in national elections in 1902, a year after Australia's separate colonies had federated. Although the suffrage movement, much encouraged by the previous year's big success in New Zealand, had won its first success at the state level in 1894, women were not able to vote in state elections throughout the country until 1908 (Encel, MacKenzie, and Tebbutt 1975, 226; Lees 1995).

Regional leaders

Europe.—The pioneer was Finland, under Russian rule since 1809. The extent and nature of Finland's autonomy was the occasion for much conflict between Finnish institutions and Russian administrators. Finnish women were active in nationalist resistance to Russification; indeed, women seem to have been extremely active in many arenas—as inspired preachers in religious revival movements as well as in temperance organizations and workers' causes. Russia's Revolution of 1905 provided a favorable opportunity for Finns to press their demands for greater autonomy and for those Finns without the right to vote for delegates to Finland's four-estate Diet to press their demands for inclusion. In 1906 Finnish nationalists obtained the suffrage for both sexes for a modernized parliament and promptly elected Europe's first nineteen female parliamentary

provinces. I will largely ignore the achievement of the right to vote for local officials such as town council members or school board overseers, which in some countries (e.g., Britain, Norway, and Chile) preceded the right to vote for offices of broader geographic scope. For some more discussion of such points, see appendix.

⁷ For a progress report on the transnational women's struggle early in the twentieth century, see International Woman Suffrage Alliance 1913, xiv—xv.

deputies. The inclusion of women within the general movements of those excluded as voters in Finland and of Finns for limiting subordination to St. Petersburg seems to have made women's rights part of the program for those Finns who were negotiating the voting rules with the Czar's government in crisis, despite the misgivings of some (Korppi-Tommola 1990). The reassertion of czarist authority that followed limited any immediate effectiveness of voting rights (Evans 1977, 217–18; Alapuro 1988; Sulkunen 1989). The next European national cases included none of the great powers, as women gained voting rights in Norway in 1913 and in Denmark—along with an Iceland on the edge of independence—in 1915.

North America.—Canada enfranchised women at the national level in 1918, two years ahead of the industrial giant to its south. Some historians have argued that wartime needs gave women political clout as shown by the suffrage being acquired first by those in uniform, then by those with close relatives in the trenches in 1917, and finally by all women. Others have argued that it was propelled by the farmers' associations of western Canada—the first region in which province-level voting rights were achieved—that saw women voters as allies for the traditional rural causes they favored. Still others point to the galvanizing role of activist women immigrants from Iceland (Cleverdon 1950).

Latin America.—It was not in one of Latin America's largest countries like Brazil or Mexico, nor one of those most optimistic about its prospects for economic growth (such as Argentina in the early twentieth century), nor one of those most inclined to identify with European culture (such as Argentina, Chile, or Uruguay—"the Switzerland of South America"), but impoverished, weak, small Ecuador in 1929 (Constitución Política

⁸ The proportion of women members of the Finnish parliament in 1907 was only slightly inferior to the proportion in the U.S. Congress in 2000—10 percent vs. 13 percent (Kaplan 1997, 31; Human Development Report 2000, 165).

At the turn of the century women's suffrage was more strongly supported in rural than urban Finland and more among Finnish-speaking nationalists than among the Swedish-speaking upper strata. When the four-estate Diet, early in 1905, debated the suffrage then being demanded by feminists, it was passed by the peasants, where Finnish speakers prevailed, but rejected by the nobility, burgesses, and clergy (Korppi-Tommola 1990, 187).

¹⁰ The Wartime Elections Act states: "Every female person shall be capable of voting . . [who] is the wife, widow, mother, sister or daughter of any person, male or female, living or dead, who is serving or has served without Canada in any of the military forces, or within or without Canada in any of the naval forces, of Canada or Great Britain in the present war" (quoted in Cleverdon 1950, 124, n. 45).

1929, articles 13, 18). The efforts of Ecuador's feminists meshed with the view of the Conservative Party—dominant in the National Assembly—that women would be very responsive to the electoral views of influential Catholic clerics (Quintero 1980, 239–49; Grijalva Jiménez 1998, 102–5). The second country to enfranchise women in national elections was giant Brazil in 1932, but the third was its small neighbor, Uruguay, later that same year (Rodríguez Villamil and Sapriza 1984, 58–79).

Within national states

New Zealand.—When women showed up to vote in parliamentary elections for the first time in New Zealand in 1893,12 they had been narrowly beaten to the polls by women in their own offshore dependency of the Cook Islands, whose protracted and confusing negotiations for incorporation within the British Empire left those islands considerable local autonomy. As their historian (Scott 1991, 59) puts it, describing the most populous of the islands: "Rarotongan women were among the first in the world to receive the vote-before New Zealand (only just before) and second only to the American territories of Wyoming and Utah."18 A colony of a colony thus became one of the very early loci of democratic innovation.14 It seems likely that a tradition of political power for women of prestigious families (Gunson 1987) played a role in these Polynesian events. The Cook Islands were under threat from several European empires as well as Peruvian slavers, at the same time that New Zealand merchants, missionaries, and Maoris were taking an interest. In thinking through the various external powers they might align with, the four of Rarotonga's five chiefs who were women seem to have been favorably impressed that the British navy served a queen (Gilson 1980, 50; Scott

Although the achievement of women's suffrage in Ecuador is commonly dated from 1929, the later constitution of 1946 specified that voting was "obligatory for men and optional for women" (Constitution Política 1960, 16), a distinction that radically affected actual participation until the constitution of 1967 made voting "a duty and a right" that was "obligatory for men and women" (Trabucco 1975, 472). Since the 1929 constitution had only enfranchised the literate, a notably lower proportion among women than among men, even without the 1946 differentiation fewer women than men were able to participate (Constitución Política 1929, 4–5; Quintero 1980, 239–49).

¹² For convenient reference, although the focus is on subnational regions, I arrange the national cases in this section in order of the better known dates of gaining the national suffrage, with the exception of Austro-Hungary, whose existence ended without that having taken place.

¹⁸ We will see below that this statement is not quite accurate.

¹⁴ Starting in 1890, the New Zealand government got to name the British Resident for the Cook Islands and formally annexed them in 1901 (Scott 1991, 7).

1991, 38). The new British Resident established an elected parliament ("the only free Maori parliament ever attempted," he called it [quoted in Scott 1991, 59]), which promptly enfranchised the islands' women, who showed up at the polls six weeks before the women of New Zealand proper (Nolan and Daley 1994, 4, 20, n. 8).

Australia.—As Australians in the 1890s debated the possibility of forming a single state out of the island-continent's separate colonies, the strongly asserted claims of the oldest among them, New South Wales, for the primacy of its chief city, Australia's largest, as capital of the new nation was just as strongly rejected in neighboring Victoria. Between them, New South Wales and Victoria contained three-quarters of Australia's population, its two largest cities, its first national capital (Victoria's Melbourne), and the site of the eventual compromise location that was carved out of New South Wales (Pegrum 1989). But it was not in these places that women first won the right to vote, but South Australia, where the drive was spearheaded by the recently implanted (in 1886) Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the rather older Women's Suffrage League, energized by the recent New Zealand triumph (Nance 1979; Oldfield 1992, 22-44). South Australia lived up to "a reputation for attracting reformers and political idealists" (Lees 1995, 16) and enfranchised women in 1894.

This was followed in 1899 by Western Australia, on the other side of the continent from the future national capital, where men outnumbered women two to one. Among these men, radical activists in the mining camps that had sprung up around the goldfields aroused the fears of landowning farmers. In this climate, the WCTU's championing of women's rights as a civilizing force may have galvanized support among the propertied for suffrage (Encel, MacKenzie, and Tebbutt 1974, 225; Reckie 1981). As one colonial official characterized the situation: "The old order was passing away, and the ruling families felt the ground moving under their feet. The politicians from the older settler districts looked anxiously round for something to break the force of the threatening flood. It occurred to them that this might be found in the enfranchisement of women" (Reeves 1902, 1:133). In more central New South Wales, one legislator in 1901 commented on the insignificance of enfranchising women in such peripheral places as South Australia and Western Australia as well as, for that matter, New Zealand—"three small villages," as he put it (Grimshaw 1994, 39). The following year New South Wales enfranchised women.

Canada.—If Canada has a center, surely it is not Manitoba, the first province to enfranchise women, in 1917. Although activists in Toronto

had long made Ontario a center for the cause of women's rights (Bacchi 1983), resistance there proved strong. As the Canadian movement for women's suffrage built up momentum in wartime's favorable circumstance of labor shortage, the agricultural "prairie provinces" were the places where rights were first secured. Saskatchewan and Alberta quickly followed Manitoba's precedent, and British Columbia did so the following year. Canada's west, like that of its southern neighbor, was where the vote was won first; Ontario, containing the seat of national government, was fifth (Cleverdon 1950, 2). Canada's western farmers' movements may have held women to be their natural allies against urbanites and easterners.

United States.—Unlike most of the other cases discussed here, the achievement of U.S. women's voting rights has occasioned a rich literature that contains an abundance of explanations for its regional pattern. ¹⁵ The U.S. Constitution, whose ratification was among the defining moments of the democratic breakthrough, did not explicitly distinguish the rights of women and men. But at the end of its great Civil War, the Reconstruction amendments responded in different ways to those demanding political rights for its former slaves and those demanding political rights for its women (to a significant degree the same people had been up to this point demanding both). In extending voting rights to "male inhabitants" those amendments made explicit an exclusion hitherto implicit. Not long after this failure at the national level, the first victories for women's political rights at the state and territorial level took place.

Although the leading suffrage organizations were founded to the east, ¹⁶ it was in the western territories of Wyoming (in 1869)¹⁷ and Utah (in 1870) that women first obtained electoral equality, followed by the western states of Colorado (in 1893) and Idaho (in 1896)¹⁸ (Larson 1971; Beeton 1986).

There are several possible general explanations for western precocity:

¹⁸ I cannot even cite most of that literature here, but for an important recent attempt to adjudicate among competing and complementary proposed explanations of the geographic patterning, see McCammon and Campbell 2001; McCammon et al. 2001.

¹⁶ The National Woman Suffrage Association was founded in New York, the American Woman Suffrage Association in Boston, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union held its first convention in Cleveland following an organizational meeting in Chautauqua, New York (Giele 1995, 64, 114)

¹⁷ In 1869 women gained voting rights in Wyoming's territorial elections, it was with statehood in 1890 that they became the first in the United States to vote on equal terms with men in federal elections.

There were earlier close calls in the state legislatures of Washington territory (in 1854) and Nebraska (in 1856, Larson 1971, 2).

the hope that suffrage would attract women settlers, especially to places (such as Wyoming) with a heavily male population; the belief that women's votes would help civilize the wild frontier; and an alleged frontier egalitarian spirit (Fleming 1990; Massie 1990). In addition there are idiosyncratic explanations of particular western places. Consider, for example, Utah. Some antipolygamists championed women's suffrage in Utah in the hope that Mormon women would use the vote to end that institution. But Mormon leaders championed women's suffrage in the expectation that Mormon women would support Mormon practice, thereby proving they were not the subjugated group anti-Mormons claimed and providing a barrier against future loss of power in the event of gentile immigration, since Mormon families had more adult women than gentile families (Larson 1971, 9-13). Finally, we must note the procedural simplicity of major redefinition of the electorate in territories (relevant especially to Wyoming and Utah) compared to states with constitutions that typically had complex amendment procedures.

Britain.—The breakthrough for women's political rights in Britain's colonies in Oceania quickly entered the ongoing campaign for the suffrage in the center of empire. Activists from New Zealand traveled to Britain to make common cause with suffragists there. Champions of women's rights argued that the Pacific cases showed that beneficent effects considerably outweighed negative ones. Opponents were disturbed by colonial innovation ("Generally speaking, the children should follow the example of the parent, not the parent the example of the children," admonished one British member of Parliament [quoted in Dalziel 1994, 60]). And, in light of Maori women's enfranchisement along with whites, the race card could even be brought into play ("Why should the Maori women be in a superior position to that held by the women of England?" asked one feminist in a speech [Dalziel 1994]).

Despite these arguments, and despite their having begun to obtain the right to vote for various local offices as early as 1869 (Hollis 1987, 7–10), British women did not get to vote for the House of Commons until 1918, and then only subject to restrictions that did not apply to men (a woman could vote only if she was at least thirty years of age and either qualified for the local franchise or married to a man who was). ¹⁹ It was another decade before full voting equality was achieved.

But even before New Zealand's women, white and Maori alike, had

¹⁹ In David E. Burler's account (1963, 15–29), it seems clear that the main purpose of this restriction was to avoid an electorate in which women would have a majority, a prospect made particularly salient by the vast numbers of male dead in the First World War.

cast their first ballot, on one small British site women had achieved parliamentary voting rights. The Isle of Man, in acquiring a great deal of autonomy from London in 1866, acquired as well the question of who precisely would have the right to vote for the elected lower house of its own parliament. Suffrage extension became a hot topic for debate, as it had been for some time elsewhere in the British Isles. After some back and forth between proponents and opponents of equal voting rights for women, by explicit compromise women property owners but not other women got the vote in 1881. In some improbable toponymic irony, then, some women on the Isle of Man were the first in Britain to be able to vote for their parliamentary delegates. Although some might compare the Manx parliamentary suffrage to the local voting rights women were acquiring elsewhere in Britain (Hollis 1987), some participants spoke proudly of the little island's legislature going beyond "those of Europe in the progress of liberality and being the first to divest themselves of worn out prejudices" (Butler and Templeton 1984, 39). In 1892 Manx women's suffrage was broadened and in 1908 married women's rights to property enacted, thereby creating a class of married women property owners who could vote for the parliament that governed this little bit of empire while London suffragists struggled on (Butler and Templeton 1984).

Austro-Hungary.—According to Richard Evans's comparative survey, it was the revolutionary wave of 1848 that led the Habsburg Empire to broaden the suffrage, although electoral eligibility changed bewilderingly from year to year, from one province to the next, and from one elected body to another (local councils, provincial diets, and the weak imperial parliament, the Reichsrat). At various times and places women who were large property owners, or paid certain taxes, or were in certain professions had voting rights for some offices, generally through male surrogates (Fürth 1930, 65–68).²⁰ In the late nineteenth century, and even more strongly after the shock of 1905 in Russia, fear of working-class revolution led the monarchy to move away from property-, tax-, and profession-based suffrage toward manhood suffrage, in the process disfranchising

In her account of this form of electoral practice in Austria's Polish territories, Walentyna Naydus contends that those women with voting rights in places like Lvov and Cracow had no way to monitor how their male surrogates (for married women in Galicia it was as a matter of law invariably the husband) actually voted (Najdus 1994, 102). To the extent that the small numbers of women, in Galicia and elsewhere, who could vote in this form lacked any control over those surrogates, I would question whether such practices constituted a form of women's rights at all rather than a male right to vote—no doubt usually an extra vote—that depended on the status of a woman.

women—a piecemeal process thanks to the variety of suffrage rules—and provoking a feminist countermobilization. In Bohemia, this countermobilization became intertwined with Czech resistance to Viennese domination. Czech nationalist parties joined with rural women voters in 1912—Prague women had no voting rights—to elect a woman in a district made up of much smaller places (Mladá Boleslav i Nymburk) to the Bohemian Diet, making Bohemia the second place in Europe, after Finland, to elect a woman deputy to a more than local body.²¹ (The governor refused to recognize the election, and the Diet was soon dissolved [David 1991, 38].) At that moment, women had been elected in small numbers to state legislatures in some of the western U.S. states but had no right to stand for election in New Zealand and, in the only two Australian states where they had such a right, had not yet been elected.

Ecuador.—We cannot speak of regional variations in legislated procedures in Ecuador, but we can locate in space the first woman who voted. The attempt to vote in 1924 by the first woman to earn a medical degree from the University of Quito triggered a favorable ruling by the State Council about the voting rights of women under the constitution. The council's report noted that an earlier constitution, that of 1883, quite explicitly identified those with voting rights as men, in contrast to still earlier constitutions that had no such specification. Therefore, they reasoned, when subsequent constitutions in 1897 and 1906 (the one in force in 1924) omitted the word men, they implicitly but unambiguously were stating that a woman "is a citizen and may elect and be elected" (Estrada 1980, 102). By this ruling, Matilde Hidalgo de Procel became Ecuador's first officially registered woman voter in 1925 and thereby may have been the first woman to vote in a national election in twentieth-century Latin America.22 We may note that she was from neither of the two rival cities that claimed national leadership—Quito and Guayaquil—but from the much smaller and peripheral Loja, near the Peruvian frontier, and that it was in the neighboring frontier department of El Oro where she obtained the right to vote.28 Four years later, 2 new constitution explicitly embraced

²¹ The International Woman Suffrage Alliance (1913, 116) contended that eligible Czech women were voting in larger proportions than eligible men, which, if true, would have made them attractive partners for nationalist partners.

²² See n. 25 below for an alternative claim to priority

²⁸ As noted earlier, small numbers of women had managed to register in Chile in 1875, although in contrast to the later Ecuadoran story, their action triggered a law barring, rather then enfranchising, women. But in parallel to the Ecuadoran story, these registrations did not take place in Santiago but in the much smaller San Felipe, La Serena, and Casablanca (Maza Valenzuela 1995, 18–20).

voting rights for women; a dozen years later still, Loja chose Matilde Hidalgo as Ecuador's first woman congressional deputy.²⁴

Brazil.—It was not in the national capital, Rio de Janeiro, nor in the state that was (and remains) Brazil's economic dynamo, São Paulo, nor in the other powerful states that were major players on the national political stage such as Minas Gerais or Rio Grande do Sul, but impoverished and thinly populated Rio Grande do Norte, where a newly elected governor in 1927 had the voting laws altered to enfranchise women. When elections to federal office were held the following year, the women's ballots were declared invalid, but voting continued in state elections (and the municipality of Lajes, a small place in a very poor region far from the state capital, elected a woman as mayor). Events in Rio Grande do Norte encouraged Brazil's suffrage movement, and the Senate debate on recognition was well covered in the Brazilian press. In short order a number of other states were registering women, starting with politically marginal Goiás, and then a major player, Minas Gerais, followed by Rio de Janeiro (Blachman 1976, 139-48). Poor, politically weak, and thinly populated as Rio Grande do Norte was (one writer calls it "Brazil's Wyoming" [Rodrigues 1962, 55]), the suffrage victory there, in making woman's political rights seem possible in Brazil, helped lay the groundwork for the new national electoral code of 1932 giving women the same voting rights as men throughout the country (Rodrigues 1962, 55-74; Hahner 1990, 156-61).26

Argentina.—Twenty years before the national achievement of voting rights for women in 1947, the thinly populated province of San Juan on the Andean frontier with Chile legislated voting rights in provincial elections for women, one of several dramatic social reforms. This seems to have been a generalization of the voting rights enjoyed by the small number of women in the provincial capital who met the tax requirements and since 1862 were entitled to vote in municipal elections. The province's

²⁴ See Estrada 1980, 93–106, 129–34; Quintero 1980, 241; Vitale 1987, 166–67; Romo-Leroux 1997

In what seems a wave of press coverage of women's voting issues that followed women's enfranchisement in Rio Grande do Norte, one Brazilian publication claimed that three women had voted in an election in the state of Minas Gerais in 1905. This episode in Minas Novas, small, far from the state capital, in the impoverished north, apparently lacked the energizing consequences for the further extension of women's rights of the breakthrough twenty-three years later (Blachman 1976, 144, n. 92).

²⁶ It is presumably just coincidental that the very early nineteenth-century Brazilian translator of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vinducation of the Rights of Women was from Rio Grande do Norte (Hahner 1990, 14)

governor commented that those who admired the progressivism of the Uruguayan or Mexican constitutions now had a new model in San Juan (Rodríguez 1974, 406n.). The national government attempted in 1930 to bring to an end San Juan's distinctive precocity (Moreau de Justo 1945, 209, n. 8), but in 1934 the provincial legislature seated the first Argentine woman elected to public office (Carlson 1988, 175).

Mexico.—At the national level Mexico was hardly a world or even regional pioneer, with women winning voting rights in 1953. However, the turbulence of the Mexican Revolution opened the way for the achievement of women's political rights in several states in the 1920s (in some cases only temporarily). It was not one of the centers of Mexican political or economic power that innovated but peripheral Yucatán, where the convening of Mexico's first feminist congresses and the election of socialist governors were followed by a state electoral law enfranchising women in 1922. The first woman to hold elective office in Mexico assumed her functions in 1923, but Yucatecan rights were lost soon after the assassination of the supportive governor in 1924 (Morton 1962, 9; Macfas 1982, 90-91). More centrally located San Luis Potosí followed suit but soon reversed itself. The third state was Chiapas, on the Guatemalan frontier, which in 1925 passed a law under which "women of 18 years of age or more, are recognized to have the same political rights as men in all the territory of the state of Chiapas. In consequence they have the right to vote and to be candidates for all offices filled by popular election, whatsoever these may be" (quoted in Morton 1962, 12).

Colombia.—Long before Colombia's late enfranchisement of women nationally (1957), the mid-nineteenth-century electoral triumph of the Liberal Party opened the way for sweeping legislative change. Along with completing slave emancipation, establishing freedom of religious worship, and enfranchising poorer Colombians, the Liberals set about freeing the regions from the heavy hand of the central state (Bushnell 1993, 104-13). In 1853, a new national constitution called for every province to write a new constitution of its own. There were many for whom this was the moment when new ideas could be made actual and one could experiment with new institutions. Among the experimenters were a group of provinces characterized by a Liberal enthusiast as "excessively democratic" (Samper [1887] 1974, 1:226). One of these, the province of Velez-not where the capital, Bogotá, is located—drew up its own electoral rules that provided that its citizens "without distinction of sex shall have among other rights that of suffrage" (Velásquez 1995, 175). Indeed, women were to have half the positions on local electoral boards. Perhaps this latter, unusual measure was to protect women's votes, but Velez could not protect them against annulment of such electoral rules by the national supreme court. Although some accounts suggest that no woman was actually able to vote in the brief period these rules were in force (e.g., Samper [1887] 1974, 1:227; Bushnell 1993, 109), one recent scholar doubts this negative conclusion (Restrepo Piedrahita 1979, 1:172–78). The Bogotá newspaper that in the mid-nineteenth century commented on this early enfranchisement expressed a view common in many other places as well: "We believe that the decision that made women electors as well as eligible for office was more the outcome of gallant sentiment than political thought. Woman would bring to the ballot box the opinion of her husband, of her father, of her brother, or of her sweetheart. . . Public life is not her element. So let her stay at home, calming with her sweet smiles and her affectionate concern the disappointments and unpleasantness we bring in from the street" (El Pueblo, July 1855, quoted in Velásquez 1995, 175–76).

Switzerland.—Noting that Switzerland was "quite behind the times" in 1929, Carrie Chapman Catt found "it difficult to understand why the men and women of Switzerland do not follow the example of all the rest of the world" (quoted in Banaszak 1996, 4). Not only was Switzerland the last-by far-of the countries considered here to enfranchise women at the national level (1971), but several reluctant cantons held out even longer against women's rights at the cantonal level, with one canton refusing until 1990. As the suffrage movement gathered strength after the Second World War, on the way to its national triumph, the cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel enfranchised their women, followed by Geneva in 1960 and Basel-stadt in 1966 (Banaszak 1996). It would be hard to make a case that Switzerland's laggard pioneers have the peripheral character that we have found in all our other cases, although they are all frontier cantons. Vaud includes the seat of the Federal Supreme Court in Lausanne; Basel and Geneva are Switzerland's second and third largest cities, the former a great industrial and commercial center, the latter a profoundly cosmopolitan world city. Switzerland is not only very late within the world history of women's suffrage, but the cantonal pattern does not exhibit the peripheral innovation that marks the other cases.

Doe wonders whether it was the evanescent enactment of women's suffrage that led José María Samper, arguing shortly afterward that Colombia was in the forefront of humanity's progress toward "democratic civilization," to describe the regional character of the people of Velez as "a distinctive type" that has "the strengths and weaknesses of the Knight of La Mancha" and also "something of the effeminate" (Samper [1861] 1969, quotes from 329, 340)

A tiny Pacific Innovator

We need one more case to round out the picture. Well before New Zealand pioneered at the national level, before the Wyoming breakthrough in the United States, and even earlier than the brief period in which women's suffrage was the law in Velez, a place even smaller and even more removed from any center of power than those I have examined thus far was the setting where something new was created. The extremely well-known beginning of this particular story takes us back to 1789, a date as emblematic of the great democratic breakthrough as one might wish. Americans were putting their new Constitution into practice and the French pulling down their old regime, two major components of the great multicountry democratic upheaval that defined women as nonparticipants in public power. But one challenge to dominant hierarchies at the edges of European empire had a very different outcome.

The 1789 rebellion by the crew of H.M.S. Bounty off Tahiti must be one of the best known of historical events, a tale retold in multiple film versions. However, it was not the famous seizure of their ship that was the mutineers' most interesting legacy to the future of democracy. Searching for as remote a place to hide out as they could find, the mutinous crew and the Tahitians who voluntarily or otherwise went with them (and, to be precise about this multicultural voyage, one Tongan who had been visiting Tahiti at the time) colonized uninhabited Pitcairn Island in 1790. They fell out among themselves, murderously, but the small number of survivors, their descendants, and occasional new arrivals continued to live there (Ball 1973).

A British captain, stopping by in 1838, took it upon himself to give the islanders "a few hasty regulations," which included, among many provisions about the island's cats and dogs, a magistrate "to be elected by the free votes of every native born on the island, male or female, who shall have attained the age of eighteen years." Captain Elliott's journal makes clear that his concern was how to "least involve my own government, of whose intention in respect to the Pitcairn islanders I am ignorant" in the affairs of this Pacific flyspeck. It may well be that the captain was merely writing down the already existing practices fashioned by the descendants of British sailors and transplanted Polynesians when he produced the first modern prescription of women's voting rights in a remote part of an indifferent empire. 28

We may be certain that women's suffrage continued to be practiced on Pitcairn and was more than words on Captain Elliot's page, because

²⁸ Captain Elliott's account is reproduced in Brodie 1851, quotes from 83-84.

we have an important later witness. In 1856 the imperial government relocated the Pitcairners to Norfolk Island, all 194 of them, considerably nearer New Zealand and Australia (Hoare 1969). Their new British governor reflected: "I left untouched the rule which gave the women, as well as the men, a vote in the annual election of the Chief Magistrate. I hope, however, that this experiment on a small scale, will not be assumed as a precedent in favor of the claims now made on the part of our 'better halves' to have a say in the government of the country . . . I should most certainly not have proposed even this small amount of petticoat government had I not found it already in existence" (Denison 1870, 1:411–12).

One wonders if Sir William Denison would have been so hopeful that women's suffrage could be successfully contained on this distant outpost of empire if he had known that in other places far from the centers of power such as Wyoming and Utah the movement for women's rights would soon be making headway (not to mention Velez, where it already had done so).

Recapitulation

The late eighteenth-century revolutionary earthquake and its continuing aftershocks made democracy seem a viable mode of political organization and gave practical import and sometimes even urgency to the question of what, precisely, democratic institutions were to look like. On the very specific question of who was to have the right to vote, by the early nineteenth century the nearly universal answer was "some men." Over a very long stretch of time democracy was redefined as women came to be included in the electorate in more and more places. By the great wave of democratization of the late twentieth century, all new or would-be democracies enfranchised women as well as men (Ramírez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997). By the time Switzerland's last recalcitrant canton enfranchised its adult women citizens, male democracy seemed a relic of some other age, not a viable alternative conception of democracy at all.

The exclusion of women seemed eminently reasonable and natural to those who first constructed the institutions that were to make democracy real, so reasonable and natural that in many places constitutions and electoral codes did not even have to specify that only men were to vote. Montesquieu's notion that women would be restrained by manners, not laws, was a widespread reality until bad-mannered women tried to vote. By the last quarter of the twentieth century, those who variously negotiated a passage to democratization, overthrew military rule, enlarged the suffrage to include previously excluded racial categories, brought one-

party rule to an end, or forced concessions from the remaining monarchs almost never attempted an electoral system in which women did not have voting rights along with men.²⁹ Women's voting rights have become part of democracy. We would more readily imagine, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, renewed efforts to terminate democracy than we would imagine attempts at democracy for men only. What distinguished the places that pioneered in this long process of redefinition?

Enclosed in quotes, "from the margins to the center" in the title of an essay on feminist theory (Franco 1996) acknowledges how commonplace this phrase has become in discussions of the excluded, practically a cliché. In the history of the achievement of women's suffrage, this spatial metaphor has a literal reality. Women's voting rights were first achieved in lesser places on the world stage, in lesser places within large geocultural regions, in lesser places within particular national states. New Zealand and Australia were hardly unambiguously sovereign states at their moment of innovation, ditto a fortiori for Finland. Within the United States, Wyoming and Utah had not even achieved statehood.

One striking aspect of innovation not being located at the centers of power is that women's suffrage was often achieved in a colony or excolony before it was in the colonizer. Women had the franchise on equal terms with men in New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, and the United States before they did in the United Kingdom. The same was true for all of Canada's English-speaking provinces (Cleverdon 1950, 2) as well as at that country's national level (not to mention Pitcairn). And if Quebec was very late by Canadian standards to enfranchise women in its provincial elections (1940), it was still ahead of France (1944). Women had equal voting rights in Brazil before they did in Portugal and in Ecuador before

When Kuwait restored its parliament after the retreat of Iraq's army in the Gulf War, it made itself a rare exception by denying women's suffrage, although debate was continuing at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Jehl 2001, Al) The now unusual character of Kuwait's electorate was underlined when nearby Bahrain revived its own parliament a few years later, and for the first time in the history of any Arab Gulf state its women went to the polls (Sengupta 2002, A3)

Except for Switzerland. Some readers of an earlier draft held precocious New Jersey a significant exception as well. But revolutionary New Jersey was hardly a rival of Virginia and Massachusetts in continental affairs

³¹ The fourth volume of *The History of Woman Suffrags* begun under the editorship of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, appearing in 1902, discusses New Zealand, Australia, and Canada at the end of its chapter on Great Britain under the heading "Progress in the Colonies" (Stanton, Anthony, and Gage [1881] 1969, 4·1025 ff.). In one of Canada's steps toward full female enfranchisement, Canadian women with close relatives in the British Navy were given voting rights (see n. 10 above).

Spain (even if one dates Spanish suffrage from 1931 rather than 1976, the date women first could vote since Franco). The British reactionary who commented that it is not normal for the child to instruct the parent was in this matter simply dead wrong. New Zealand's precedence over Britain was in fact the normal pattern.

The circumstances surrounding these moments of innovation show considerable variety, revealing that women's suffrage was not caused by one single thing but by many, varying things. In Wyoming, New Zealand, and parts of Australia, the hope of attracting women settlers while taming, and in order to tame, dangerous frontier plebeians was attractive to male elites open to the sort of moral message carried by a branch of the women's movement. Social upheaval in the Russian Empire and in revolutionary Mexico opened the way for new political alignments friendly to women's rights in Finland and the Yucatán. Does the precocity of the Cook Islands, with few predecessors besides Pitcairn, suggest some Polynesian connection? Perhaps local traditions of women's chiefship helped bring on early women's voting in Rarotonga.88 Or if we join to those small islands the larger island-states of Oceania should we be looking more broadly for the antipodean roots of women's suffrage? Conservative elites saw women as a bastion against radicalism in Ecuador, recalling Michelet's view that women's suffrage would amount to "giving thousands of votes to the priests" (quoted in Reynolds 1986, 105).34 Women activists from abroad energized suffrage campaigns in Manitoba, New Zealand, and Australia. Champions of national rights against alien imperial centers allied with champions of women's rights in Finland and Bohemia. As for the extremely precocious, if very temporary, enactment of voting rights in Velez, which has yet to be properly researched, or the priority of Rio Grande do Norte within Brazil, one would have to guess that the explanation involves none of the above. Ditto for the priority of San Juan in Argentina. The achievement of women's suffrage was multicausal, and no single social mechanism will explain its location in time and space.

Many of these innovative episodes are profoundly underresearched.

By 1976, women had the right to vote in eighteen Spanish-speaking countries in the western hemisphere, according to dates provided by Daley and Nolan 1994, 349–52.

A recent wide-ranging survey summarizes its conclusions thus: "Although male-female relationships varied considerably throughout the pagen Malayan and Polynesian worlds the status of chiefly women can be shown to have been equal if not superior to that of chiefly men" (Gunson 1987, 139). The evidence presented includes the places that have figured here: Tahiti, Tonga, and the Cook Islands

³⁴ On the Catholic and conservative dimensions of the movement for women's rights in Chile, see Maza Valenzuela 1995.

Remoteness from centers of wealth and power make them unenticing to scholars. A Ph.D. dissertation on Ecuador is not the most savvy career move for a budding academic in North America or Europe, let alone a dissertation on Loja. So we will not find much to help us understand the context in which the woman who may well have been the first to vote. for parliament in twentieth-century Latin America cast her ballot. A good library collection with Brazilian holdings will have many volumes on the economic powerhouse of São Paulo; scholarship on Rio Grande do Norte is a good deal sparser. Support for Finnish suffrage was rooted in the Finnish-speaking countryside, which probably makes that movement less attractive as a research site to non-Finnish scholars than had it been rooted among urbanites or Swedish-speaking elites. Austro-Hungary's first woman deputy was not elected in Vienna, nor even in Prague, but in Mladá Boleslav i Nymburk, not exactly a focus of world scholarship. Some of the events mentioned in this essay have hardly been studied at all or have not yet been studied very well. Western precocity within the United States has been far more intensively researched and is the big exception to this generalization, but Wyoming is part of what is at the turn of the twenty-first century the world's only hyperpower.

Geography and democratic innovation

But perhaps there is at least one common thread after all. What Wyoming, Rarotonga, Velez, and Pitcairn do have in common is their distance, sometimes in the most literal sense, from the sources and the concerns of power. These tended to be places that the powers of the day could not reach readily, and cared about little, compared, that is, to their concerns about what might happen in imperial centers such as London, New York, or even Bogotá. This, I suggest, opened the way for local elites to respond to local challenges from below, from outside, or even from within their own circles in ways that did not necessarily follow the leanings of those more centrally located in world, regional, or national structures of power. In such disparate locales as Wyoming, the Isle of Man, South Australia, and San Juan, some participants expressed local pride in putting their part of the world on the map of human progress. Innovation could be a bid for renown, as a South Australian legislator suggested in 1885: "It would be another creditable page in the record of South Australia if from the legislature of this distant colony there should proceed yet another measure based upon equality and justice which should serve as a precedent for the law-makers of other countries, whom we were usually accustomed to imitate rather than to instruct" (quoted in Oldfield 1992, 215).

It does not remotely follow from this argument that local elites are invariably open to social innovation, only that they are more likely to be so than those more powerful and more central. Nor does it follow that social movements, including women's suffrage movements, have been insignificant: on the contrary, it is those movements to which the local elites are often responding. Without that challenge (or some other challenge), there would be nothing to respond to. But if women's movements may sometimes be launched from near the centers of power, their initial successes seem further off: the major U.S. suffrage organizations were founded in the east, but the first victories were far to the west. Toronto's suffrage movement was early and active, but the location of initial victories resembled those of Canada's southern neighbor. It is also consistent with this argument that openness to innovations of some kind is quite compatible with intransigence toward others. Switzerland happened to be Europe's nineteenth-century pioneer in eliminating property and wealth qualifications for voting, for example, but was notably laggard in the full achievement of women's suffrage. Australia, which has figured in this essay as the second country to enfranchise women, is also notable for how late it was to abandon racial qualifications for voting when it enfranchised its aboriginal peoples in 1962, not having even counted them in its census prior to that moment. 45 Most Australian states, for that matter, were notably later in enacting women's right to run for parliament than to vote (Oldfield 1992, 222-23). Polynesia is not terribly likely to figure in discussions of democracy at all—but when it does, it is more as a locale where traditions pose a challenge to democratic practice than as one of the places where democratic practice was invented.36

Note that at this level of abstraction, women's suffrage is not markedly distinctive from other arenas of democratic innovation. Varying combinations of pressures from social movements of the excluded and initiatives of reforming elites have tended to make lesser powers on the world stage the epicenters of democratic creativity (Markoff 1999a, 1999b). The great U.S. innovations (constitution writing, legitimate contestation by loyal

³⁶ Some of Australia's states had not disfranchised the first Australians, among them South Australia, whose aboriginal women thus got the right to vote along with whites in 1894 (Magarey 1994, 70).

³⁶ In 2001, a Web site on Cook Islands history informed us that "DEMOCRACT in the Pacific is a delicate flower Some believe that occidental democratic systems of government sit uneasily with the traditional power structures of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia" and that "traditional Polynesian countries often find it uncomfortable having to cope with calls for more accountability from their political leaders" ("The Cook Islands: What Is in Our Past?" 2001).

oppositions, mass election-contesting parties, peaceful surrenders of governing power to political adversaries within accepted procedural rules, submitting all power holders directly or indirectly to the approval of electorates) were achievements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when that country was hardly the economic, military, and cultural powerhouse on the world stage that it was to become. Secret ballots had been tried on and off many times in many places, but Australia was the place of innovation for an effective and mandatory secret ballot. It was the least of the European slaveholding powers, Denmark, that pioneered in abolishing the trade in slaves. The first European country to follow the United States in crafting a constitution was Poland. The first to persistently hold elections without property qualifications was Switzerland (apart from an abortive French revolutionary precursor). When French revolutionaries proudly proclaimed the abolition of feudal rights in the countryside, they were taking as a model recent legislation in their small Alpine neighbor, Savoy. While the particulars of time and place are different for different innovations—and the causes are different even for different moments of innovation of the same type as we have seen for women's rights—it is generally away from the great centers of wealth and power that democratic creativity has flourished. And like other democratic innovations, women's enfranchisement opened up as many questions as it resolved; a leader of the women's movement in South Australia commented a few days before legislative victory: "When women receive the right to vote then work would only just begin" (quoted in Magarey 1985, 184). The geographic history of women's suffrage is typical of the history of democratization, not aberrant. We may even call it paradigmatic. 27

In the new organization of power established by the opening wave of the democratic revolution, the people to whom governments were now to be accountable were men, but when constitutions left that point in ambiguity, or presumed by silence the inactivity of women, the possibility of women as political actors generally triggered explicit exclusions. Joan Landes (1988, 13) summarizes eighteenth-century revolution thus: "The

³⁷ I believe that the episodes from the history of democracy discussed here, especially taken in conjunction with other episodes (Markoff 1999a, 1999b), constitute instances that support a more general three-part formulation: (1) Democratic innovation usually (but not quite always) takes place away from centers of power, even though (2) peripheral places are often in the rearguard rather than the vanguard of change, and (3) when peripheral places are in the vanguard in some ways they are often in the rearguard in others. I have only stressed the first third of this multiplex proposition in this article. This big generalization requires a theoretical treatment that I will tackle in a future essay.

Republic was constructed against women, not just without them." This was in powerful France; a backwater like Quebec might take some time to get around to completing female disfranchisement. But by the time Quebec made sure its women could not vote, far from the centers of power, a stray offshoot of the democratic revolution on Pitcairn had already moved in a very different direction (and New Jersey had done so for a while even earlier). After an aborted moment in Velez came the more enduring enfranchisements of Wyoming and Utah, and a second Polynesian pioneer, the Cook Islands, was soon followed by New Zealand proper. The history of democracy is enormously indebted to the creativity of places that historians have hardly studied.

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Appendix

Ambiguities of dating

There are ambiguities in dating the achievement of women's suffrage. These probably account for many of the discrepancies that exist among attempts at compilation. For example, studies by Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (1994, 349-52) and by Francisco O. Ramírez, Yasemin Soysal, and Suzanne Shanahan (1997, 743-44) both provide a list of countries with suffrage dates. Examining the cases that appear on both lists, we find some differences that are obviously due to one list reporting multiple milestones. For example, while Ramírez, Soysal, and Shanahan give 1902 as the year Australia enacted women's suffrage, Daley and Nolan not only report that date as the moment Australian women gained the federal franchise but also report dates for the achievement of the state franchise, dates that differed for different states. Where both lists report but a single date, however, those dates often differ. There are a cluster of instances where the dates given differ by a single year. Austria's women, for example, were enfranchised a year earlier on the Daley and Nolan list than on that of Ramírez, Soysal, and Shanahan. But for others the difference is larger; in eight instances the two compilations differ by a decade or more. Daley and Nolan, for example, have El Salvador's women enfranchised in 1939, and Ramírez, Soysal, and Shanahan in 1950. The comparison of the two lists (especially taken in conjunction with the valuable reflections of both studies on the difficulties of dating) suggests a variety of sources of ambiguity. These include:

Dating laws.—One may take note of the date a law was passed, the date it was formally ratified, the date its provisions were to take effect, the date the first election was held under its provisions, or the date of some judicial or administrative interpretation of its provisions.

Officials to be elected.—Separate enactments might cover local, provincial, or national officials; or they may cover some but not other officials at any of these levels.

Restrictions other than gender.—Women might get the suffrage provided they met some qualifications of property, education, profession, or age that were more restrictive than those men had to meet; or that might be identical to those of men but later altered or eliminated.

Rescission.—Suffrage enactments at one point might be withdrawn at another.

Meaningfulness.—Voting rights may be empty if there are no subsequent elections, and elections may be ritualized affirmations of authority rather than means of choosing power holders.

On all these points scholars' attempts to identify a single date may lead them to differ from one another. I reported the dates at which relevant legislation or constitutional provisions were enacted but also tried to note whether elections actually ensued and whether suffrage was later rescinded. When I could discover that woman's suffrage was granted on terms more restricted then men's, I did not regard that as "equal suffrage" and tried to discover if suffrage became more equal later on—and if so when. I did not, however, systematically consider restrictions when they applied to men and women alike. In considering the relative priority of various European states, for example, I did not regard 1918 as the crucial date for the United Kingdom, because women had to satisfy criteria that men did not, but rather 1928. On the other hand, I took 1920 as the date U.S. women were enfranchised nationally; even though African-American women in the South lacked a secure and effective franchise until the 1960s, African-American men were subject to the same restrictions.

Anyone who has dealt with similar issues may wonder whether some of the claims I made with apparent confidence might be mistaken. I hope the main points I make in this article rest on a broad pattern of which I have demonstrated many instances so that the pattern will stand up to some correction of specific claims.

In considering the significance of the right to vote, I decided to ignore what seems to be the earliest East Asian case of women's national enfranchisement (Mongolia in 1924 [Sanders 1996, 44]), well ahead of formal enfranchisement in China, Japan, or Korea), since the literature I consulted hardly suggested that power holders were chosen by electorates in that country before the 1990s; I then omitted East Asia altogether. (Had I included Mongolia, its regional temporal priority would have strengthened the main argument of this essay.)

I found it impossible to adequately survey electoral procedures in colonial Africa and therefore dropped Africa from this study entirely. Since one of the methodological axes I am grinding here is how distorted our picture is when we neglect poorer and weaker powers on the world stage, I very much regret this omission and hope that someone else will be able to fill this gap.

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Violent Women and Violence against Women: Representing the "Strong" Woman in Early Modern France

wo traditions of commentary, both of them dealing with the relation between women and violence, have all too rarely intersected. The first has a long and venerable history: this is a discourse about, and most often a celebration of, violent activity performed by actual women from earlier periods. This well-known tradition is most often concerned with women who distinguished themselves by their military exploits—biblical heroines, women in classical Rome or in Renaissance Italy, and so forth. Beginning with Boccaccio, this commentary was traditionally composed almost solely by men, men who often seem to have been acting out a sort of intellectual infatuation with extraordinary women of earlier periods. More recently, specialists in women's history have begun to use this information regarding the extraordinary deeds of exceptional women to ask questions about why it was that, at certain historical moments, women were able to reposition in radical fashion the limits that otherwise have defined what is considered an acceptable level of female violence.

The second tradition of commentary has a very short history: I have in mind the discourse developed in recent decades to consider violence against women. This commentary has clearly been directly inspired by the simultaneous contemporary rise of two phenomena. In the past thirty years, we have witnessed a rapid and vast expansion in the circulation of

I intend this as a position piece. I am seeking above all to call attention to material I feel is worthy of more serious consideration than it has received to date. In the following pages, I often move rather quickly through complicated issues. Scholars, myself included, have discussed parts of the territory covered here in far greater detail. To cite all of them, to offer all the examples known at each turn of my article—of, e.g., literary activity by women during the seventeenth century—or to present the various points of view behind every controversial point in my argument—from the political significance of the civil war known as the Fronde to the degree of absolutism of Louis XIV's monarchy—to do all of this would have meant turning this essay into a short book. Extensive discussion of issues particular to the history of seventeenth-century France would also have distracted attention from the question that is the focus of my inquiry: the reluctance of feminist scholars to consider representations of violence against women.

pornography—most recently, of course, on the Web. During the same period, violence against women, both inside and outside the family, has either increased dramatically or has been uncovered to an unprecedented degree—or perhaps both are true. The debate that has arisen around these simultaneous developments is among the most highly charged issues in feminist studies today: briefly put, does the representation of violence against women encourage the proliferation of real-life acts of violence directed against actual women? This second tradition of commentary has been entirely or almost entirely composed by feminist scholars. It is almost solely concerned with issues related to the reality of violence today. It has been constructed virtually without debate about the historical precedents of this violence.²

Only very recently did I give any thought to the fact that, to date, these two clearly related traditions of commentary have never produced a joint reflection on a particular relation, that between violent women and violence against women. The closest approximation of such an intersection would be Susan Faludi's brilliant 1991 book, Backlash: The War against American Women. Faludi studies the link between two kinds of late twentieth-century types of American image making. She shows how independent women (read feminists) have been increasingly portrayed by the media as capable of extreme acts of violence, particularly homicidal violence, against men; she cites the particularly outrageous example of Glenn Close's character in the film Fatal Attraction. Faludi also shows independent women portrayed as the target of at least violent humiliation in the end, all they really want is a man, and he always prefers a less threatening woman-and at times even of violence. Faludi-and this is why her study can be seen as particularly original—interrogates both the relation between images of violent women and images of violence against women as well as the relation between such hostile representations of women and the ways in which violence affects the lives of women today. She makes, however, no claim to provide any type of historical contextualization that would allow us to filter her vivid analyses of the contemporary scene through a wider lens.

A more recent study makes it clear, perhaps for the first time, that, in

² Readers of this journal surely do not need to have the major contributions to this debate listed for them. Recently, in France, a country where there has traditionally been much less concern about the potential effects of pornography, the debate has flared up over a type of pornographic representation that is far more visible in Europe than in the United States—the use of the naked female body, particularly in sadomasochistic poses, in advertising. See, e.g., the discussion in *La Monde* (April 17, 2001).

order to make any significant advances in our thinking about women and violence, we must begin to acquire just this sort of historical context. In order for this to be possible, each of the two traditions of commentary I have just described must learn from the other. The volume I have in mind is an important collection of essays, De la violence et des femmes (1997), edited by the French cultural historians Cécile Dauphin and Arlette Farge. Three lessons become clear from their work. First, the question of violence against women must be addressed in relation to that of violent women. Second, any consideration of women and violence must be envisioned in a historical perspective: scholars must work toward reconstructing the history of the relation between women and violence. Third, the always possible link between representation and reality must be kept in mind, so that, as far as possible, the reality behind any representations of female violence and violence against women may be uncovered.

Dauphin and Farge reflect on what they designate with a neologism, the dangerous tendency to *derealize*, that is, to ignore the possible reality of representations of violence. Their volume suggests that we can only give informed answers to such questions as whether today's representations of violence against women encourage actual violence against actual contemporary women if scholars are prepared to do a vast amount of new research, research that would allow them to acquire for the first time a truly comparative sense of what a term such as *violent women* might mean in different societies and at different periods.³

Dauphin and Farge thus define the goal of their project: "To initiate reflection on the diverse ways in which, both historically and today, societies live, think, and imagine female violence at the same time as they practice violence against women" (11). They hope that this new type of commentary could establish, to give but one example, a history of what is now known as domestic violence. Another aim of such comparative research would be to cause those who study the representations of both violent women and violence against women to cease presenting these representations as "only" images and to recognize both the full force of

In the United States today, we seem to be living a moment of fascination with women capable of murder and even with female serial killers. Witness such recent studies as Michael D. Kelleher and C. L. Kelleher's Murder Most Rars: The Female Killer (1998) and Patricia Pearson's When She Was Bad: Violent Women and the Myth of Innocence (1997). There has been some consideration of the representation, particularly in film, of real and fictional women who murder. See, e.g., the collection edited by Helen Birch, Moving Targets Women, Murder and Representation (1994). To date, however, there has been surprisingly little work on literary representations of violent women, particularly for any period prior to the twentieth century and in any society other than the United States.

the images' violence and the fact that such representations may have promoted actual violence as well. In one particularly telling essay in the volume, the Hellenist Pauline Schmitt Pantel admits that she now realizes that, in her earlier work on Greek myths, she failed to give a proper sense of just how extraordinary the level of violence to which key female characters are subjected is.

It is in the same spirit that I am now addressing the issue of women and violence: in my earlier work on representations of violent women in seventeenth-century France, I in no way recognized the exceptional status of these images. In addition, the issues raised by Dauphin and Farge have literally forced me to see a second tradition of images, one to which I had previously remained blind: this second tradition portrays acts of extreme violence carried out against women. Indeed, I have come to believe that, in mid-seventeenth-century France, the subjects of violent women and violence against women were linked, in representation at least, in an unmistakably causal fashion. It may even be possible to borrow Faludi's term and to argue that, in seventeenth-century France, we witness the first backlash against feminists. 5

Dauphin and Farge explain they are calling for a history of exceptional times: "At certain moments, breaches open up in the universal male domination, and isolated configurations appear that can prove to us that 'spaces of possibility' (lieux du possible) existed and exist. These 'spaces of possibility' are specific moments when people try to break away and when history records unexpected events, events that are important both for the collective memory and for the future, because they have the capacity to reverse what is generally considered to be the eternal, the unchangeable order of things" (13–14).

The period that concerns me here is one such moment when "a breach opened up in the universal male domination," a moment that revealed an

⁴ In Tinder Geographics: Wemen and the Origins of the Novel in France (1991), I give a brief presentation of figs. 1, 2, 5, and 6 to this article. I also consider in more detail several subjects to which I allude only rapidly here: the significance of the civil war known as the Fronde in French history, women's participation in the Fronde, the punishment reserved for these women at the conflict's end, and their transfer of energy to the literary arena once they had been excluded from their military roles. On these subjects, I refer readers to my book and to the bibliography I include there. I also provide statistics on the literary production of women writers in seventeenth-century France.

⁶ I use the anachronism *firminists* consciously: there was no vocabulary to describe their writing, but numerous seventeenth-century women writers deliberately elected a pro-woman stance in their publications. They shared many of the goals of the nineteenth-century women for whom the term *firminist* was coined.

extraordinary "space of possibility" that deserves to be part of our collective memory. I have in mind roughly a fifteen-year-long period, beginning in 1647 and ending in the early 1660s. In my description of this period, I will be foregrounding a minihistory in the relation between violent women and violence against women. To do so, and to reflect on possible connections between images and reality, I will move between representations—mainly visual but occasionally verbal as well—and historical events. I will be dealing with the most extreme forms of violence. In these representations, women are either homicidal—portrayed in the act of killing men or as prepared to do so—or they are themselves being decapitated.

This story of violent women begins with the idea that women could play a significant, even decisive role in military actions. In seventeenth-century France, when women led men into battle, whether in fiction or in reality, they were known as Amazons. Initially, these Amazons were male fantasies of female militarism. In the 1620s, 1630s, and 1640s, fictions of female military daring proliferated in prose fiction by male authors, novels that featured scenes of women fighting, hunting, shooting, and riding. These first fictional Amazons were professional warriors who took on men in individual combat, led armies—even armies of women—into battle, and laid siege to royal capitals. In their military activity, however, these women are baroque figures, more than slightly theatrical, and their violence is never believable enough to be taken very seriously.

The contemporary image that best translates this particular male fantasy of female violence is a drawing by Claude Deruet, the most important early recorder of female militarism in France (fig. 1). Deruet's Amazon is clearly a warrior. She has a powerful body; she is at least partially clothed in battle gear; she is armed with a spear; she is completely in control of her wildly leaping horse. She is also overwhelmingly theatrical: her battle gear seems more appropriate for the stage than for the theater of war, and the nonchalance with which she rests one hand on her hip and the other on her spear seems appealing rather than menacing. It is surely likely that the elite audience for whom such a drawing would have been displayed did not find it at all unsettling; this Amazon is completely detached from any contemporary context.

We might be tempted simply to dismiss the entire original wave of Amazonian image making as no more than a type of safe male fascination with warrior women, easily enjoyed precisely because it is so obviously fantastic. The next Amazons, who came on the scene just as the fashion for male-authored fantasies of military woman was dying out, were, however, both real and really capable of taking on men in battle. The first of them, Cath-



Figure 1 Claude Deruct, Mounted Amazon with a Spear (1620?) Reprinted by permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Purchased as a gift of the Fellows

erine Meurdrac de La Guette, is a truly awe-inspiring figure. In her Mémoires, published posthumously in 1681, the most extended seventeenth-century account written by a woman of female military activity, she describes how she cross-dressed and lived a soldier's life among soldiers. Mixed in among comic encounters with her fellow soldiers when circumstances cause them to discover the true sex of the "man" with whom they had been fighting side by side are graphic descriptions of wounds received and given—in this woman's autobiographical account of her militarism, the potential of the seventeenth-century Amazons first becomes truly evident. This Amazon was no safe fantasy; her story's authority is founded on her ability to match her fellow soldiers' capacity for violence.

The other original French Amazon, Barbe d'Ernecourt, Comtesse de Saint-Baslemont, was just as violently militaristic as de La Guette; in addition, her exploits seem to have been far more widely known to her contemporaries. When the French and the house of Austria were laying waste to Saint-Baslemont's native province of Lorraine, her husband was away fighting under the Duke of Lorraine. Saint-Baslemont simply decided to replace him. On horseback and dressed in only slightly modified male



Figure 2 Claude Deruet, Alberts d'Ernecourt, dame de Saint-Baslement, défendant son châtean de Neuvelle (ca. 1640). Reprinted by permission of the Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Photo. Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.

costume, she organized the defense of her property—and she was so successful in her efforts that her neighbors, her male neighbors, asked her to protect their land as well. She seems to have been constantly at war in the late 1630s and the early 1640s. Her contemporary biographer, Jean-Marie de Vernon, praises her military prowess in daunting terms: "Whoever looks attentively at the conduct of Barbe d'Ernecourt will find her the equal of the heroes of antiquity and will be able to suggest her as a model . . . for the most courageous [men]" (1678, 203).

The visual record of Saint-Baslemont's exploits was provided once again by Claude Deruet, who painted at least two canvases of her as warrior woman defending her chateau. The first of these (fig. 2) is the type of small-scale portrait (77 cm × 89 cm) intended for display in a private interior, most likely in Saint-Baslemont's own chateau. The portrait's the-

⁶ Her name is found written either "Baslemont" or "Balmon" In her *Mémoires*, de La Guette describes an encounter with soldiers who compare her military prowess to Saint-Baslemont's ([1681] 1982, 103).

atrical qualities—the angels in the sky, the flowers that carpet the ground—are common to all of Deruet's equestrian portraits, such as his portrait of Louis XIII now in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. In this way, Deruet makes his subject fit her biographer's description: she is truly "the equal" of male military heroes.

Unlike Deruet's drawing of an Amazon, however, Saint-Baslemont is no mere theatrical personage. All the trappings of militarism—her protective dress, her sword—seem not only authentic but authentically male. Cool, competent, Saint-Baslemont-just like her horse-looks us in the eye, ready to join ranks with men to kill other men. In the background, Deruet included numerous small scenes recalling her most celebrated exploits, in some of which—a pistol in one hand, a sword in the other she is about to do just that. She is shown to be completely, and believably, in control over her horse, putting him through a complex maneuver of dressage. Indeed, the most womanly aspect of this warrior woman's portrait is the figure of the armed Minerva guiding her from the sky-and Minerva is hardly the most feminine of deities.7 It is easy to imagine, particularly in an age when men also wore their hair long, that when she did battle Saint-Baslemont would have passed for a man, that the men killed by this warrior would never have dreamed that they were being struck down by a woman. This Amazon follows the model proposed by Schmitt Pantel for ancient Greece: when women "take on the violence of war... the violence of women is a masculine violence" (1997, 28).

Several years later (1643? 1645?), Deruet painted a virtually identical canvas of Saint-Baslemont.⁸ The two paintings are, however, worlds apart in one respect: size. The second painting (3.22 m × 3.60 m) is surely the largest equestrian portrait of a woman who actually participated in armed combat (as opposed to queens such as Marie de Médicis who merely had themselves depicted at the scene of famous battles in which they had played no role). This portrait is truly monumental; it would dominate any room, and it could only have been intended for display outside a private home, in a more public setting such as a reception room in a royal dwelling. Indeed, Vernon records its having been sent to Anne of Austria, who had just become queen regent (1678, 72). And Deruet's images of

⁷ Since Minerva was also the goddess of wisdom, she was truly the ideal presiding deity for Saint-Baslemont, who was the author of two tragedies: Les Jumeaux martyrs and La Fills généreus (both 1650).

There is one agnificant difference in iconography: Minerva was replaced by the Virgin holding the Christ child in her arms. This canvas is now in the Musée Lorrain in Nancy. Bénédicte Pasques of the Musée Lorrain graciously provided me with documentation on this portrait

the warrior woman were quickly brought to the broadest audience possible in his day in serially reproducible images: in 1645, Baltazar Moncornet reproduced Saint-Baslemont's portrait in two engravings, one of which even appeared in one of the earliest French periodicals, *Le Mercure Français*. For the first time ever in France, representations of a real-life Amazon had been put into a type of circulation that was as public as was conceivable at that time.

The question of the circulation of images in all likelihood proved crucial to the overall evolution in Amazonian image making I will be describing here. To have a backlash in Faludi's sense of the term, it is necessary to have some equivalent of today's mass media. Serially reproducible images are a crucial origin of that modern phenomenon, as Carlo Ginzburg makes clear in a provocative essay, "Titian, Ovid and Sixteenth-Century Codes for Erotic Illustration" (1990). Ginzburg describes the functioning, in Italy prior to the large-scale invasion of print culture, of two clear, and clearly separate, "iconic circuits." The first consisted of all objects such as frescoes shown in places accessible to all. The second comprised the first but also artifacts such as small paintings that could be seen only in the homes of the elite (77). The first circuit was totally public and without social differentiation; the second was just the opposite. Then, this clarity was, in Ginzburg's phrase, "disturbed" by print (92). The arrival of print culture and the serially reproducible images that were increasingly used during the Renaissance signaled the existence of a new iconic circuit, a circuit not neatly categorized in terms of audience.

As far as the history I am retracing is concerned, the iconic "disturbance" Ginzburg posits first becomes evident with the figure of Saint-Baslemont. Whereas Deruet's drawing of an imaginary Amazon would have known only very limited, highly controlled circulation among a handful of elite viewers, his huge equestrian portrait of a real-life Amazon was intended for display to a much larger and perhaps somewhat less elite audience. When this representation was translated into a serially reproducible image, it was not into the expensive, high-quality engravings found in sixteenth-century publications. By the seventeenth century, it had become possible to illustrate publications far more cheaply: Saint-Baslemont thus became the first real-life homicidal woman whose image could have circulated among the period's equivalent of a mass audience. The implications of this new circulation only became clear about fifteen years later.

During the decade that followed Deruet's portraits of Saint-Baslemont, the French were suddenly bombarded with a new iconography of female heroic daring. Portrait galleries—both paintings hung in galleries in châteaus and collections of engraved portraits in printed volumes called *gal*-



Pigure 3 Noel Quillener (?), Penthesilés, reins des Amasones (ca. 1640). Study, Mane de Cossé Brissac, maréchale de La Meilleraye. Photo: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

eries—were produced in significant numbers. So few descriptions of the painted galleries have survived that it is usually impossible to have any accurate idea of what their content might have been. By some strange miracle, however, the only perfectly preserved example of such a gallery, and indeed the only private interior from the reign of Louis XIII to have survived intact in Paris, is the bedroom and the study (cabinet) of Marie de Cossé Brissac, maréchale de La Meilleraye.

Between 1637, when she became the sixteen-year-old bride of a much older military man, and 1642, the maréchale had all sides of her study covered with portraits of famous women from antiquity and from French history. With few exceptions, one principle guided her choices: the women under whose example she carried out her private life were celebrated because of their capacity for violence. In the young maréchale's study, we



Figure 4 Noël Quillerier (?), Inchel (ca. 1640). Study, Mane de Cossé Brissac, maréchale de La Meilleraye. Photo: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

find no fewer than three Amazon queens—each is identified as such, "reine amazone"; each is dressed for combat and is armed. Figure 3 depicts one of them. In addition, a number of the other portraits in the maréchale's study represent women, such as Joan of Arc, known for their military leadership. A final category of portrait depicts women famous precisely for their homicidal capacity: we find Judith with the head of Holofernes, a woman who plays a major role in the story I am reconstructing here, Jael (fig. 4), and so forth. All in all, a most extraordinary range of images for a young bride to decide on. We know that this choice of subject matter was not unique: around 1645, the queen regent, Anne of Austria.

The paintings are clearly influenced by the style of Simon Vouet, the gallery was probably painted by Noel Quillener, a student of Vouet. On the gallery, see Champeaux 1898 and Babelon 1966.

planned a similar gallery for her bedroom (Babelon 1966, 55).¹⁰ There may have been many other contemporary examples now lost to us. And even though all such images of violent women would have been seen by only a highly limited audience, the iconography chosen by these wealthy female patrons of the arts was also available to a far wider audience.

At the same moment as these privileged women were choosing to live their intimate lives surrounded by female violence as a subject for meditation, volumes began to appear that offered less wealthy women the opportunity to follow their example. If we compare the best known of the printed volumes, Pierre Le Moyne's 1647 La Galerie des femmes fortes, with its immediate precursor, Jacques Du Bosc's 1645 La Femme beroïque, we may be able to understand why this new tradition of female image making proved to be so important. Du Bosc's volume juxtaposes a series of heroic women from antiquity with their male counterparts, concluding each time that the woman's contribution was worthy of the man's. His study must not have been wildly successful, since it was never republished. Le Moyne's compilation, however, became what we would term a bestseller-it was reedited five times in France; two Elzevier editions were also published in Holland. 11 What makes Le Moyne's volume different from Du Bosc's is its emphasis on female violence—in particular, female homicidal violence—depicted in graphic detail. Almost all the women Le Moyne celebrates are heroines precisely because they committed extraordinarily brutal acts. He has them portrayed, by the noted engraver Abraham Bosse, in scenes that celebrate just this capacity for violence. And, whereas the women depicted are from antiquity, Le Moyne makes it clear that his collection was inspired by the real-life militarism of his contem-

¹⁰ Danielle Haase-Dubose contends that she actually had this gallery painted (Dauphin and Farge 1997, 57). Some thirty years later, the queen's apartment at Versailles was decorated with ceiling paintings reminiscent of this earlier style. In two rooms, the central painting was surrounded by smaller paintings, all of them portraits of illustrious women. The Salle de Mars featured such militaristic women as Clelia, Artemisia, and Zenobia, all of whom were staples of the iconography I am presenting here. The Salle de Mercure contained portraits of literary women from antiquity, notably "Sappho playing the lyre" (Sabatier 1999, 124, 145)

¹¹ The editions vary from luxury folio volumes with engravings of the highest quality, the type of publication that could have been purchased by only the wealthiest readers, to far less expensive in-octavo volumes in which the plates are fairly crudely rendered. I even own a truly popular engraving, probably from the late seventeenth century, in which the illustrations from Le Moyne's volume have been made into a sort of game about famous women. Such a range of possibilities indicates that this iconography of violent women circulated widely among a public mixed in socioeconomic terms.



Figure 5 Engraved by Abraham Bosec after Claude Vignon, Zinsbie, illustration, Le Moyne, La Gallerie des Femmes Fertes (1647). Collection of the author.

poraries: in the prefatory verses that open his volume, he singles out some of them, for example, Saint-Baslemont, as his models (Le Moyne 1647).

In one portrait from his gallery, Zenobia, queen of the Palmyrians, is fully a woman warrior (fig. 5). Lest there be any doubt about her capacity for violence, Bosse portrays in the background little vignettes, in which we see a mixed group of male and female warriors, on the left, watching as she attacks a lion and, on the right, admiring the slain beast. According to the written account that accompanies her portrait, such behavior was typical of Zenobia. While her husband, Odenat, was alive, she fought alongside him for the Romans against the Persians. After his death, she took on first the Egyptians and then the Romans. Finally, "when there were no longer any kings to conquer, . . . she would go into the woods to do battle with the savage beasts" (1647, 170). Le Moyne was so anxious to portray Zenobia as an icon of female violence that he conveniently



Figure 6 Engraved by Abraham Bosse after Claude Vignon, Jael, illustration, Le Moyne, La Gallerie des Femmes Fertes (1647). Collection of the author.

forgot to mention the entire last period of her life, when her fighting days were over. When his account is compared with the definitive seventeenth-century version of Zenobia's life, that of Pierre Bayle, we learn that the proud Zenobia—whom Bayle characterizes as "one of the most illustrious women ever to have held a scepter"—was vanquished by the Romans, who brought her back to Rome, paraded her around as a captive in chains, then confined her to house arrest for her final years (1697, 4:1263–64). Le Moyne's image of the Amazon queen slaying the savage beast at the end of her life was thus an invention, designed to preserve intact Zenobia's status as an archetypal violent woman.

And Zenobia is far from the most violent of the "strong" women Le Moyne sets out as models in his portrait gallery. Witness the example of his representation of Jael (1647; fig. 6). We see her in movement, proudly striding with hammer and stake in hand, on her way to accomplish the action depicted in the vignette in the background. This time, Le Moyne's

verbal portrait of his heroine is absolutely faithful to the authoritative account, which is biblical in this case (Judg. 14). Sisara, commander of the Caananite army, after his defeat at the hands of the Israelites, sought refuge in the tent of Heber. Heber's wife, Jael, covered him and gave him a cool drink. As soon as Sisara fell asleep, however, "Jael silently removed one of the tent stakes, and hammered it so hard into his head that it went through his temple and into the ground, taking his blood and his soul with it" (Le Moyne 1647, 34). Le Moyne's account, like the biblical one, makes it clear that Jael is acting here as a representative of the people of Israel, to complete the defeat of their enemy. However, his volume's public surely retained from this portrait the memory of a heroine celebrated because of the extraordinarily violent fashion in which she shed male blood. So graphic is his depiction that Le Moyne even worries that women readers of his volume "will be horrified by the harshness of this example" (1647, 35). Le Moyne should not have been concerned: it was surely his audience's fascination with violent women that made this portrait gallery a best-seller.

The portrait galleries of the late 1640s invented a new model for female violence: in them, perhaps for the first time ever, the violence of women at war was no longer, as was the case with Deruet's canvas of Saint-Baslemont, a masculine violence. Joan of Arc wears a dress, a plumed hat, and jewelry in La Meilleraye's gallery. Bosse's Zenobia and Jael perform their acts of violence without removing their earrings and bracelets. These homicidal heroines are clearly marked as French aristocratic women. The success of Le Moyne's volume indicates that the contemporary public was ready to see violent women portrayed as women, rather than, as had been the case with earlier representations such as those of Saint-Baslemont, as women passing as men.

The year after Le Moyne's volume appeared witnessed the outbreak of civil war in France, the revolt against the monarchy known as the Fronde, the most significant insurrection in French history before the Revolution. The Fronde was initiated by the parliament's leaders. At least as early as January 1649, however, nobles became involved in the uprising; they went on to take charge over the insurrection's final years. Perhaps the Fronde's most extraordinary feature was the fact that, just as soon as nobles became involved, many of its important leaders were noble women: they were referred to by their contemporaries as Amazons. During the final years of the Fronde, women such as the Duchesse de Montpensier, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and the Duchesse de Longueville gave France the most sustained and the most public examples of female militarism in its history. In Paris and in most of the country's principal regions alike, the *frondeuses*

were highly visible in command of armies and over battles. They themselves did not shed blood—like most contemporary male military leaders, these new Amazons directed battles from a distance rather than in the midst of the fray. The simple fact of having women so widely viewed in such prominent displays of military activity was surely sufficient, however, to instill the fear of women's capacity for violence. And the *frondeuses'* finest hours were spectacular indeed.

The Princesse de Condé led an attack on Bordeaux. The Duchesse de Longueville rode at the head of the Spanish army in a march against Paris. When Louis XIV was just outside Paris and he had the rebels trapped inside the city, an apparently inevitable massacre was avoided when the Duchesse de Montpensier ordered the cannons of the Bastille, which were normally directed inward toward the city, to be turned outward and fired against the royal army and her first cousin, Louis XIV. We do not know whether these Amazons ever wore their pearls when they led their armies into battle. But when they had their portraits painted as warriors, in addition to their arms they were always adorned with lace, plumes, and jewelry. Figure 7 shows Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, clad in a mix of battle gear and court gear, striding forward to lead the attack on the fortress depicted in the background. It was as if Le Moyne's heroines had come to life in seventeenth-century France.

From the nearly five years of civil war, the French, and their rulers in particular, learned many lessons about violence that they did not soon forget. In the aftermath of the Fronde, the young Louis XIV took one of his first steps on the road to regaining control over his kingdom by punishing the former rebels: he was particularly harsh with the Amazon princesses who had used their military skill against him; they all spent long years in exile. And the lessons learned from the years of war in France were brought home more forcefully by English experience in the same years. In 1649, Charles I was beheaded. Immediately thereafter, his widow, Henrietta-Maria, a French-born princess (Henriette de France), returned to her homeland to spend the 1650s in exile with the French court, thus guaranteeing that, for the French nobility, the decade would be indelibly marked with the fear of military violence, in particular of decapitation.

The 1650s were thus not a time for Amazonian activity. But as soon as female military activity waned, French women, some of them former Amazons, began to enter the literary marketplace in remarkable numbers. Many of their first efforts were collective, and some of the most remarkable of these literary collectives were directed by the former warrior women—I think in particular of the volumes of verbal portraits and self-portraits edited by the Duchesse de Montpensier. Also in the 1650s, women met



Figure 7 Charles Beaubrun (1604–92) and Henri Beaubrun (1603–77), Anns-Maris-Lousse d'Orléans, duchesse de Monspensier Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Photo: Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris

to discuss literary matters in some of the best-known salons of the French tradition. In the salons, the type of literary woman known as a précieuse came into existence. We know that the précieuse was readily identifiable as a type by a broad public by the end of the decade because on November 18, 1659, and throughout the winter of 1659–60, Molière had his first significant theatrical success when, in Les Précieuses ridicules (reprinted in Molière 1971), he mocked literary women, and in particular those who still favored the heroic literary novels that were the favorite reading of the Amazons during the Fronde.¹²

¹³ The anstocratic leaders of the Fronde gathered in the evening for readings of Madeleine de Scudéry's Artamène, on le grand Cyrus (1648–53) (DeJean 1991, 239, n. 20).

In Molière's play, literary women are only very indirectly linked to military women. In the new iconography that sprang up the minute Les Précieuses ridicules became a hit play, however, that link became explicit. The success of Molière's play may have been the catalyst that proved to image makers that the public was ready to revolt against the celebration of violent women that the different types of Amazonian iconography had been displaying for two decades. Whether or not I am correct to suspect a relation between Molière's play and the shift in images, the fact remains that Paris was literally flooded with a radically new iconography in the months that followed Les Précieuses ridicules' success. These images have received far less attention than those I have already discussed, even though information on them has always been readily available. Clearly, modern historians, myself included, have been as unwilling to deal with representations of violence against women as they have been to deal with more traditionally pornographic imagery. 14

A novel published at the exact moment when Molière's play was staged may be the first indication of the reign of terror to come. Michel de Pure's Epigone, bistoire du siècle futur (1659) has been called the first true work of science fiction. ¹⁸ It presents France's future as menaced by a takeover—not by the cyberpeople of science fiction today but by the equally unhuman women of the present, the "new Amazons" (1659, 540). These women, obviously the précieuses, privilege the life of the mind, thereby making life for all "unhappy and prudish" (421), so their leader is sentenced to death. ¹⁶ First, she must undergo a ritual ceremony—of "debraining": "Her skull will be opened and her brain will be torn out"—all this without killing her and without even disturbing a hair on her head (468). Then, in a reversal of the Amazon homicidal fantasy, "this first ceremony over, she will be put to death by decapitation" (470). And in late 1659 de Pure

¹⁸ Molière's farce was far from the only contemporary play to have mocked literary women. In fact, 1659–60 witnessed a veritable outpouring of such comedies. However, Molière's was by far the most successful such effort. For a complete list of these plays, see G. Couton's preface to Molière's play in vol. 1 of his edition of Molière's complete works.

¹⁴ Schmitt Pantel contends that the same holds true for ancient Greece: "The Greeks speak about the violence of women, but they have difficulty describing violence against women" (1997, 20).

¹⁵ On Epigons, see Lise Leibacher-Ouvrard's "Ni de ce monde ni de ce stècle': Michel de Pure et la science-fiction des salons" (1999). I am indebted to Leibacher-Ouvrard for bringing Epigons to my attention in this context.

¹⁶ At the time of *Epigene's* publication, de Pure was known primarily as the author of *La Prétinus, on le mystère des ruelles* (1656), a novel that, along with Molière's play, is an important origin of received ideas about these literary women.

was far from the only image maker to dream this particular dream of violence against women.

The new iconography that began to circulate at that moment is centered around a character named Lustucru.17 The name's origin remains mysterious; dictionaries say that it comes from "l'eusses-tu cru," ("would you have believed it?"), a remark traditionally made by fools in farces to indicate that something was incredible. This Lustucru, however, is no idiot, and the only thing incredible about him is his capacity for violence against women. In the beginning, he appears not yet to have had a name, only a profession. He began life as an executioner, in a scene that, were it not for the clothes, we might identify as an image from the Revolution of 1789 (fig. 8). When I mentioned the situation in England in 1649, I had this image in mind; that seems an obvious context in which beheading would have been understood a decade later. We know that the anonymous executioner is related to Lustucru because of the phrase most prominently displayed in the upperleft-hand corner of the engraving, "femme sans tête tout en est bon," a slogan that might be most appropriate for a butcher, since it can be translated as "on a woman without a head, everything is good to eat." This phrase was to become the motto of the character named Lustucru, who quickly became omnipresent in the Paris of 1660.18

In two of the early 1660 issues of his periodical (January 31, February 7), La Muze historique (1858–78), Jean Loret alludes to the new character. One of the almanac calendars for 1660, now lost, was devoted to him;

on the character of Lustucru and the images related to him, there are three major sources. Laure Beaumont-Maillet's recent book (1984) has the merit of reproducing all the surviving images. She at times proposes a chronology for the images that differs from that in earlier articles, but she does not explain why she chooses to alter the history as reconstructed by Jean Avalon (1968), on whose extensive research she relies heavily Avalon in turn relies heavily on the even more impressive research of Edmond Beaupaire who, in a much earlier article, provides the chronology I find most convincing and that I follow here. Inexpensive serial imagery of the kind I will be discussing here is notonously difficult to date with absolute precision. It seems therefore highly unlikely that the exact date of each engraving will be determined. It is clear, however, that the Lustucru images began to circulate at the very end of 1659, were most popular in 1660, and continued to develop through the early 1660s. After this, occasional engravings appeared (although they usually merely copied earlier engravings), but there was no longer a developing tradition of images. On the origin of Lustucru's name, see both Avalon (1933) 1968 and Beaupaire 1911.

¹⁸ Beaupaire cites examples of nineteenth-century shop signs of *charcutiers* (pork butchers) that read: "Everything on a pig is good, from [an image representing pig's feet] to [an image representing a slice of head cheese]" (8). Some commentators believe that fig. 8 may not have predated the first Lustucru engraving; all agree that it is related to the Lustucru cycle.



Figure 8 Anonymous engraving (printed and sold by Jacques Lagniet), Il est bruve comme un boureaux qui fasct ses pasques (1660?). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

in it, Lustucru appears to have acquired his definitive profession, blacksmith. He was represented using pincers to hold a woman's head. The almanac described him as trying to do "the impossible"—to "straighten out" (redresser) a woman's head. 19 The success of this almanac was apparently so great that there were soon Lustucru coins or tokens (jetons) in circulation. On one side, under the slogan unicus est specie, "he's the

¹⁹ This is another possible origin of his name. "L'eusses-tu-cru," or would you have believed that anyone could think it was possible to straighten out a woman's head? The almanac appears to have been the creation of a priest, Pierre Janvier, who describes its great success in unpublished memoirs. On him, see de Barthélemy 1866, 145.

only one of his kind," two blacksmiths are working on a woman's head; on the other, there is a donkey loaded down with women's heads, and around the image is written omne ferens malum, "bearing all evil away."²⁰

Newspapers, calendars, coins—the simultaneous appearance of these various means by which information could be quickly disseminated to a wide audience indicates that Lustucru was far more than a simple curiosity: he was a veritable social phenomenon. The Lustucru engravings confirm this notion. Even when the images I have discussed until now circulated in that "troubled" print circuit described by Ginzburg (1990), all appeared in the relatively expensive form of books. The Lustucru engravings were designed as individual, inexpensive purchases: they could thus circulate far more widely, even among an illiterate public. Finally, whereas the production of a book was comparatively slow, single engravings could be marketed virtually overnight. This iconography was thus designed to follow—and to influence—the immediate concerns of the French public. With the Lustucru mania, we have a very early example of what is now called a media event.²¹

This idea that women's heads must be transported in quantity so that Lustucru can work on them is the subject of the first of the series of engravings whose circulation was central to the Lustucru phenomenon (fig. 9). Here, Lustucru has acquired his definitive title, one that recalls de Pure's novel, "opérateur céphalique," "cephalic operator" or "head surgeon." Note the final verse of the poem at the top of the image, which is reminiscent of the Lustucru coin: "They bring them [the heads] in by ship, on horseback, in wheelbarrows, / They make us work non-stop, / We don't even have the time to sleep, / That's how many badly made heads there are." And note, to the left in the background of this veritable orgy of violence against women, the head surgeon's shop sign: a headless woman and the motto he shared with the executioner, "woman without a head, everything is good to eat."

The first image to identify Lustucru by name explicitly links the head surgeon's activity to the nascent French colonial enterprise. An inscription at the bottom of the image tells where to find him ("Look for the shop sign 'Everything is Good to Eat") and explains that Lustucru learned his

²⁰ The Lustucru coin was round, made of copper, and was engraved in high relief. It is reproduced in de Fontenay 1850, 28

²¹ Little is known about how such engravings were marketed (other than, at times, the names of the engraver/merchant at whose shops they were produced), and still less about how they were used. Some suggest that they were sold by street peddlers, some say they were intended for display in modest intenors. It is very hard to get information on the circulation of popular visual artifacts.



Figure 9 Anonymous engraving (attributed to Alexandre Boudan), Opérateur céphalique (late 1659). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

"admirable secret"—that is, how to refashion women's heads—in Madagascar. The image, like many subsequent engravings in the cycle, features in the background a sailing vessel large enough to participate in the colonial trade. The East and West Indies companies were officially established early in 1664, just after the Lustucru mania had run its course. The years that witnessed the Lustucru craze were also those during which Louis XIV and his prime minister Colbert were planning France's official entry into competition with the English and the Dutch for the lucrative trade with the Indies. The Lustucru engravings suggest that women's heads were simple commodities, like the spices for which Madagascar was known.²²

I have included two more of the ten or so surviving images that celebrate Lustucru. One portrays him as a judge, surrounded on the left by grateful French husbands—"thanks to your efforts, almost all our wives are good"—and on the right by foreign husbands, asking for his services

²² For the French in the early 1660s, Madagascar was perhaps the most desired colonial possession. When the Royal East Indies Company was established in 1664, the first project assigned it was the colonization of Madagascar, it was the first island put under the company's control (Sottas 1994, 15–17). Previously, the French presence on the island had been overseen by the maréchal de La Meilleraye, whose wife had her study covered with portraits of strong women.



Figure 10 Sébastien Leclerc, engraving, La Grand Lustucru en sen tribunal (1660). Photo. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

since they have heard how much good he has accomplished in France (fig. 10). This engraving initiates the first of the two ways in which the masses of headless women were identified: in this case, they are bad wives in need of Lustucru's services in order to become good. Note in the background to the right a row of women's heads, now hanging from butcher's hooks like slabs of meat, and the familiar shop sign, which the engraver no longer needs to represent in detail. The second image, an unfinished copperplate, depicts another shop scene of equally frantic activity (fig. 11). This time, the title indicates a dramatic change in the scenario imagined as a justification for Lustucru's services. The protagonists in the drama of violence against women are no longer husbands but just plain men, and the women have been beheaded in expiation for some unnamed crime, for the men have been "avenged."

The Lustucru mania even left its mark on the city of Paris. Between 1614 and 1646, a new street was laid out on the Ile Saint-Louis; it is now called rue Le Regrattier. Between 1660 and 1665, the part of the street between the rue Saint-Louis and the quai de Bourbon was renamed "rue de la femme sans tête." The new name commemorated a tavern



Figure 11 Anonymous engraving (printed and sold by Alexandre Boudan), Le Grand Lusturu en les bemmes rangés (1660). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

located on this spot whose shop sign was identical to Lustucru's: it featured a headless woman and the motto "tout en est bon." The street name thus paid tribute to the fascination that the idea of putting a bloody end to women en masse visibly held for a broad contemporary public.

The Lustucru craze also produced verbal artifacts, pamphlets or broadsides that would have been the literary equivalent of popular engravings. Several of these finally make explicit an idea first suggested by de Pure's novel: the badly made heads are now defined as those of the literary women known as *précieuses*. One such work is addressed to "today's *précieuses*" and suggests that Lustucru's shop can provide "an agreable remedy" for

²⁸ A popular misconception attributes the street's name to a headless figure still visible in a niche at one of its corners. However, the earliest authority on the street, Henri Sauval, explains that the street was named for the shop sign. (Sauval began his monumental history of Pans at the time the street's name was changed; it was published only in 1724.) Beaupaire rehearses the street's history and shows that the name was also linked to the Lustucru phase (1911, 9). See also Avalon (1933) 1968, 115. The only thing that is not clear is whether the tavern was named to commemorate Lustucru or whether its shop sign inspired the character's iconography.

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their "women's headaches."24 And in the winter of 1659-60, just when Molière was staging Les Précieuses ridicules, the Comédiens du Roi were performing a far less elite comedy, the "Farce of Lustucru," in the Théâtre du Marais. It featured Artemisia, not a murderous heroine but one of the heroic women from antiquity always represented in volumes such as Le Moyne's. The curtain rose on Lustucru, complaining about the "virtuous women" who were "persecuting" him and following him everywhere, "hitting me, cursing me, scratching me." To theatergoers in 1659, "virtuous women" would have been a synonym for "heroic" or "strong women," the violent women so widely represented throughout the previous decade. The pamphlets and the farces define the heads hanging from butcher's hooks in Lustucru's shop in a second way, a way that suggests why they could have been the object of a male desire for revenge: they were either those of the French women who had proved their capacity for military action or those who were demonstrating their literary abilities. The verbal artifacts indicate, moreover, that Lustucru's mutilations were a justified response to the violence these women had used against him.

Contemporary booksellers clearly understood this causal relation between violent women and the new craze for Lustucru's violence against women, and they used it to sell their wares. Between its original publication in 1647 and 1660, there were no reeditions of Le Moyne's Galerie des femmes fortes. Then, suddenly, in 1660, two new editions appeared. In 1663, no fewer than four new editions were published. In other words, the "strong women," Le Moyne's tribute to homicidal heroines, became a best-seller only after a reign of terror against different types of female daring had been staged in inexpensive engravings and plays intended for wide and quick circulation.

At the same time as Le Moyne's volume was being resurrected, engravers decided that the Lustucru iconography was ready for a new twist. The images in this spin-off tradition are centered on the notion of the headless women's revenge. And their revenge is complete indeed, for both

²⁴ I cite the Lustucru pamphlets from the text given by Edouard Fournier in the "Notice" to his *Varietis historiques et littéraires*, vol. 9 (1859). The Lustucru pamphlets are all anonymous and have no indication of place or date of publication.

²⁸ The text of the farce is lost, but parts of Lustucru's opening monologue and other information are reproduced on the poster advertising it, a copy of which is in the Archives of Opéra Garnier in Paris. Fournier discusses other farces in which Lustucru speaks directly to the *précieuses* to tell them how he will correct their heads. Beaupaire describes a farce in which Lustucru, after having been killed by *précieuses*, comes back to life to take further revenge (L'Ombre de Lustucru apparus aux précieuses, 14). See also Avalon (1933) 1968, 110–11.



Figure 12 Anonymous engraving (printed and sold by Jacques Lagniet), Le Massacre de Lustucru par les fimmes (1660?). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

categories of women identified in the male vengeance fantasies step forward to reclaim the capacity for violence, the housewives first. Figure 12, "Lustucru Slaughtered by Wives," depicts the newly intact women coming at Lustucru in a murderous rage, housewives every bit as bloodthirsty as the "strong" or warrior women. In the background vignette, we see them parading his head on a stake and dragging his headless body off toward the waiting ship, presumably to send him back to Madagascar. In figure 13, "virtuous and strong women"—the code names for the homicidal and militaristic heroines promoted by volumes such as Le Moyne's—invade Lustucru's shop and use his tools to "destroy" him. In the background, we see one of the women fitting her head back on and another taking hers down from its hook in preparation to so doing.

²⁶ Even this scene of wifely revenge might well have been understood by a contemporary audience as a reference to literary women. It seems to have been the visualization of a scene in still another of the plays that mocked the *priciouss*, Baudeau de Somaize's Les Véritables priciouses, staged at the same time as Molière's play and the Lusticru farce. The stage version apparently featured a scene in which Lusticru was massacred. Avalon recounts in detail the lustory of this scene, which Somaize was obliged to remove from the published text ([1933] 1968, 112–14). In still another popular literary artifact, the "Tableau de Lusticru," the murderous French wives are compared to their classical precursors, the bacchantes, the homicidal priestesses of Bacchus (Fournier 1859, 87–88).



Pigure 13 Sébastian Leclerc, engraving, La Grande destruction de Lustucru par les fammes fortes et vertueuses (1663). Photo Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The link suggested by these engravings, between various elite figures—the frondeuses, the précieuses, and so forth—and ordinary housewives, was one for which contemporary commentators also sought acceptance. Later in the century, the most respected critic of the age, Nicolas Boileau, in his tenth satire, known as "The Satire on Women," sketched out the following vision of French society: the behavior promoted by elite women was ruining French wives in general and thus undermining French society. As Beaupaire was the first to point out, Boileau's argument could have been lifted from the anonymous farce, L'Ombre de Lustucru, apparue aux précieuses (1911, 14).²⁷ Thus, authors of literature high and low joined forces with those producing popular engravings to suggest that women's capacity for violence posed a widespread threat that could only be stopped if all French women's heads could be "corrected."

Like all media events, the Lustucru craze went as suddenly as it had come. Lustucru, however, did not disappear definitively. In the eighteenth century, he was resurrected in pamphlets describing a new type of salon, the annual exhibits at which contemporary art was displayed, but with a

²⁷ Beaupure gives a summary of the play For more on Boileau's satire and the corruption of French society, see DeJean 1991, 156–57. We know that Boileau knew the Lustucru cycle and that he appropriated material from it for his satirical verse (Fournier 1859, 82).

new job: to change the heads on portraits, paintings, and sculptures.²⁸ At this point, Lustucru's role as head surgeon was totally lacking in violence, proof that, in the absence of a contemporary perception of a widespread female threat to male authority, the "admirable secret" of changing heads could be portrayed in purely comic fashion.

That distinction is essential. The war against "ferninism" is often visible in seventeenth-century French literature and graphic arts. The vast majority of the attacks on women's rising influence then produced—Molière's Les Préciouses ridicules, to give but one example—were undoubtedly intended to be comic. Commentators, beginning with Fournier (1859, 79), all call the Lustucru images "amusing." Whether women of the time found them so, however, or whether we would laugh if a similar iconography were produced today, is an entirely different matter. How can we continue simply to laugh off this obsession with female decapitation—and not just one head at a time, as is standard practice in portrayals of male decapitation, but cartloads and boatloads of heads at a time, with the salacious suggestion repeated by Lustucru's omnipresent shop sign that, if only it were possible to eliminate women's heads, all remaining body parts would be tasty morsels?

Is there a relation between phenomena today and images from the past, or is the iconography I have been describing simply an early modern phenomenon no longer readable in our postpsychoanalytic age? Julia Kristeva—who in the spring of 1998 revealed in great detail her own fascination with decapitation in an exhibit at the Louvre—seems to suggest that the past cannot be viewed through our modern lens: "Decapitation becomes more limited to men as we get closer to modern times. Castration makes this necessary. What could one find to cut off of a woman? You have to wonder" (1998, 93).

I like to think that we would do well not to dismiss material such as this so quickly. The representations of violent women had a foundation in reality. Was the same true of representations of violence against women? We should not forget first that the murderous wives are clearly labeled "French" and second that attempts to transplant this iconography to other European countries were unsuccessful (Avalon [1933] 1968, 106): Lustucru's violence was specific to the French context. Did the head surgeon images either reflect in any way or influence in any way the reality of seventeenth-century

²⁶ I thank Mary Sheriff for this information. Avalon shows that sporadic attempts were made until the early nuneteenth century to revive the Lustucru engravings ([1933] 1968, 103–5). None of the subsequent engravings is related to the notions of either "strong" women or literary women. Perhaps for this reason, never again did Lustucru provoke a media event.

French women's lives? Would legal records confirm that domestic violence was on the rise in France in the 1650s? The few art historians who have commented on these images seem strangely uninterested in the societal functions they may have served. Indeed, the only comment I noted related to this, in my mind crucial, issue is this affirmation by Jean Adhémar: "It is likely that [the Lustucru engravings] were displayed in private homes, where husbands exhibited them as proof of male superiority" (1950, 51). But just what would have been meant by a "proof of male superiority" in the context of seventeenth-century France?

And finally, did women artists play a role in any aspect of this iconographic history? To date, no such evidence has surfaced, in France at least. We know a bit more for other European contexts. To cite but one example from seventeenth-century Italy, in canvases depicting *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, Artemisia Gentileschi portrays in the full force of her violence a homicidal heroine, Jael's iconographic twin. Consider also the example of seventeenth-century England. As that country moved toward Protestantism, when women were asked to start reading the Bible on their own, the stories they chose to reproduce in their embroidery were overwhelmingly those of homicidal heroines such as Judith and Jael.

Was there a French Artemisia? If so, are her paintings still kept out of view in the Louvre's vast storerooms? What would the history of women and violence in France look like if it were told in representations made by women?³¹

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- More work needs to be done on early modern court cases involving violence to women, following the lead of Isabelle Vissière's anthology *Procès de fimmes au temps des philosophes* (1985). For example, to date no one has systematically studied the court records of the early modern women writers, such as Françoise de Graffigny, who obtained legal separations from their husbands because of a history of domestic violence.
- ³⁰ Of other contemporary images he also terms burlesque, Adhémar remarks that they "were destined for taverns and inns" (1950, 50) More precise documentation on how representations of violence against women circulated is needed in order fully to understand these images.
- ³¹ We still have astonishingly little information on seventeenth-century French women painters, even those who were famous in their day, such as Sophie Chéron. No work of hers hangs in the new Louvre; I have been able to see only one of her canvases, in a special exhibit in a provincial museum. In seventeenth-century France, women artists almost never participated in state-sponsored architectural projects such as Versailles. The only exception I know of involves the royal apartments at the now-destroyed Tuileries palace. When they were redecorated between 1666 and 1671, the antechamber of the king's larger apartment featured four puntings by Madeleine Boulogne (Sabatier 1999, 113).

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Religion, Feminism, and the Problem of Agency: Reflections on Eighteenth-Century Quakerism

I will keep on obeying your law forever and ever. I will walk in freedom, for I have devoted myself to your commandments.

-Ps. 119:44-45

A feminist is a woman who does not allow anyone to think in her place.

—Le Doeuff 1991, quoted in Hampson 1996, 1

few years ago I attended a workshop on Jewish spirituality where the leader, a hip New Age rabbi, discussed the first stages of mystical experience. He talked about pushing the envelope, which he defined as willing oneself to exceed one's habitual desires and capacities; riding a motorcycle too fast along a cliff road was his example. Someone in the group cited the experience of childbirth as another example, but the rabbi immediately rejected this because, as he said, enduring something that you cannot get out of does not involve agency, and agency, the choice to live dangerously, is the precondition for pushing the envelope. The women in the audience who were mothers rose up in protest. The women who were academics—mothers or not—were less certain how to react.

It is curious that the rabbi used a secular, liberal concept of agency—the free exercise of self-willed behavior—as a means of understanding mystical experience. It is also indicative of how persistently intellectuals—even religious intellectuals—have relied on a concept of agency as auton-

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omy in their discussions of modern identity. These writers are happy to appropriate those aspects of religion that can be translated into secular terms, but they dismiss the religious person's desire for self-transcendence as an outmoded artifact or as a form of neurosis or delusion. So the philosopher Charles Taylor, describing the emergence of the modern self, emphasizes Methodist feeling, Augustinian reflexivity, and John Locke's reasonable Christianity, a religion in which "the place of mystery shrinks to the vanishing point" (Taylor 1989, 245, 302). The historian Margaret Jacob sees a new, stripped-down religiosity in the eighteenth century, distinguished by its cerebral quality, its appreciation for the unity and beauty of nature, and its disdain for the piety of the masses. "Religion in general was becoming more private than public, more individual than collective, and thoughts rather than ornate ceremonies came to define the believer" (Jacob 2001, 18). The psychologist Paul Baltes, director of a project on wisdom at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, defines wisdom as the expression of individual autonomy and as a high level of competence, an "expert knowledge system" (Baltes and Smith 1990, 87-120). In Baltes's view, religion became irrelevant when people gave up believing in absolute truth and began relying on their own independent judgment. Religion can still take you partway toward wisdom because it teaches virtue and instills fear of punishment, but it can never take you all the way there.1 Indeed, because religion posits an authority higher than the individual, the phrase religious wisdom is an oxymoron.

This negativity about religion is also implied by the almost total silence of feminist theorists on the subject of religion and agency. Since the 1980s, many feminist writers have reflected on agency in untraditional ways, but no theorist I know of has broadened the concept so far as to imagine the agentive individual as a being with a soul. In a recent collection of essays by feminist philosophers, Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency, and the Social Self (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000), the authors discuss the idea of agency in a variety of contexts-intersectional identity, posttraumatic recovery, social and political oppression, moral responsibility, feminist bioethics—but the word religion is not even in the index. In another recent collection, Provoking Agents: Gender and Agency in Theory and Practice, the writers discuss the social uses of agency in relation to maternal surrogacy, consciousness-raising, performance art, pornography, and AIDS activism; the word religion appears in this index once, as a reference to characteristics of male dominance in Kenya (Gardiner 1995, xiv-xvii, 77). Still another study cites the religious person's

¹ Paul Baltes, personal communication.

voluntary commitment to an authoritarian religious order as an example of the wrong use of agency or autonomy (Friedman 1997, 53).²

In these and other works, mainstream and feminist writers have radically revised our traditional notions of agency. The free agent is no longer assumed to be an independent (read male) individual: "atomistic, asocial, ahistorical, emotionally detached, thoroughly and transparently self-conscious, coherent, unified, rational, and universalistic in its reasonings" (Friedman 1997, 42). Indeed, the relationship between subjection and subjectivity—between submission to power and the creation of an agentive self—has become an axiom among scholars influenced by Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, and others. Other writers have explored the relationship between autonomy and dependency, notably in studies of motherhood and caring social relationships (Ruddick 1991; Kittay 1999). But individual autonomy remains the centerpiece of these new theories of identity, so much so that in the collection of essays, Feminists Rethink the Self, edited by Diana Tietjens Meyers (1997), the reference following the term agency in the index reads simply, "see autonomy."

According to theories of what the philosophers Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar call "relational autonomy," a person needs certain qualities in order to achieve "autonomy competency," a sense of selfworth, the capacity for moral judgment, the ability to be understood (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000, 3-31, esp. 17). All of these require a condition of social connectedness, and they may be impaired by conditions of social oppression. But autonomy itself remains an individual matter, involving the exercise of choice, the satisfaction of individual preferences, and the capacity for rational self-government.4 Likewise, a person's capacity to be a free agent may be generated in the context of relationships. of conditions of dependency, or out of the individual's subjection to an external power, but agency itself is defined as the individual's ability to act according to her own best interests and to resist oppressive power relationships. The traumatized victim of rape may only be able to achieve a sense of restored selfhood with the help and sympathy of others, supported by an audience willing to hear and validate her story. Still, her

² In her study of women and agency, Diana Tietjens Meyers discusses religion at several points in order to show how Christian culture has purveyed images of beauty, vanity, heteronormativity and pronatalist arguments on motherhood that are counterproductive for women's agency (2002, 48, 107, 112).

^a For excellent summaries of recent feminist writing on agency, see Priedman 1997, 40-61, and Mahmood 2001, 202-36.

⁴ Daphne Hampson cites the etymology of *sutenessy* as coming from the Greek "self-law," which does not necessarily imply being either independent or competitive (1996, 1).

subsequent agentive acts—joining a martial arts class, getting lights installed in a dark parking lot, daring to bring a child into a dangerous world—are expressions of her own conscious choices and decisions (Brison 1997, 12–39).⁵

We might say that, while the conditions for achieving agency have been of intense interest to feminist scholars, there has been much less discussion of the definition of agency itself. Rather than view agency as the central subject of analysis, feminist theorists discuss how agency is produced or fails to develop, or develops in the context of social constraints, asking, with bell hooks, "why we see the struggle to assert agency, that is, the ability to act in one's best interests, as a male thing" (hooks 1990, 206, quoted in Gardiner 1995, 6). They also focus on the implications for women's agency of the Marxist and poststructuralist critique of the concept of individual identity, asking, with Judith Butler, what happens to women's agency or to feminism itself "if we fail to recuperate the subject in feminist terms" (Butler 1990, 327, quoted in Gardiner 1995, 8).6 Personal and sexual identity may indeed be an endangered concept for these writers, but agency as the consciously willed action of an individual or group of individuals is alive and well.7 Thus Judith Kegan Gardiner retains a sense of individual self-interest while denying the reality of an essential individual self. Paraphrasing Catharine MacKinnon, she suggests that "the conviction that agency is or should be 'most one's own' is not the result of a natural essence but is a feminist belief about human ful-

There is disagreement on this issue among mainstream and feminist theorists. "Are social relationships merely causal conditions that are necessary to bring autonomy about but are external to autonomy proper, rather like sunshine causing plants to grow? Or are they somehow partly 'constitutive' of autonomy? . . This unresolved point . . . is a major philosophical concern that continues to divide feminists" (Friedman 1997, 57).

⁶ See the discussion of Judith Butler in Mahmood 2001: "While the transcendental liberal subject undergurding . . . notions of freedom . . . is clearly questioned in Butler's analysis (as is the notion of the autonomous will), what remains intact is the natural status accorded to the desire for resistance to social norms" (211).

⁷ The introduction to Gardiner 1995 states, "the essays explore gender, agency, and oppression at many levels, including the social denial of women's ability to act, the inhibition of women's inclination to act, the deflection of women's ability to act from self-interest, and the contrary premises required for more satisfactory female agencies" (14). In an article on agency in a recent feminist reference work, Meyers writes, "Both in accounts of individual autonomy and in accounts of collective oppositional moral agency, feminists are primarily concerned with analyzing how insights into the forms and mechanisms of women's subordination can be gained, how acts of feminist resistance are possible, and how women can lead lives that are fulfilling to them as individuals" (1998, 372–82, esp. 382). The focus on resistance is discussed and criticized by Loss McNsy (2000, 2–4).

fillment" (1995, 13). For feminists—and for scholars in general—agency may be defined as the exercise of free will (Davidson), as individual (Taylor) or social (Giddens), and as conditioned by discourses (Foucault), by structures or structuration (Giddens), or by habitus (Bourdieu). It can be a form of resistance to discourses or modes of performance (Butler), or it can be empowered by them, varying in its effects according to the structural support enjoyed by the particular agent (Sewell). But except where agency is attributed to nonhuman entities such as corporations or machines, the agent remains a subject acting according to his or her conscious will or intention: self-expression, not self-transcendence.

These scholars' preoccupation with autonomy and their corresponding indifference to religion stem from the near hegemonic influence of the metanarrative of secularization in discussions of the history of modern identity. Like many other post-Enlightenment intellectuals, they assume that those who are inspired by religious enthusiasm or fanaticism, or who live under the influence of a religious institution or discipline, have no agency or limited agency, whereas secular society, which locates religious authority and practice outside the spheres of politics or the marketplace, allows for domains of free, autonomous behavior. Indeed, for the vast majority of intellectuals who view modernity as synonymous with secularization, religion is perceived chiefly as a form of self-estrangement. These writers analyze the search for spiritual enlightenment as a secondary phenomenon, one derived from more fundamental, often unconscious human needs. Words like sacrifice, redemption, conversion, repentance, or ecstasy are not understood in terms of their stated meaning or their meaning for historical actors but as pointers to other, more profound meanings: poverty, social marginality, sexual desire, political ambition; these terms have come to define both the core elements of human nature and the categories of modern social science.9

The rabbi's insistence on characterizing childbirth as passive (and therefore as uncreative and unheroic) suggests a related, ethical aspect of the problem of religion for secular feminist scholars: the problem of validating religious women's efforts to achieve self-realization and enlightenment through pain. Devout Christian women believe in the doctrine of the

⁸ For summaries of theories of agency as conceived by Donald Davidson, Charles Taylor, Anthony Giddens, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Judith Butler, see Sewell 1992 and Ahearn 2001.

On the problems of doing historical analysis, particularly the history of religion and politics, outside the categories of the Enlightenment and modern social science, see Chakrabarty 2000, 3–23, 102–6.

atonement—the efficacy of Christ's suffering on the cross—as both the condition of their salvation and the model or touchstone of their own spiritual growth. Medieval mystics imitated Christ's suffering in their own practices of self-mutilation and self-starvation. Eighteenth-century Quakers and Methodists believed that illness might be sent by God to encourage self-reflection; they engaged in self-fashioning through sickness. The twentieth-century home birth movement attracts Christian women and others who believe that pain is an avenue of spiritual enhancement and personal development.

Few secular scholars would dissent from the Enlightenment's valorization of physical health and its denial of the moral or spiritual efficacy of pain. How then are we to understand the Quaker Mary Peisley's diary entry, in which she reflected that her stomachaches might be a signal that she was putting herself forward too much in public, or the Methodist Sara Ryan's advice to a friend that she should embrace the illness that brought her closer to Jesus' pain on the cross? To the modern reader, agency seems absent in a double sense here: the stomachache and illness were endured, not chosen, and they were perceived as lessons in the importance of self-effacement and passivity. For many feminist scholars, the only morally responsible way to interpret these women's behavior would be as evidence of their failure to practice real agency by resisting male domination and the social convention that ladies should be passive in private and modest in public.

Secular feminists are not the only ones troubled by the Christian doctrines of sanctification through pain and redemptive self-sacrifice. Indeed, the concept of *kenosis* (self-emptying) as either descriptive of Christ's sacrifice or as normative for ordinary Christian practice has become a subject of debate among Christian feminist theologians. While Rosemary Ruether embraces the concept of *kenosis* as a critique of patriarchy and an affirmation of the equality and vulnerability of all humanity, Daphne Hampson rejects *kenosis* as a concept that is meaningful or empowering for women:

Clearly kenosis is indeed a critique of patriarchy. That it should have featured prominently in Christian thought is perhaps an indication of the fact that men have understood what the male problem, in thinking in terms of hierarchy and domination, has been. It may well be a model which men need to appropriate and which may helpfully be built into the male understanding of God. But . . . the theme of self-emptying and self-abnegation is far from helpful as a paradigm. Kenosis is a counter-theme within male thought. It does

not build what might be said to be specifically feminist values into our understanding of God. (1990, 115)¹⁰

Given the negative perception of the ideas of subjection and sacrifice in the minds of most modern intellectuals, it is not surprising that among mainstream, highly educated Christians the church is generally portrayed in anodyne terms as an institution promoting community development, good works, and the inculcation of moral values, not as the setting for a transcendent spiritual experience. At a recent workshop on women and Quakerism held at an elite private college, I listened to a description of what happens in the worshiper's mind during Quaker silent meetings. The speaker described a range of possibilities, from suddenly remembering that you've forgotten to pick your clothes up at the cleaner's, to sensing the immediate presence of God. "But when that happens," she added, "we never talk about it."

Agency without autonomy

The preoccupation of feminist theorists with the issue of autonomy and their indifference to religion are understandable in the context of the discourse of secularization and the categories of modern philosophy and social science. I want to suggest that there are still important reasons to consider the experience of religious women in relation to theories of women's agency. First, ignoring religion as a category of analysis leads us to ignore many interesting and potentially significant historical facts: for example, the fact that the largest single cohort who read Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique was churchgoing Methodist women (Braude 2002). It also leads us to ignore the indisputably significant fact that in the history of Western culture, it was devout Christian women who demonstrated the greatest degree of agency, particularly that element of agency that involves activity in the public sphere. Aside from queens and some aristocratic women, it is the thousands of Catholic nuns and mystics, Puritan goodwives, sectarian prophets, writers of religious tracts and ser-

¹⁶ In arguing for the possibility of active weakness and creative suffering, the theologian Sarah Coakley implies that the revulsion of many Christian feminists toward the doctrine of *ksnesis* stems from their own privileged and insulated situation, noting that it is chiefly white Western women who are troubled by the concept of vulnerability "It is striking, indeed, how much less coy is Black womanist theology about naming the 'difference' between abusive 'suffering' on the one hand, and a productive or empowering form of 'pain' on the other; for Black theology has necessarily never evaded the theological problems of undeserved suffering" (1996, 82–111)

mons, and social reformers whose assertive voices are most clearly audible to the historian; as the literary critic Margaret Ezell reminds us, the largest single body of printed texts by women during the Restoration was that of texts written by Quaker women (Ezell 1993, 124). Current theories of agency, however broadly conceived, cannot do justice to the reality of these women's behavior, and if theory cannot explain behavior, then the theory itself needs to be revised.

The scholar of American religion Robert Orsi used the example of a congregation of snake handlers to urge readers to confront the "otherness" of religion (the otherness he referred to was not the snakes but the aggressive dogmatism of the preacher; 2001, 98-118). I would argue that for secular scholars trying to understand the relationship between religion and agency, the otherness of religion we need to confront is not dogmatism but a conception of agency in which autonomy is less important than self-transcendence and in which the energy to act in the world is generated and sustained by a prior act of personal surrender. The eighteenth-century Quaker women I currently study had considerable agency in terms of a capacity for action in the world and an ability to challenge and displace social norms from their own subordinate social position: this is the concept of agency advanced by Foucault, Butler, and others (Butler 1997, 83-106; McNay 2000, 9). Yet these Quaker women invariably insisted that their actions were done not as acts of will but as acts of obedience, that they acted as instruments of divine authority as well as the authority of the community. If we think of agency as comprising both the capacity for effective action and the free choice to act, we might say that Quaker women's actions were effective but not intentional (or, more accurately, that they saw their intentions as inspired by and identical with God's).

Quaker women and others defined agency not as the freedom to do what one wants but as the freedom to do what is right. Since "what is right" was determined by absolute truth or God as well as by individual conscience, agency implied obedience as well as the freedom to make choices and act on them. And since doing what is right inevitably means subduing at least some of one's own habits, desires, and impulses, agency implied self-negation as well as self-expression. The goal of the individual's

¹¹ I am not implying that feminist theorists are indifferent to questions of ethics. But to my knowledge, most view moral behavior in the context of self-knowledge and individual choice, rather than obedience to a higher authority or universal truth. "Again, intersectional self-knowledge is indispensable to autonomous moral judgment and autonomous political agency" (Meyers 2000, 162).

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religious discipline was to shape her personal desires and narrow self-interest until they became identical with God's desire, with absolute goodness. The sanctified Christian wants what God wants; she is God's agent in the world.

For many feminists, this definition of agency must seem to combine the worst elements of women's oppression: a lack of self-worth, the internalization of (often oppressive) social norms, and an absence of personal authority alongside an assumption of personal guilt.12 As eighteenthcentury Quaker women understood it, submission to God and the religious community enhanced personal integrity and public credibility. Quaker theology teaches that God (also called the "inner light," or the "seed") is inside every human being. By affirming her own nullity, the effacement of her personal will, the individual felt her superficial desire for self-gratification overcome by her deeper love of universal truth. This made her worthy to act rightly and authoritatively and in ways that were intelligible to her audience. To dismiss her gestures of surrender and selfdenial as a rhetoric of self-abnegation, as false consciousness, or as a covert expression of resistance to the dominant male order is not only an oversimplification of her psychology; it is an avoidance of our responsibility not merely to search for examples of female strategies of self-assertion under patriarchy but to look steadily at women's own ideas about ethics, autonomy, and spirituality. We need to think about what Orsi, writing about the devotional lives of American Catholic women, called "in-betweenness": the way that self-abnegation and surrender become the ground of choice, action, and healing (1996, 197-207). But how can the secular scholar convey the tonality of a specific religious tradition to a secular academic reader when both may be largely tone-deaf to religious sensibilities? How can she describe the religious person's complex experience of agency, the "in-betweenness" that Orsi wants us to appreciate?

Two anthropologists have recently attempted to do this by reference to nonreligious experience. In an essay called "Agency and Pain: An Exploration," Talal Asad criticizes the prevailing perception of the body as an instrument of the mind's intentions and desires. He analyzes the experience of pain "in order to think about agency in other than triumphalist terms . . . to understand how different traditions articulate the idea of living sanely in a world that is inevitably painful" (2000, 40). In order to conceptualize pain as a kind of action, Asad analyzes other forms of be-

¹³ On the relationship between self-worth and moral responsibility in feminist theory, see Babbit 1996 and Benson 2000.

havior, among them the mentality of the stage actor, that involve both action and passivity:

The professional actor tries to set her [own] self aside and inhabit the somatic world of her character—her gestures, passions, and desires. The actor's agency consists not in the action of the role she performs but in her ability to disempower one self for the sake of another. Her action is at once her own, that of the dramatist who has written the script, and of the director who mediates between script and performance through a tradition of acting. In an important sense, the actor is a part subject; her actions are not fully her own. That she is not the author of the story doesn't mean that she is therefore its passive object. (2000, 35)

In another recent essay on the women's mosque movement in Egypt, Saba Mahmood analyzes the conceptions of self and of moral agency that lead contemporary Muslim women to wear the veil and cultivate the virtue of modesty:

In trying to move beyond the teleology of emancipation underwriting many accounts of women's agency, I have found insights offered by post-structuralist theorists into power and the constitution of the subject useful. . . . This encourages us to understand agency not simply as a synonym for resistance to relations of domination, but as a capacity for action that specific relations of subordination create and enable . . . we might consider the example of a virtuoso pianist who submits herself to the, at times painful, regime of disciplinary practice, as well as hierarchical structures of apprenticeship, in order to acquire the ability—the requisite agency—to play the instrument with mastery . . . her agency is predicated upon her ability to be taught, a condition classically referred as "docility." Although we have come to associate docility with abandonment of agency, the term literally implies the malleability required of someone to be instructed in a particular skill or knowledge—a meaning that carries less a sense of passivity and more that of struggle, effort, exertion, and achievement. (2001, 210)

These everyday analogies may be as close as the secular scholar can get to an understanding of a religious person's experience of agency—and they may in fact be a good enough first step; at least it is one that the eighteenth-century Methodist leader John Wesley would have applauded. Explaining the doctrine of justification—the realization that one's sins

have been effaced by Christ's sacrifice—to ordinary lay readers, he used the secular language of romantic love: the lover of Christ feels swept away, wildly happy, happy even in affliction, capable of heroic action, a total reformation of character (Wesley [1742] 1989, 35–38).

These depictions of agency are profound but not obscure. They remind us that in ordinary life, agency is rarely experienced as an entirely free series of movements or choices. They also remind us that renouncing agency does not necessarily compromise or diminish self-expression: the pianist, the actor, the lover exceed their own physical and emotional capacities—their own sense of who they are and of what is possible for them—through submitting to and identifying with a teacher, a tradition, or an object of passion. Indeed, I would argue that, however imperfect our understanding of a religious sensibility may be, we can understand it better by reference to everyday experience than by reference to a hypothetical and largely fictional free subject. Put another way, to the extent that we, as academics, bracket our own everyday experience—like learning to play an instrument—from our formal discussions of agency, we resemble the Great Roe, a mythical beast invented by Woody Allen with the head of a lion and the body of a lion, but not the same lion (Allen 1975, 193).

Women and religion

Earlier historical writing on religious women has often been written from a secular viewpoint that subsumes accounts of women's religious experience within narratives of social oppression, personal ambition, or the search for self-expression (e.g., viewing religious meetings as a training ground for women's public speaking). More recently, a number of historians and anthropologists have published empirical studies that place women's religious values at the center of their analyses. Catherine Brekus (1998) has written on female evangelical preaching in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century United States, Caroline Walker Bynum (1987) on medieval women ascetics, R. Marie Griffith (1997) on the evangelical Women's Aglow Fellowship International, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1993) on black Baptist women in the late nineteenth century, Pamela Klassen (2001) on the contemporary home birth movement, Robert Orsi (1996) on Catholic women's devotion to St. Jude, and Jone Salomonsen (2002) on the reclaiming witches of San Francisco. These and other writers have encouraged us to rethink our ideas about the psychology of female religiosity, the public/private model of women's history, the political significance of women's charismatic preaching, and the social meaning of prayer. Two studies with particular relevance for this discussion are Grif-

fith's God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission (1997) and Orsi's Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes (1996). Griffith presents a cogent discussion of theories of agency, focusing on the dynamics of power and practice and the subversion of gender roles in evangelical Christianity. She also introduces the concept of "a capacity for ritualization: a learned ability to experience healing and transformation through ritual enactments of prayer" (1997, 13-23, esp. 17). Orsi discusses Catholic women's devotional practices in terms of a psychoanalytic theory of "devotional unwholesomeness," in which prayer is understood as a form of infantilization and apparent loss of agency. He then amplifies this theory to consider the figure of the saint (seen as both a spiritual being and a literal figure that is kept on bureaus, in cars, and in desk drawers at work) as occupying an "in-between" space between women's interior lives and their domestic and work responsibilities. Catholic women's religious devotion turns out to be not merely a withdrawal into a search for childish satisfaction but a source of individual strength and practical agency (1996, 185-211).

Until now, these empirical studies have had little influence on theoretical discussions of agency, perhaps because the women analyzed in these works speak from the margins of the dominant culture. Those who choose home birth are rejecting the technology of modern medicine and the social power of (usually male) physicians. The charismatic Christians of the Women Aglow International Fellowship reject the values of modern consumer culture, especially its ideal of feminine beauty. Contemporary followers of witchcraft, or Wicca, hold that modern Western culture is diseased and that the cure involves the cultivation of reverence toward the cycles of nature and a rejection of the mentality of the scientist and technocrat. The evangelical preachers of the nineteenth century were religious populists who shunned the social radicalism of groups like the Quakers and were fundamentally at odds with an evolving culture of individualism and materialism. Taken together, their stories demonstrate women's energy and effectiveness as critics of modernity, and they may convince us of the inadequacy of modern Western values, but they do not challenge the concept of modernity itself or the metanarrative of secularization that is the basis of the modern concept of autonomy.

In my own research on eighteenth-century British Quakers and other religious dissenters, I want to contribute to a growing body of work in which religious values are considered not as examples of antimodern discourse but as an element of modernity itself. I am not arguing that agency meant the same thing to eighteenth-century Quakers as it does to American Catholics or Egyptian Muslims, or that the Enlightenment concept

of the autonomous subject was absent as an element of either the Quakers' mentality or their commitment to social reform movements. I am arguing that the history of secularization was a story not about the marginalization of religion but about the interaction of religious and Enlightenment values. I also believe that the result of that interaction, including ideas about agency, autonomy, and selfhood, was a culture in which religious values remained fundamental.

Eighteenth-century Quakers felt themselves to be both denizens of the Enlightenment and seekers of the supernatural. They were in the vanguard of movements we view as modern, including the industrial revolution, the crusade for the abolition of slavery, reforms in education, prisons, and mental health, and feminism; they were also in the vanguard of the religious revival that began in the early eighteenth century and continued in the nineteenth-century missionary movement. Like the women of the home birth movement or female Baptist preachers, Quaker women (and men) were a minority, but they were a minority with an inordinate influence on the dynamic of mainstream culture. Their religious experience, far from being a precursor of or a reaction to modernity, was part of the process of modernization itself. Their stories therefore do more than increase our knowledge of and sympathy for women's experience; they also call into question the traditional narrative of modernity in which religion is viewed as an interesting but anachronistic phenomenon that is essentially marginal to the main story.

Quaker women's spirituality and femininity

By the 1730s, Quakerism had evolved from a movement of radical visionaries into a community of respectable citizens. Although the first Friends continued to be revered as heroes of the movement, the new generation of leaders no longer countenanced the traumatic physical and emotional violence of the early, ecstatic, quaking Friends, who preached naked and in sackcloth and whose words evoked the convulsive, apocalyptic language of ancient Hebrew prophets (Mack 1992, 165–212). For Friends, as for other denizens of the English Enlightenment, reason and emotional balance were privileged over passion and enthusiasm, humanitarianism and social stability over contentious politics, family and meeting over public prophecy and missionary work. Salvation was achieved and demonstrated not through asceticism, mystical insight, or visions but through the attainment of wisdom and right action: the quality of one's bearing in the world.

The traditional explanation for this transformation, and the one

adopted by many historians, is derived from a metanarrative of secularization, whereby more retrograde Quakers lapsed into a contemplative spirituality called "quietism," while more progressive Quakers became capitalists and activists who were largely indifferent to religion. The secularization argument is a powerful one. Quaker beliefs and practices seem, on the surface, to be easily comprehensible in terms of modern liberal notions of selfhood. The abstract theology of the inner light and the Quakers' propensity to conflate the words God and wisdom resonate with Enlightenment ideas about a distant, benevolent deity and the essential goodness of humanity. The decorum of Quaker silent meetings seems harmless—if a bit boring—compared with the frenzy of early Methodist revival meetings or the purple prose of Moravian hymns, in which the believer exults over the heat and juiciness of Jesus' side wound. The Quaker egalitarian tradition of a female ministry and women's meetings and the movement's dedication to social reform sit comfortably with the Enlightenment ideals of progress and human rights. Indeed, the women's rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848, where the great majority of delegates were Quaker, seems like a direct and natural outgrowth of both the Enlightenment and the enlightened bourgeois Quakerism of the eighteenth century. On this reading, it makes sense to argue that the history of Ouaker involvement in social and political reform was a function not of women's religious principles but of the progress of secularization and a nascent feminist consciousness. This is in fact how some historians of early Quaker women have proceeded, celebrating the feistiness and courage of female itinerant preachers and discussing even their dreams as evidence of women's desire for public authority and personal recognition (Larson 1999; Gerona 2000).

The problem with the secularization narrative is that the most "modern" or "progressive" Quakers—individuals like the abolitionist John Woolman or the protofeminist Catherine Payton Phillips—were also the ones most deeply engaged in the quest for spiritual enlightenment. Those women who were most ardent in advocating educational reform and campaigning for independent women's meetings were also those who sought a stricter religious discipline and a greater reliance on the Bible. Moreover, the most progressive collectivities were not those of prosperous and worldly London and Bristol Friends but the more spiritually active communities of northern England and Ireland. And whereas seventeenth-century Friends professed a theology of the inner light (the light of God in every person) and early eighteenth-century Friends conflated God with wisdom, later activist Friends placed new emphasis on humanity's sinful nature and Christ's suffering and atonement.

In my view, the apparent quiescence of eighteenth-century Quakers masked an internal struggle to integrate their Puritan and mystical religious heritage with their own Enlightenment values. This struggle heightened a tension that had always existed in Christian thought, between the desire for passivity and self-annihilation, on the one hand, and the urge toward self-transformation and world transformation, on the other. This tension induced a crisis in the spiritual lives of many women and men, a crisis that they themselves articulated as a problem of agency. Quakers worried about whether they spoke with God's voice or their own voices. They worried about their inability to renounce self, as they put it, in order to become instruments of divine will. They worried that their worldly competence and material prosperity would distract them from spiritual matters and impede their spiritual progress. Quakers also linked this problem of agency to the issues of social respectability and appropriate gender roles. Women were urged to present themselves as ladies—restrained, competent, and self-possessed—but their claim to public authority was predicated on their capacity for self-transcendence as prophets "in the light," speaking not with their own modest voices but with God's. By the late eighteenth century, this combustion of values and discourses had begun to generate a new kind of psychic energy: a spiritual agency in which liberal notions of free will and human rights were joined to religious notions of individual perfectibility, group discipline, and self-transcendence and in which energy was focused not on the individual's interior state but on the condition of other deprived groups.

In the new religious and social climate of eighteenth-century Quaker society, the home assumed equal importance with the meeting as a social utopia and as a school for character. The busy trader, teacher, or capitalist was elevated to a higher spiritual plane when he retired into his family, divested his mind of all aggression and greed, and transcended class differences by treating his workers, servants, and children as his moral apprentices. Women were central to this domestic enterprise. Family government was in large part women's domain of authority, where mothers (and fathers) civilized the families that formed Friends' business and religious networks. Women ministers also acted as wisdom figures, monitoring the consciences of their men, summoning them from excessive concern for personal wealth to a purer spiritual life. "It is beautiful to see," wrote the Irish physician John Rutty, "how minutely these women descend into the particulars of the Christian life . . . quite outshining the men, who are too generally swallowed up in the cares of the world" (Rutty 1776, 260). Indeed, the persona of the ideal female Quaker conveyed a

gravitas that impressed many non-Quaker contemporaries. "Their authority," wrote one observer, "imparts to them . . . a considerable knowledge of human nature. It produces in them thought, and foresight, and judgment. It creates in them a care and concern for the distressed. It elevates their ideas. It raises in them a sense of their own dignity and importance as human beings . . . their pursuits are rational, useful, and dignified" (quoted in Michaelson 1993, 286). Rational, yet sensitive; chaste (even glacial), yet maternal; competent, yet delicate: this was the stock figure of the virtuous Quaker woman found in contemporary plays and magazines. "I think," observed a writer in the *Monthly Magazine*, "that the distinguishing attribute of the sect—Equanimity—is now become not a second but an original nature, and is discoverable in that undisturbed regularity of features, particularly among the females—the placidity of countenance . . . an infelt serenity of soul—a deeply charactered composure" (quoted in Michaelson 1993, 286).

The Quaker woman was symbolic of Quaker values in their undiluted state because the values of Quakerism itself were feminine values. Restraint, benevolence, privacy, domestic order, passivity: all of these, familiar enough to observers of Victorian womanhood, evolved in the early eightcenth century as attributes not only of women but of the saintly Quaker man. Indeed, the image of women's placid faces and simple (but wellmade) Quaker clothes, unsoiled by the grime of politics or industry, was essential to the larger image of Quakerism as both high-minded and of high reputation (and, one suspects, to their husbands' own peace of mind). But women not only contributed to this new social and spiritual identity; they also exposed its inherent contradictions. Eighteenth-century Friends were striving for a synthesis of masculine and feminine values in a world where masculine and feminine were coming to denote two increasingly rigid categories of biology and behavior.¹³ Quakers were also formulating a new conception of the right way to discern and express spiritual authenticity. Friends had always believed that salvation-being "in the light"-was expressed through the ordinary gestures of daily life; the earliest Friends were noted for honesty and sincerity as well as their flamboyant public prophecy. For later Friends, who believed that salvation was expressed through calmness, moral clarity, and personal restraint, social behavior had to be both authentic and respectable—a model of public behavior rather than a challenge to it. So James Jenkins admired the minister Mary Ridgeway, "in whom were united the seriousness of the

On gender categories in the eighteenth century, see Wahrman 1998, 113-60

minister, and the courtesy of the gentlewoman" (Jenkins [1776] 1984, 85).

The addition of the Victorian pedestal to the Quaker woman's persona did not imply any diminution of respect for women as ministers or helpmeets. Hundreds of women received certificates to preach, which entitled them to hospitality from the meetings they visited as well as support for the families they left behind. Many other hundreds of women were elders, overseeing the pastoral care of their home meetings, and every woman who married participated in a ceremony that was more egalitarian than any comparable Christian rite. What the pedestal did imply was a prohibition against ecstatic behavior or overt political activity, whether activity in the wider political arena or within the Quaker meeting system. Unlike the ecstatic political prophets of the seventeenth century, a woman could not act like a man in the public spaces now reserved for men alone.

Clearly, the ideal of human wisdom as an element of the inner light, and of wisdom and self-possession as elements of the minister's charisma, had different implications for women and for men. When the first female prophets preached in public during the 1650s, their language and affect expressed a state of complete self-transcendence, a dissociation not only from their individuality and intelligence but from their womanhood. So Margaret Fell harangued a magistrate in 1653, accusing him of being a woman because he had (negative) female characteristics, while her womanhood was merely physical or external to her true self: "Thou said that I was puffed up with malice and pride and that the people saw I so, and that I did not see myself so, thy sight and the peoples is all one, you could but see me . . . with a carnal eye, which is the eye that offends the Lord, and must be put out before ever thou can see me or what condition I was in . . . thou art the woman that goes abroad and dost not abide in thy own house."14 The eighteenth-century preacher was no less wedded to an ideal of self-transcendence, but the quality of her charisma—a combination of feminine dignity, intuitive wisdom, and divine revelationmade it more difficult to determine the source of her agency. Seventeenthcentury audiences had to decide whether the prophet spoke with the voice of God or of the Devil. Eighteenth-century audiences had to decide whether she spoke with God's voice or with the voice of an ordinary woman using ordinary intelligence to tell men what was wrong with them and what they should do about it.

¹⁴ Margaret Fell to Judge Sawrey, 1653, Spence MSS 3/146, Friends Historical Library, Friends House, London.

As paragons of both Enlightenment wisdom and spiritual piety, and as well-educated and competent workers and householders, middle-class female ministers had to walk a very fine line. Not surprisingly, their public writing sometimes showed the fissures and inconsistencies that resulted from the effort to present themselves as both visionaries and rational beings. "I hate, I despise your feast-days," wrote Sophia Hume in her "Address to Magistrates" against the celebration of holidays. "I will not smell your solemn assemblies; your new moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth: your solemn meetings are iniquity" (1766, 5). A few pages later her prophetic voice abruptly became rational and deferential: "I hope no reasonable person will take any offence at this plainness of speech to my superiors . . . though it drop from a female pen . . . and were people to lay aside all religious considerations, and only view these evils in a political light, they would see the great disadvantages arising from the observations of Days and Times" (15). In a single paragraph she argued like an Enlightenment philosophe ("as reasonable, social and benevolent creatures, there is a reciprocal service and joint assistance necessary among men, without which societies or bodies of people could not subsist") and a quietist ("mere men . . . their faculty of reason unenlighten'd and unassisted by a divine power . . . are ignorant and weak" [23]).

Other prominent female ministers were equally conflicted about their own authority, as their private writings reveal, but they also felt both impelled and entitled to exercise agency in the wider political arena. One reason they were able to do this was that the contradictory discourses of women's authority not only inhibited their behavior; they also left a space in which they could maneuver. When Catherine Payton visited Philadelphia in 1755, the Quakers who were still members of the Pennsylvania Assembly were attempting to reach a compromise whereby they might raise needed funds for the French and Indian wars and still retain their seats. The ministers of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting took the position that Friends should resign from government rather than be involved in raising war taxes. "I think it not improper briefly to give some account of the share I had in concerns of this nature," wrote Payton in her journal. She proposed that weighty Friends arrange an opportunity for her to preach to assembly members; she was invited to attend and duly testified against

¹⁶ See Ahearn's discussion of Sherry Ortner and Raymond Williams on the inherent structural contradictions that prevent a simple reproduction of the hegemonic social order (Ahearn 2001, 120).

war (Phillips 1798, 133, 141–42). This was certainly a religious and political act, but it was not obviously a visionary or oracular one, done spontaneously under immediate divine commandment. Payton was defensive but intransigent about her behavior, arguing that she spoke in a ministerial or prophetic capacity only: "This was no more than consistent with my office as a minister, and my commission to that country, which was to preach Truth and Righteousness, and strengthen the hands of my brethren, against their opposers. Both myself and companion were so clear of improperly intermeddling with the affairs of government, that we sometimes checked the torrent of conversation on that subject, either by silent or verbal reproof; and but seldom so much as read their newspapers" (Phillips 1798, 142).

The minister Mary Peisley, an itinerant minister and member of a group of ardent young Friends in Ireland, also urged Friends in Pennsylvania not to pay a war tax, writing to one male Friend who requested her advice, "I am of the judgment, that if thou stand single and upright in thy mind from all the false biases of nature and interest . . . thou wilt find it more safe to suffer with the people of God, then to enter on, or undertake doubtful things, especially when thou considers the use which has been, or may be made of that tax." Peisley insisted that she did not intend "to lessen parental authority or filial obedience so long as they are either lawful or expedient" but affirmed that revelation was continuing even in her own time: "I am not afraid to say and give it under my hand that . . . people in future ages should make an improvement on early Friends' labor and carry on the reformation even farther than they did. "17 Some months later, Peisley received a letter from a female friend who wrote that she had lain awake at night, worrying that Peisley's stomachaches were a sign from God that she had gone too far in her public actions. Peisley responded that she too had agonized over this question ("Thy letter . . . made me ready to fear that thou had discovered some danger about me which might be concealed from myself, I mean in regard to the state of my mind") but concluded that her behavior was justified and appropriate: "I cannot find myself out of my place." 18

What made female ministers dangerous was that their preaching and writing threatened to upset the gender order and, by implication, the

Payton was Catherine Phillips's marden name.

¹⁷ Mary Peusley to F. Parvin, 1755, "Letters Dreams Visions," MSS S.78, 253, Friends Historical Library, Friends House, London.

Mary Peialey to Ellin Evans, Philadelphia, 3d mo/10/1756, Milcah Martha Moore manuscript, Howland Collection, Haverford Library Quaker Collection.

tenuous security that Quakers had only recently achieved. What made them intolerable to some male Friends was that this female authority was turned inward, against leading Friends' own failures and transgressions; Catherine Payton even criticized a prominent male Friend for marrying a much younger woman and taking on the responsibilities of raising a new family. Seventeenth-century Quakers had had no difficulty in supporting women's aggressive prophecy when it was directed outward, especially since it often culminated in imprisonment or martyrdom. Indeed, no one seemed upset by the ministry of the eighteenth-century preacher Abiah Darby, who prophesied in the streets in the manner that Friends must have found utterly anachronistic. But turning that authority against Friends was another matter; even in the mid-seventeenth century, Martha Simmonds was called a witch by Quakers when she attacked male authority figures within the movement (Mack 1992, 197–206).

The presence of women in the public arena and as disciplinarians in their own meetings made Friends ponder not only the scandal of women in politics but the larger issue of women's spiritual leadership. But while women worried about being "scattered" in their minds or about the divine origin of their impulse to speak, men worried about female ambition and public embarrassment. So Samuel Fothergill wrote a letter of advice to his protégé, the minister Catherine Payton: "And, dear Kitty, bear thy testimony against haughtiness and luxury, by a humble, watchful conduct: be not led by them out of the leadings of truth, in the appointment of large meetings in court houses . . . for in this respect, I am sensible there is some danger, unless, really, the very burden of the word be upon thee . . . God keep us both chaste in our mind . . . whom we ought to serve with the spirit of our minds" (Fothergill 1857, 124). Payton became a minister and missionary of some eminence, but her forceful manner made the men cower before a bossy woman and criticize her behind her back as a tyrant. Payton herself insisted in her journal that her authority was solely a function of her ministry "in the light," and indeed, male Friends welcomed her advice when they saw it as a prophetic message. But that did not mean that those same Friends, whose own masculine roles were somewhat problematic, would happily tolerate advice from mere females. Thus Jenkins criticized Payton for criticizing a male Friend's proposed marriage "from a prudential point of view" rather than one based on "her feelings on the subject" (Jenkins [1776] 1984, 120). "Now here was moral, if not religious logic, opposed to substantial, but human judgment. The answer did not meet the question upon its own grounds. In consulting, his appeal was to the high priestess, supposed to possess oracular powers, and therefore frequently under the influence of prophecy, and inspiration. But, she only answered him as a woman, exercising her judgment on the expedience, and policy of such a union" ([1776] 1984, 461-62).

Evangelicalism and agency

When Samuel Fothergill urged Catherine Payton to serve God "with the spirit of her mind," he expressed a concept that was also a tension at the heart of Enlightenment Quakerism (1857). Quakers affirmed the sanctity of human intelligence infused by universal light or truth, regardless of the individual's class or gender. They also affirmed the obligation of every Friend to bear witness to that truth both within the community and toward the outside world, in a mode that was both authentic and nonsubversive. This was a far more complex set of principles than the ideals of total self-transcendence and ecstatic prophecy that had empowered seventeenth-century Friends. As workers and heads of families, Quaker women had agency in the modern, liberal sense: an embodied authority to act based on their own free choice and intelligence. They also had a strong sense of their own individuality, based as much on the religious practices of individual meditation and diary keeping as on Enlightenment values. But this new agency was limited by increasingly rigid standards of bourgeois femininity. Quaker women also had agency in a spiritual sense, a disembodied, nongendered authority based on the presence of the inner light in every soul, but new inhibitions about openly ecstatic behavior limited the expression of this spiritual agency.

It is important to understand that these inhibitions were internal as well as external. Seventeenth-century Quakers knew that they were "in the light" because they perceived it in their bodies, by quaking, weeping, moaning, compulsively shouting, or appearing naked in the marketplace. Eighteenth-century Quakers rarely had access to that kind of intense physical experience. As modern enlightened individuals, they subscribed to a theory of sense perception that precluded any idea of spiritual forces entering the soul through the body. Their desire was for a religious epiphany as their grandparents had experienced it, but their psychology was that of a citizen of the Enlightenment, where discourses of the body derived from the materialist philosophy of Locke and the middle-class mores of an industrializing culture. Educated, rational people simply did not—could not—disrupt the commercial rhythm of the marketplace or make loud noises in church.

The questions of how to recognize a divine message apart from one's own individual voice and of how to express a divine message in a manner

that was both authentic and socially appropriate were of deep concern to both men and women. Samuel Fothergill gave a series of sermons in which he referred to his mind as "in turmoil" and as a "floating island": "I freely confess my own fears, that I am not in a state of perfect spiritual health and sound mind" (1857). Other Friends reported a sense of paralysis in meetings, an inability to decide whether they were genuinely moved to speak by God or by mere self-will (Jones 1921, 57–103). Still, men could pronounce on matters of social import or group discipline without transgressing social norms; women in public risked behaving scandalously—having an unchaste mind—whether they spoke in a state of religious ecstasy or in a posture of reasoned and dignified authority.

The tensions generated by the contradiction between Friends' radical theology and their conservative politics were resolved differently, sometimes traumatically, in individual cases. A group in Ireland known as the "New Lights" reembraced the original undogmatic theology of a universal inner light (now seen as the light of reason), as against those who were beginning to insist on a biblical, Christ-centered religion; they were accused of both deism and mysticism and condemned by the main body of Friends. Other Friends became extreme quietists, rejecting all forms of expression, including language, that were not immediately received from God; mainstream Quakers criticized them as reactionary. The resolution embraced by the main body of Friends in England, both wealthy, conservative capitalists in London and Bristol and spiritual reformers in Yorkshire and Lancashire, was a form of evangelicalism that affirmed both the authority of the Bible and the practical humanitarianism of the Enlightenment. These Friends did not abandon their conviction of an inner light present in every individual, but they viewed that light through the prism of biblical injunction, rationalist religious discussion, and the "natural" hierarchies of gender, class, and family.

The transformation of Quaker ideology arose out of a campaign to revitalize Quaker discipline by regularizing the meeting system, which functioned sporadically and inconsistently. It also aimed to increase family visits to monitor Friends' morality and behavior, require stricter adherence to strictures against marrying outside the Quaker community, and improve Quaker education. These efforts have often been perceived as symptomatic of a period of decline in the Society of Friends, a substitution of rule for spirit. From the perspective of the eminent Quaker men who dominated the meetings of London and Bristol, this was at least partly true. For these

¹⁹ On the histonography of the campaign for greater discipline, see Morgan 1993, chap. 7, "Discipline, Decline, and Mission," 244–78.

prosperous and sophisticated citizens, disciplinary reform had as much to do with worldly values as with spiritual striving. Their reputation for integrity as Friends was indissolubly linked to their reputation for fairness and dependability in business, which in turn was linked to their impeccable (and conventional) social behavior. They thus understood the campaign for greater discipline as a further separation and stratification of men's and women's powers, which they rationalized as a more just and efficient system of jurisdiction.

If some men's understanding of the new discipline was a strengthening of Quaker order in harmony with the social order (implying the further subjection of women), women's understanding was radically different. They also wanted greater surveillance over Friends' activities, but their ultimate purpose was to provide greater scope for women's spiritual growth, collective agency, and social action. In 1756 the London Box Meeting recorded an epistle of Margaret Bell to the Quarterly Meeting in Yorkshire: "Our women seem wholly engrossed in themselves and their families, and with the pleasures . . . of a very vain world which intoxicates and stupefies all the faculties of the soul that . . . with a long time of prosperity, too many are grown so indolent, so supine, that the very ass exceeds them in sensibility. . . . A considerate mind . . . would know . . . an enlargement toward fellow beings."20 These women saw a need for autonomous women's meetings at the highest level in order to disseminate epistles from the American colonies and London to the meanest Quaker communities, to galvanize and pass judgment on their lazy or delinquent sisters, and to act as moral helpmeets to the men, even advising them on their own marriages. Women accepted the difference between the sexes, but they saw that difference not in terms of a hierarchy that privileged public men over private women but as a balance of authority in which men and women acted in parallel, if not entirely equal roles. This was more than a return to the practice of a hundred years earlier, for, like Catherine Payton, eighteenth-century women wanted to speak not only as prophets but "prudentially."

The women who spearheaded the movement for a revitalized discipline were of two types. Many belonged to the northern meetings in Lancashire and Yorkshire, where women's meetings and religious activism had always been strong and where there was a long tradition of civil disobedience in the matter of paying church taxes and refusing to swear oaths. They were guided and energized by the wealthy merchant family of Esther and William Tuke of York Meeting. Esther Tuke and three of her daughters were

²⁸ London Box Meeting MSS (1759), Friends Historical Library, Friends House, London.

all leading ministers, and it was these women who, along with other leading female Friends, initiated the reforms in discipline and education that revitalized the ministry (Wright 1995, 31-67). Other leading reformers, like Catherine Payton and Sophia Hume, were part of the more sophisticated and sexist world of London and Bristol Friends, who had also traveled in Ireland and American colonies and observed a more egalitarian order. We can observe the development of increased discipline and surveillance alongside women's greater agency in the campaign for a Women's Yearly Meeting that occupied the last forty years of the century. Since the 1660s, Quaker women had met alone in small "preparatory meetings" near their homes, in larger quarterly meetings, and—in Ireland and the American colonies—in an autonomous Yearly Meeting. There they prayed, found apprenticeships for poor Quaker children, collected and dispensed charity, visited the sick, set down their testimonies against the payment of church taxes, and composed epistles to sustain their sisters in England, Ireland, and America. Women also assisted male Friends in disciplining and advising wayward members.

The campaign for a restored Women's Yearly Meeting began in 1746 and lasted for more than thirty years. Six women ministers from different counties submitted a paper on the value of a Women's Yearly Meeting to halt the decline of Quakerism and set an example to youth, assuring the men that they would seek no further authority and might meet only every other year. The proposal was tabled. Then a group of American male ministers proposed a Yearly Meeting to the York Women's Meeting, and a delegation was eventually empowered to carry the minute to London in 1753. It was tabled. (Samuel Fothergill was reported to have said, "I see it, but not now; I behold it, but not nigh!" [Bacon 1995, 8].) Thirty years later, again with the encouragement of American male Friends, the women of the Lancaster Meeting sent a minute to London requesting that epistles from the American colonies be sent to all women's meetings. In London, a number of American women urged on the Englishwomen, and the Men's Meeting finally approved a meeting to distribute epistles but not to make rules or present queries without the approval of the men. A male Friend commented, "The women Friends held long meetings and appear very willing to be invested with greater power, but it was somewhat limited by the prudence of the men" (Bacon 1995). A female Friend later commented, "Painful is the jealousy of men Friends" (Mortimer 1996, 232-33).

Conclusion: Agency and freedom

It is plausible to interpret the reform of Quaker discipline as the triumph of the entrenched power of wealthy, socially conservative Friends and as an example of what Foucault called "governmentality": the techniques of controlling individuals and of creating a disciplinary society that became a key element of European sovereignty in the eighteenth century (Foucault 1991, 101-2). It is also plausible to interpret the Quaker reform movement as evidence of secularization, a dilution of Friends' original prophetic spirit. But these negative interpretations ignore the fact that Friends never abandoned their belief in a central tenet of Quakerism, the importance of witnessing for truth. Indeed, the initiative for revitalizing the meeting system and increasing Friends' activism came not from worldly, prosperous, and conservative London and Bristol Friends but from those on the geographic and cultural margins, most of them women: Rachel Wilson from Lancashire, Mary Peisley and Mary Birkett from Ireland, the Tuke family from Yorkshire (Wright 1995, 31-67). These were areas with a long tradition of ethical prophecy and of standing up against authority, both the authority of a repressive government that had jailed them for nonpayment of church taxes and the authority of Quakerism's own vested interests.

For women, evangelical Christianity meant a transmutation of their original prophetic authority, an acceptance of a more circumscribed selfdefinition and spiritual ambition. It also meant a renewed energy to evangelize and educate and a vastly increased scope for the use of their own spiritual education and worldly position in careers of philanthropy and social activism. The contradiction between the ideal of self-transcendence and the cultivation of a competent self was resolved by turning the energies of the individual outward, in charitable impulses toward others; the ecstatic prophecy of the seventeenth century was transmuted into the aggressive altruism of the nineteenth century. Thus the movement for the abolition of slavery that was begun by quietest Friends like John Woolman was now directed by evangelicals like Hannah Gurney, the mother of Elizabeth Fry. Their new arguments against slavery were based not only on their spiritual mission as witnesses for truth but on maternal sentiment and the assertion of women's collective consciousness (Ferguson 1992, 147, 168-69, 178). Quakerism's new religious discipline was thus a precondition not for women's incarceration inside the domestic space but for an expanded public agency. This new agency would be generated not by the principle of individual free will but by the freedom to do what reason, the Bible, the meeting, and Friends' own Victorian consciences said was right.

I argued earlier that a secular liberal model of agency is of only limited use in tracking the public activities of religious women or the religious origins of feminism. The example of eighteenth-century Quakerism shows how complicated the experience of agency was for religious women who were also activists. Some aspects of the Quakers' religious mentality, like their belief in the possibility of universal redemption and the equality of souls before God, are easy for modern feminists to appreciate; others, like the belief that pain and illness are avenues of spiritual insight, or the desire to be controlled by an authority external to oneself, are clearly not. The fact remains that, while the rationale for the Quakers' belief in universal human rights derived from their commitment to both Enlightenment values and Christian tradition, the energy that empowered these women as they moved into a life of social activism was generated by a transformation in the quality of their religious life. By helping to effect a change of direction in the history of their religious community, and by expanding the community's activities in the world at large, they influenced the nature and importance of religion as an element of the modern psyche.

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The Space between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture

n 1979, I was in my second year of graduate school, searching for a research topic that would sustain my interest for at least three more years while I worked on my dissertation. One day, someone surreptitiously placed a poster in my office mailbox announcing a two-day symposium called "Planning and Designing a Non-sexist Society" at the University of California, Los Angeles, organized by Dolores Hayden. Intrigued, I went and found an engaging cadre of researchers, activists, architects, planners, politicians, and graduate students who were rethinking women's place in the built landscape. I drove back the sixty miles from Westwood to Irvine, California, where I was going to school, and begged one of my professors (the one, perhaps, who had snuck the poster in my mailbox?) to borrow a copy of his 1976 issue of Signs, which contained a ten-page review essay of "Architecture and Urban Planning" by Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright, an essay that kept cropping up in the discussions at the symposium. The thought that there might be a "field" encompassing women's (even gender!) issues of the built landscape was like fireworks erupting in my head. I was hooked. I still am.

It's been twenty-five years since that last review essay in Signs that "describe[s] current areas of research concerning women in architecture and the physical aspects of urban planning" (Hayden and Wright 1976, 924). Since then the work in this area has flourished, so much that a tenpage review essay such as the 1976 one could not possibly cover the writings, exhibitions, and projects produced in the past twenty-five years that explore gender issues of the built landscape, let alone of architecture even narrowly defined. The forums where these feminist writings and projects lie are no less diverse than they were in 1976, but the number of books and edited collections has multiplied, particularly in the past decade. Yet quantity of publication does not translate into clout or transformation within the discipline of architecture. In the professional office, feminism (and even the idea of gender) is often highly suspect, even disdained. Many women seeking acceptance in this still male-dominated field—in the United States, 17.5 percent of architects (U.S. Bureau of

Labor Statistics 1999) and 15.8 percent of full-time architecture faculty are women (Anthony 2001)—disassociate themselves from talk of gender or even sex difference. Yet certainly something serious is happening when all annual Pritzker Architecture Prize winners are men, as are all winners of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Gold Medal, an award given annually since 1907.²

Architecture matters in the daily play of gender, and vice versa. A myriad of projects, research studies, and writings lends increasing insight to understanding the gendering of architecture in its many manifestations and doing something about it. This current essay does not attempt to duplicate the type of comprehensive coverage Hayden and Wright undertook in delineating and describing the various works twenty-five years ago. In their introductory chapter to the 1999 book Design and Feminism, Joan Rothschild and Victoria Rosner provide a solid overview of the many prominent monographs and edited collections published in the past couple of decades. I have also provided an overview of many essays, journal articles, chapters, and projects of feminist concerns in architecture in my essay "The F Word in Architecture" (Ahrentzen 1996a). What I endeavor to do in this particular review essay is what any good feminist scholar does: look for the invisible among the visible—the space between the studs—and try to figure out why it is overlooked or devalued, and what that means.

To frame or not to frame?

There has been a minor avalanche of books and collections on the issue of gender (or feminism) and architecture in the 1990s. Most are edited

¹ Compare this figure to those of other male-dominated professions. In dentistry, 19 8 percent of the professionals are women, 26.6 percent of physicians are women, and 28.6 percent of professionals in the law and the judiciary are women. Women account for more than 43 percent of executives, managers, and administrators nationwide. But women's presence in architecture looks favorable when compared with the clergy, where only 12 percent are women—because there are more clergy than architects in the United States, however, you are more likely to encounter a clergywoman than a woman architect (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1999). Other depictions of the status and influence of women in the architectural profession are virtually impossible to assemble since the professional organization, the AIA, does not compile statistics on job types and employee gender within its member firms.

² Sponsored by the Hyatt Foundation and initiated in 1979, the Pritzker Architecture Prize portrays itself as the international architectural community's equivalent of the Nobel Prize. The Gold Medal is the highest honor that the AIA can bestow on an individual.

See Berkeley and McQuaid 1989; Colomina 1992; Spain 1992; Weuman 1992; Altman

collections—some with original essays, others with reprints—and, for the most part, not targeted to a specific topic or issue in architecture but, rather, encompassing a vast, often disparate array. One striking characteristic that most of these edited collections have in common is that in their wish to be pluralistic the editors refrain from providing a framework for rendering and interpreting the intellectual terrain in the book. Some have even chosen not to subdivide the chapters into sections, claiming that such formal structures are divisive and alien to the multidisciplinary nature of feminist work.

While fashionably "postmodern," this refusal to provide an explicit interpretation and framework—or even the basis for selection—for a collection of essays that one solicited, assembled, and edited may unintentionally convey to readers a lack of intellectual development, connectedness, or even synergy of these myriad projects and writings. Playing to a friendly inclusiveness or rendering a serial encyclopedic compendium can obscure the political and intellectual stakes that are involved. "Why these particular readings?" I-the-reader ask to silent editors. I agree with Jane Rendell (2000) that readers often desire (and can certainly deal with) what she calls "markers" and what I call "conceptual schemas" that they can use to engage in their own thinking about the nature of the field. I am even more convinced of this after having scrutinized this literature and having found various professionals and academics bemoaning the lack of a stance or conceptual framing posed by the editors of these collections (e.g., Haar 1997; Adams 2001). With the growing number of these collections and special journal issues in the past decade, feminist scholars and professionals have become more visible, vocal players on the stage of architectural inquiry and practice. Yet ironically, as Nancy Hartsock forewarned (1987), the concomitant postmodern turn away from grand narratives and authorial authority has suggested to some, including some editors, that since all voices are simply partial, an attempt at overarching synthesis, synergy, or even categorization is simply a tainted effort. However, within context, it must be said that some voices have considerable perspective and insight, particularly the voices of those who have spent

and Churchman 1994; Betaky 1995; Agrest, Conway, and Weisman 1996; Coleman, Danze, and Henderson 1996; Ritedi, Wrigglesworth, and McCorquodale 1996; Sanders 1996; Durning and Wrigley 2000; Rendell, Penner, and Borden 2000; Anthony 2001. Within the past decade, special issues of journals that address feminist issues in architecture include Denga Book Review, "Gender and Denga" (Snowden and Ingersoll 1992); ANT, "Architecture and the Feminine: Mop-Up Work" (Bloomer 1994); Magazin for Modern Arkitektur, "Feminine Practices" (2000); and the Journal of Architectural Education, "Gender and Architecture" (Ghirardo and Stuart 2001, 2002).

months, even years, inviting, selecting, filtering, advising, and editing various essays and ideas to compile in a monograph—all the while keeping one ear to the ground and listening for emerging developments and debate. Taking a stand, positioning one's landmarks, and developing conceptual schemas of the vast array of complex works are important intellectual contributions that benefit many. Clearly, with the onslaught and insight of poststructural criticism in the 1990s, we all realize that frameworks are not fixed in stone. But if we have several such frameworks before us, constructive and reconstructive dialogue has a foundational footing on which to build—even if that means tearing away and resetting that foundation later.

What is not being said when refusing to frame this ecumenical blend of feminist projects and epistemologies is that creating such a comprehensive, nuanced, yet elegant framework that could embrace, not straightjacket, the various feminist contributions in architecture over the past twenty years is a Herculean task. Editors of two of these collections who have accepted this challenge develop a conceptual reconstruction of the history and current stage of work and scholarship in the field. Reading each is informative, insightful, and intellectually engaging in itself. Both demonstrate the growth of work in this field. But reading their frameworks together, side by side, is revealing also of what is not being framed or covered.

In the introductory essay to the book Design and Feminism, Rothschild and Rosner (1999) organize feminist work in architecture along three avenues of inquiry.4 The one that they call "Women in Architecture" encompasses research on the work of neglected women architects and the demographic accounting of women architects. Work within the second avenue of inquiry, "Spatial Arrangements," explores how women experience the spaces they occupy and use. The early work here focused on two interrelated ideologies—women and domesticity and the ideology of separate spheres-and on white middle-class women and heterosexual family arrangements. Later, work addressing and involving more diverse groups of women, settings, issues, and interpretations arose. In the third avenue, "Theories of Architecture and Gender," the early work in the 1970s and 1980s often examined architecture—whether in symbol or form or practice—in terms of female-male and feminine-masculine differences. In the 1990s, this binary approach was increasingly called into question, resulting in an outpouring of work that conceptualized gender as one of

⁴ Their book encompasses other design fields as well, but I focus only on their treatment of architecture here.

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an intersecting number of elements, including class, race, age, religion, sexual orientation, and ethnicity, that comprise identities. From this orientation, theorists challenged the social context and social conditions that make a multiplicity of differences matter.

Gender Space Architecture (Rendell, Penner, and Borden 2000) is an especially dense and rich collection of previously published articles and excerpts, which in itself speaks to the growing maturity of the field. Coeditors Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden divide the collection into three parts: "Gender" includes selections of key manifestos, texts, and debates in the development of feminism, women's studies, and gender theory, with material ranging from Virginia Woolf to Judith Butler. "Gender, Space" includes materials derived from a number of "spatial disciplines for whom space is treated as concept as well as context" (Rendell, Penner, and Borden 2000, 6–7): anthropology, cultural studies, geography, philosophy, psychoanalysis, planning, art history, and architecture. The third section, "Gender, Space, Architecture," is composed of chapters largely drawn from academics and practitioners of architecture who deal with considerations of the architectural practices of design, history, and theory.

Sectioning off material in "Gender, Space" from that of "Gender, Space, Architecture" reveals the contested nature of defining architecture not only among architectural academics but among feminist scholars as well. Although the editors stress the links between the two sections (e.g., mentioning how the ways of thinking about space by the authors in sec. 2 inform those considering architecture in sec. 3), they also claim that the focus on spaces in "Gender, Space" is on spaces that are not usually considered architectural, such as shopping malls, suburban developments, grocery stores, and workplaces.⁵ In their Solomonic decision, the editors have set that genre of feminist work that Rothschild and Rosner (1999) call "spatial arrangements" outside the field of architecture, likening it to an older sister who passes along her wisdom to the younger sister to capitalize on. Their lens focuses on architecture as "history, theory and design," thereby restricting architecture from its more inclusive, social, lived, and symbiotic experience, as Rothschild and Rosner pose. (I return to this issue subsequently.)

In the introduction to the third section of the book, the one titled "Gender, Space, Architecture," Rendell (2000) devises a disciplinary and chronological topography that charts feminist projects in the architectural

I question this rather curious distinction, given that some of the chapters in the third section also deal with "nonarchitectural" spaces, such as health centers, suburbs, African nomadic dwellings, and the like

practice of history, theory, and design over the past twenty years. Those projects from the 1970s and early 1980s encompass two concomitant and compatible realms: that of "Herstory: Women in Architectural History" and "Drawing on Diversity: Women in Architectural Design." Within the first is an alternative history of architecture that uncovers evidence of women's contributions to architecture and that reclaims the history of low-key buildings; everyday housing; domestic, interior, and textile design; and so forth, spaces and practices typically associated with women and historically regarded as trivial. The other body of work during this period addressed the contemporary situation of women in the profession of architecture and architectural education, often emphasizing the diverse nature of women's architectural practices.

Feminist work produced in the late 1980s and 1990s takes a different slant. In Rendell's (2000) third category, "Sexuality and Space: Rethinking Architectural History," are works considering architecture and architectural practices of the past, using feminist and critical theory drawn from fields such as psychoanalysis, philosophy, cultural studies, film theory, and art history. This genre of work has produced, according to Rendell, an architectural history more critical of how patriarchy, capitalism, heterosexism, and racism operate in the production of architecture. The feminist work in Rendell's last category, "Desiring Practices: Rethinking Architectural Design," emphasizes the thinking of architectural practice as primarily text. Architecture is critiqued as a form of representation consisting of images and writing.

In both Rendell's (2000) and Rothschild and Rosner's (1999) organizing schemas of feminist projects in architecture, we see the intellectual growth of the field from one of binary inquiry to one of multifaceted, more nuanced, and certainly more complex analyses and interpretations, similar to the growth of feminist inquiry in general. But there is also a tension between the two, stemming from the defining and framing of architecture itself. Rothschild and Rosner's is the more inclusive: they include research and projects entailing the gendering of consumption, experience, and the use of the built environment. The location of the bulk of this work in a "nonarchitectural" category (i.e., "Gender, Space") in the book Gender, Space, Architecture (2000) ironically reflects the received view of architecture, with its defining tripartite dimensions of history, theory, and design—the three "sirens" whose performances are primarily initiated and culturally dominated by architectural professionals and academics. Other disciplines or dimensions are merely supporting cast.

This fissure between the two frameworks can be better appreciated on

reading a review essay of the Swedish symposium "Feminine Practices," in which Pat Morton (2000) distinguishes two orientations of feminist practice in architecture. The social orientation includes those who focus on women's experience of the built environment, institutional critiques of the architectural profession, and the creation of alternative, feminist design methods. Focusing on the general category of the "feminine," the poetic orientation includes those who construct theories of the formation of sexual difference within architectural discourse and design work that transgresses the gendered representational norms of architecture. The poetic's dismissal of a socially engaged architecture coincides with postmodern architects' evacuation of responsibility for the social consequences of architectural design and practice that has dominated the profession and the discipline since the early 1980s-including, it seems, the poetic feminist orientation within architecture. While the characterizations and sequencing of the two orientations are simplistic and even stereotyped (such is the case with dualities), Morton's depiction does resonate with the source of the tension-not only from contested positions of where social change best emanates (discussed in more detail later) but also the public sources where these feminist strands play out. What she calls "poetic" is seemingly dominant in certain presses and conferences: the socially engaged in less avant-garde forums in the discipline and in less prestigious, "high-design" commissions within the profession.

While Morton contends that the editors of the collection Architecture and Feminism aspire to bridge the gap between socially engaged feminist architecture and what she calls theoretically sophisticated architecture by women, the structure of this and many of the other edited collections does not allow such connectedness to occur easily. While individually intriguing and arresting, chapters are presented serially, with no attempt at bridging, let alone insightful conceptual linkage or even juxtaposition. There is no dialogue or interaction attempted whatsoever. In an entirely different context, Karen A. Franck and Lynda H. Schneekloth's book on architectural and design typology (1994) provides an organizing structure that allows the different authors to respond to ideas and issues posed by other authors in different essays alongside (i.e., in the margins), in a manner that almost compels the reader to join in the conversation. If we want to "build bridges," in Morton's words, we need to rethink organizational and editorial structures that connect. But even before that we need to consider the unspoken basis for the works selected in these collections.

The questioning of interdisciplinary

While many recent edited collections flaunt the label *interdisciplinary* in their introductions and book jackets, the usual theoretical suspects come primarily from the humanities fields (where I lodge "cultural studies"), psychoanalysis, and art and film criticism.⁶ Considerably fewer contributions come from authors in disciplines reflecting social science research, such as geography, anthropology, archeology, cognitive psychology, sociology, environmental psychology, and environment-behavior studies—disciplines where feminist researchers have produced a considerable amount of research and writing on gender and built landscape issues in the past decade.⁷ Contributions from the professional face of architecture, which focuses on constructed buildings rather than representational space or hypothetical buildings, also appear infrequently in these edited collections and special journal issues. Very little surfaces from collateral professional studies such as organizational behavior and management, urban planning and policy, and the like—again instances where there is a considerable body of relevant work.⁸

Also absent in the oft-cited "interdisciplinary" fray are theorists and researchers from the natural, computational, information, and physical sciences. While there is little work here that directly focuses its lens on gender and architecture issues, it seems plausible that feminist writings in these fields could enrich a more penetrating, dare I say "more multidisciplinary," framing of feminist work in architecture. Prescriptive architectural stances based on evolutionary psychology and Darwinian theory (e.g., Hershey 1999; Hildebrand 1999), which have received considerable architectural and public press, could certainly stand scrutiny by feminist scientists of evolutionary psychology and behavior. The efforts of Elizabeth A. Wilson (1998) and others in contemporary theories of cognition (i.e., connectionism) could lend themselves to tackling gendered cognitions of architectural spaces and places as well. Wilson finds that the neurological facets of connectionism are indispensable to rethinking cognition, psyche, and biology, topics currently examined in feminist theory but from a rather singular lens. In most feminist castings of architectural

⁶ For instance, often cited as one of the first interdisciplinary texts of feminist analyses of architecture, Securality and Space (Colomina 1992) includes authors from a number of different disciplines, but they tend to use the same lens—psychoanalytic theory, especially of the Lacanian variant.

⁷ See, e.g., Michelson 1985; Ardener 1993, Dandekar 1993; Rose 1993; Altman and Churchman 1994; Massey 1994; Drucker and Gumpert 1997; McDowell 1999; Arnold and Wicker 2001; Domosh and Seager 2001; Franck 2002.

See, e.g., Milroy 1991; Greed 1994; Ritzdorf 1994; Fenster 1999; Miranne and Young 2000; Halford and Leonard 2001.

thought and practice (e.g., Agrest 1993), the body is viewed as a cultural, representational, and psychoanalytic entity but rarely as a physiological, biochemical, or microbiologically constituted one (see Keddy 2002 for a review). The body in these postmodern architectural writings usually "does not suffer under the elements, encounter other species, experience primal fear or much in the way of exhilaration, or strain its muscles to the utmost. . . . It doesn't engage in physical endeavor or spend time out of doors. . . . [T]his body described in theory never even aches from hauling the complete works of Kierkegaard across campus" (Solnit 2000, 28). The body in architectural thought and discourse is not simply nonfemale, as many feminist theorists have pointed out (e.g., Agrest 1993; Grosz 1996). It is also curiously abiological, although sex-related anatomical representations of cities and buildings have a long, continuing history in architecture.

What feminist projects in architecture remain unconceived, what questions remain unasked, because of presumptive foreclosures set from restricting the range of disciplines considered and invited, from routinizing our critical habits and procedures, including antiempirical presumptions? My criticism of the claim of interdisciplinarity is not that it is not interdisciplinary but that it is often the same disciplines being invited to and appearing at the table. If we believe interdisciplinarity is important, why not pursue it in a more comprehensive, inclusive fashion? Why not provide more opportunities, structures, and accessible language that not only allow but welcome diversity? What would it mean to look at architecture from feminist perspectives of not only design, history, psychoanalysis, literary studies, and philosophy (i.e., the usual suspects) but also archeology, sociology, organizational behavior, urban planning and policy, cognitive science, evolutionary science, human kinetics, and the like? Indeed, why not ergonomics? Lance Hosey's (2001) illuminating analysis of the anthropometric diagrams of nearly seventy years of Graphic Standards demonstrates the many ways in which implicit sexism and racism enter architecture's standards of practice. Because feminism's maturity in architecture is now witnessed in anthologies and cited sources, it is time to critically question a disciplinary regulation of representation in these recent collections, their overwhelmingly Anglocentric character, and their often nonempirical, 10 nonexperiential emphasis—yet all the while flaunting the label "interdiscipli-

See Karen Keddy's (2002) current work for an exception.

¹⁰ By the term *suspirical*, I do not mean to suggest a narrow usage restricted to an experimental nature. Rather I use the term to reflect that which is guided by the experience of oneself and of specific others, through trenchant observation and listening.

nary." We also need to stop and ponder why the same disciplinary voices and analytical perspectives are found in current nonfeminist architectural collections as well.

This narrowing—or at least premature arresting—of interdisciplinary invitation also arises in part from the varied and contested term *theory* used in these frameworks and in feminist and architectural discourses generally. Within much of the architectural discipline today, and certainly within poststructuralism, empirically grounded theory is generally disrespected, even discounted. The absence of empirically grounded theory in what is labeled feminist theory in many of these collections reflects in part the postmodern turn in architecture (and elsewhere). The space between the studs here—that is, what is not being said—is the dilemma of what constitutes "theory" and why certain writings are deemed theory and some are not.

This is part of a much larger debate (e.g., Albrecht 2002) that I cannot go into here. But one perspective that might provide a path out of the quagmire, or at least establish a common ground for debate, is Charlene Haddock Seigfried's (1991, 1996) considerable work in linking pragmatist and neopragmatist theory with feminism—a perspective I have not come across in feminist writings in architecture. The early pragmatists located reflection in its actual historical, psychological, economic, political, and cultural context and defined its goal as the intelligent overcoming of oppressive conditions. They believed that theory unrelated to practice is moribund and stressed active engagement in the problems of their day. They aimed at democratic inclusiveness and, for the most part, fought the development of a specialized disciplinary jargon inaccessible except to a specialist elite. To the pragmatists, theory had to clarify rather than distort lived-through experiences; it had to facilitate valuable transformations of everyday experiences. Perhaps by revaluing the multiple intentions and meanings of theory in architecture, as both profession and discipline, feminist scholars and practitioners can embrace not only the abstract conceptual nature of much postmodern theorizing but also that derived from serious "hanging out," looking at, listening to, scrutinizing, and theorizing lived experiences of the everyday.

¹¹ This is not the case in those realms of architecture dealing with structures, materials, and the like, nor when the focus is on architectural history.

Lived experiences in creating architecture

Poststructuralism—in architecture and elsewhere—has been attacked for its seeming detachment from the concrete, from issues of practical life and social change. And among the feminist writings in architecture during the 1990s, abstract representations were a visibly dominant presence over that of lived experience in the academic-disciplinary architectural discourse. Yet some of the richest feminist contributions in the past decade have positioned their projects within the everyday world where individuals conduct their daily lives; where social life consists of exchanges, encounters, conflicts, and connections with one another; and where human interaction is not that of abstract citizens or economic agents but of individuals relating to each other in the flow of daily life (McLeod 2000).

As currently practiced in schools and scholarship in North America, architectural history generally ignores the presence of women unless a woman is designated an architect or a prominent patron (Ghirardo 1996). While many historians today are unearthing documents and constructing biographies and profiles of individual women architects and designers, another cadre of feminist scholars is rethinking the very nature of what is architecture and what is history. One venue is interpreting the lives of architects within the social context, including gender, of their times. An example of this is Diane Favro's (1992) analysis of the architect Julia Morgan, which braids together the social facets that shaped Morgan's practice, influence, and posterity. Another tactic is one proposed by Diane Ghirardo (1996) that places women, their spaces, and their roles in the shaping of cities at the forefront, and not only when women were the designers. Following the theoretical argument of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu that it is through social practices that spaces are configured and acquire meaning, Ghirardo's proposal places the social practices of both women and men at the forefront and understands those practices and therefore spaces in their contexts. She illustrates this approach by her own fascinating research in Ferrara, Italy, during the Fascist period, where the ideal of the domestic sphere did not represent the condition of many women, and where in such circumstances, women took control of their lives in part by moving out of the domestic sphere and into the so-called public one.

In a similar vein, Susana Torre (2000) contends that the role of women in the transformation of cities remains theoretically problematic, with working-class women in particular often presented as mindless followers of a collective social project rather than as initiators and instigators who alter society's perception of public space. She describes the Mothers of

the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, a small but persistent band of women protestors who first captured international attention in the mid-1970s with their sustained presence in the nation's principal "space of public appearance." Their appropriation of the public square as a stage for the enactment of their plea demonstrates that the public realm neither resides in nor can be represented by buildings and spaces but rather is summoned into existence by social actions.

In How Women Saved the City, Daphne Spain (2001) examines how women's participation between the Civil War and World War I in voluntary organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Salvation Army, and the National Association of Colored Women helped create places through a process that she calls "voluntary vernacular," spaces in which problems associated with race relations, immigration, and women's status were at the forefront of dialogue and attention, if not exactly resolved. Few architectural historians, however, identify these places boarding houses, vocational schools, settlement houses, public baths, playgrounds, and the like—as architecture because they were rarely purpose-built by professionals. But as she notes, if we accept Frank Lloyd Wright's definition that architecture stands for "institutionalized patterns of human relatedness that make possible the endurance of the city, or of society, or of the state,"12 redemptive places would qualify, as they represent organized attempts to construct social order in a time of intense demographic, technological, and cultural change.

ALICE through the Glass Ceiling was a solo exhibition of work by Sally Levine that focused on the status of women in the field of architecture specifically, and professional women in general, to look at the other side of the glass ceiling.¹³ One installation, for example, called "Rose Colored Glasses" looked at the discrepancy between the rosy media versions of women architects and the reality of women's architectural work. A series of framed building projects 30 inches × 42 inches by architects such as Marion Mahoney Griffen, Julia Morgan, Eileen Gray, and others were juxtaposed with nine miniature images of women portraying architects in the media: in film, television, magazine fashion spreads, and print ads. The next layer was a set of nine viewing devices, held on stands made of steel plate, coil, and reinforcing rod. Covered with rose-colored gels, the lenses focus directly on the media images, placed in the gallery relative

¹² Cited in Spain 2001, 20.

¹⁸ The acronym ALICE stands for Architecture Lets in Chicks, Except . . .

to their magnifying capabilities. But as the viewer looks beyond the media mystique, the real work becomes most prominent.

Labelle Prussin's (1995) extensive study of the design and construction processes of nomadic peoples in Africa spotlights built structures traditionally perceived as "outside" the domain of architecture, such as matcovered frames, tensile structures, and other nomadic spaces. In so doing, Prussin challenges us to redefine architecture as well as who does architecture. African nomads view displacement and resettlement as a way of life around which their whole worldview, including gender, is constructed. Central to this way of life are their tent dwellings, with women being the architects of these tents.

Within an entirely different realm from Prussin's analysis of African nomadic structures, but likewise focusing on lived experiences in creating architecture, is Alice Friedman's (1998) Women and the Making of the Modern House. The houses that prominent architects such as Wright, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Richard Neutra, and others designed for women heads of household are among their most significant works, and many have become canonized in the history of twentieth-century modern architecture. Friedman relates the personal philosophies and lifestyles of six female clients who helped shape these exemplars of modern domestic architecture—and not simply as architectural exemplars but as homes to these women as well. While the structures themselves represent the high design canon, Friedman's trenchant, in-depth analysis hinges on the clients' proclivities, values, lives, contributions, and interactions with the architects. Two questions drive her work: Why were independent women clients such powerful catalysts for innovation in domestic projects during the modern movement? And why is it that an unexpectedly large number of the most significant and original houses built in Europe and America in the twentieth century were commissioned by female clients? Combining social and architectural history to investigate the roles played by both architects and clients and exploring the processes of collaboration and negotiation through which decisions about program and design were made, Friedman suggests that these structures derived not only from their times, when the essence of modernity was the complete alteration of "home" in terms of construction, materials, and interior spaces, but also from the goals of these independent women, which entwined with this ideology. Their redefinition of domesticity was fundamentally both spatial and physical. These were women who, by and large, faced the conflict between the expectation of marriage and the independent lives they chose and, in so doing, reexamined the separation between the individual household and the community, replacing it with a wider spectrum of alternatives. As Friedman demonstrates, by changing the social agenda, these women changed the architectural agenda.¹⁴

What Friedman's analysis signals, which is often obscure in other feminist analyses, is the significant, defining influence of the program in the making and subverting of architecture. Programming is the definitional stage of design, the time to discover and establish the nature of the design problem rather than the nature of the design solution (Hershberger 1999). On the surface, a program is simply a list of spaces denoting specific rooms and outdoor spaces, with a gross size for each, sometimes a few key relationships between them, and an overall budget for the project. But there are subterranean elements to the development of this program. The very name of the place or facility to be built and the list of spaces it contains, as well as their functions and their cost, tacitly represent certain social values and relationships that are expected to be supported. Murray Silverstein and Max Jacobson (1985) call this "the hidden program," the system of relationships usually taken for granted that give the building its basic social-physical form and connect it to the rest of society. Architects often avoid dealing with or confronting hidden programs, in part because they feel they are powerless to act on them. Also, once scrutinized, hidden programs can raise questions of such essence that they put the very nature of the building in doubt. It is not likely for an architect to go to the roots of a building type, expertly expose and challenge its hidden program, and still be employed by the client. Furthermore, fundamental restructuring of the hidden program requires sustained social, political, and historical insight and the ability to understand people and what they feel but can hardly say-skills generally not developed in architecture schools or while interning at architecture firms (Silverstein and Jacobson 1985).

But shaping the hidden (and then subsequently the visible) program is a means of controlling the production of the built form. Friedman's portrayals show how these modern architectural exemplars resulted not simply from collaboration over a drafting board or job site but from innovations in fundamental rethinking of the nature of the hidden program—of home, in these instances.

¹⁴ While Priedman's book focuses on highly prominent houses, their designers, and their clients, some of her other work examines lesser-known houses and architects, yet still with women driving the program in collaboration with the architect. One such example is Villa Lewaro in Irvington, New York, built in 1916–17 for Madam C. J. Walker, the founder and head of the Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company and the first African-American woman millionaire (Priedman 1999).

The lived experience of architecture is also highlighted in research and scholarship that explores women's occupation of places in the built landscape. Mary McLeod (1996) contends that a paramount problem in poststructuralist theory generally and contemporary architecture theory specifically is that while these theorists assert and celebrate the "marginal," the "other," that has been repressed in past interpretations, there is yet little substance between any connections of this abstract "other" and women's actual social situations, that is, their lived experiences. Many of these accounts "display an almost callous disregard for the needs of the less powerful—older people, the handicapped, the sick—who are more likely to seek security, comfort, and the pleasures of everyday life than to pursue the thrills of transgression and 'difference'" (10). But McLeod considers Jane Jacobs the most influential critic to stress issues of the everyday in architecture. Preceding the advent of modern feminism and the women's movement in the United States, Jacobs's 1961 book The Death and Life of Great American Cities does not identify gender as a specific condition of the urban landscape. Yet the urban landscape that Jacobs does portray reflects a woman's experience, a lived experience (Rosenberg 1994; Struglia 1996). As McLeod notes, Jacobs views cities not from overhead as if standing in a penthouse at the top of a skyscraper looking down but from the street level of the pedestrian, the resident, the everyday user. The world she invokes is that of the stoop, the neighborhood market, the hawkers and their wares, the dry cleaners, and the neighborhood park of mothers and children. Her visions share "much with postmodern thought: an interest in blurring categories, in diversity, in understanding and enjoying a genuinely heterotopic milieu" (McLeod 1996, 24), but one with a tangible, empirical, experiential tenor. 15

Jacobs's concentration on the lived experience of the everyday marks only the genesis of this focus in a genre of feminist scholarship in architecture and the built environment. In her analysis of Muslim women's access to and occupation of different kinds of space in the Sahelian city of Maradi, Niger, for example, Barbara Cooper (1997) contends that thinking about how women move through space, rather than focusing on the character of the spaces themselves, may help feminist theorists find a new and revitalizing point of entry into the question of female agency. She documents how women contribute to the gradual transformation of gender relations not simply through conscious manipulation, resistance, or protest but also through the active spatial positioning in which they

¹⁵ Still, as McLeod (1996) notes, Jacobs's depiction of the city as a "self-regulating system" offers few insights into confronting the connections between space and power.

engage in their everyday lives in an effort to define themselves socially and to improve their lives materially. Likewise, Zeynep Celik (1996) depicts the privacy and freedom of movement that Islamic women found on the rooftop terraces of the Casbah that allowed them to control their own space for work and socialization.

Another example of this genre of feminist scholarship of the everyday built landscape is Spain's Gendered Spaces (1992). The theoretical orientations that drive Spain's analysis are sociological ones: Anthony Giddens's structuration theory and also social constructionism. But she sets out to substantiate her thesis of "gendered spaces" through cross-cultural historical and comparative analysis, using empirical, survey, and historical data as evidence. She casts a wide net—from Mongolian Gers to nineteenth-century schools to contemporary office parks. And while some settings and situations are covered rather superficially while others more extensively, her lens again is on the everyday environment in which gender is enacted spatially, day in, day out.

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (1984) recounts the design of and experiences in the Seven Sisters women's colleges in the United States, where spaces interplayed with society's views of women and women's views of themselves and experiences. Design emerged from and helped create both a different concept of and reality for women. College planners designed spaces intended to isolate and protect students, but such paternalistic intentions were subverted by the development of a flourishing student culture in which campus space was put to varying uses. Settings such as prisons and jails (Jackson and Stearns 1995), "servicescapes" such as beauty salons and barbershops (Fischer, Gainer, and Bristor 1998), and bars and bathhouses (Tattelman 1997; Wolfe 1997) are among the many sites where researchers have explored issues of gender occupation, identity, construction, and the reproduction of space and place in the everyday worlds of women and men.

The project of bricolage

The tension within feminist efforts in architecture surfaces again when considering the forms and meanings of praxis promoted. For those embracing what Morton (2000) calls the "poetic" orientation, change is instigated from transformed consciousness and awareness. In constructing the foundation for change, their intention is to subvert accepted meanings of architecture—as practiced, as represented. But while the intent is clear, the audience who can capitalize on such writings to challenge and subvert their

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thinking is a very limited, elite one. The sense of distance or abstract theorizing in these analyses may not be very empowering or enabling for many
women, their approaches may be too far removed from reality and real
needs, and their language may be inaccessible and difficult to understand—
all claims that make one question whether such feminist analysis is not simply
an intellectual indulgence (Zalewski 2000). Ghirardo (1997, 77), for example, questions the arcane, fashionable, and limited portrayals that some
women architects provide of their own work and thinking: "What marginalizes this work [i.e., profiles of women architects in a recent monograph]
is less its content than its resilient pursuit of the fashionable instead of
anything remotely resembling a political agenda or critique, inside or outside
of architecture. At every point where one might anticipate some politicized
understanding, the work drifts off into spacey and circular indecipherability.

. . . I wonder what these decon reveries might offer to counter the disparaging references to women and gender issues?"

For those to whom feminism is both a political movement and a theoretical arena of analysis, praxis involves not only analyzing but dismantling structures and mounting a challenge in more than words addressed to an elite architectural audience alone. At a panel discussion held at the Dia Center for the Arts in New York (In ANY Event 1994), moderator Diana Agrest asked, "Can you have a feminist architecture?" But panelist Elizabeth Grosz reframed the question to her own understanding and political perspective: "Are there ways of occupying space and producing places that somehow contest, challenge, and problematize the dominant modalities of organization, of space and place?" (In ANY Event 1994, 55). Lending itself to inclusive yet political feminist approaches in architecture, this question—challenge, really—positions inhabiting and appropriating on the same footing as "architecture-as-object" in the making and meaning of place. By naming "occupying" and "producing," Grosz calls for actions that contest, challenge, and problematize. In another context, Grosz further asks: "Will we theorists, critics, students, and practitioners of architecture participate in the work of generating 'new perspectives, new bodies, new ways of inhabiting'?"16

To advance past architecture's obsession with shaping objects and space alone to inventing new ways of shaping opportunities and lives through architecture, "new ways of inhabiting" as it were, means going beyond "gears, utensils, widgets, and tools, [to] patterns, rituals, perspectives, celebrations and relationships" (Flanagan 2001, 117). Architecture—as

¹⁶ Cited in Coleman 1996, xiv.

process, as symbol and representation, and as tangible and occupied product—then becomes a social enterprise as much as it is an intellectual, design, and technological invention.

Recent examples of feminist praxis that strive toward "new ways of inhabiting" through architecture appear from a number of sustained, or syncretic, collected works. One syncretic effort is in rethinking the education and practice of architects, based on research endeavors spanning different feminist positions. In her book Designing for Diversity, which incorporates the research of several years of interviewing and surveying hundreds of practicing architects, Kathryn H. Anthony (2001) identifies roadblocks to architectural practice that reveal gender and racial differences. But she also points out avenues that many underrepresented architects use when they choose to leave mainstream practice, succeeding in the architectural workplace of government work or corporate architecture, or within their own firms. Her book is replete with recommendations for changing the existing architectural workplace to make it more welcoming of diversity.

My work with Linda N. Groat (Ahrentzen and Groat 1992; Groat and Ahrentzen 1996, 1997) examines the gendered nature of architectural education from the perspectives of hundreds of faculty and students whom we have interviewed and surveyed in three major research studies. As both peripheral and central players in the field, women and students of color are in unique positions to propose ways to invent a critical form of education, and several specific facets of educational transformation were derived from our analysis of extended interviews with them. From our surveys and interviews, we also discovered aspects of the "hidden curriculum" in studio pedagogy, social dynamics, and ideals and expectations that tended to impede or support the progress of a diverse architectural student body. To the extent that school programs ignore the dynamics of the hidden curriculum, they not only turn away potentially talented students but also contribute to the crippling of a profession that must operate in a rapidly changing cultural and economic context.

Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred's (2000) study of Canadian women architects between 1920 and 1992 poses another way of thinking about women in this traditionally male occupation. Rejecting the idea that women architects are victims of professional marginalization, Adams and Tancred look at how women have shaped architecture, both its products

¹⁷ The hidden curriculum are those tacit values, norms, and attitudes embedded in the social milieu of the course or studio that shape and determine the course content as well as the process or method of instruction and learning of that content.

and its processes, to fit their own priorities. Women have transformed the architecture profession, they argue, by resisting the profession's definition of their proper roles in two ways: through their buildings and through their career choices. Women contributed to innovative modernist projects in Canada during the 1960s at the same time that women also entered alternative employment that expanded the boundaries of formal architectural practice. They attribute much of these women's success to Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" during the 1960s and 1970s when the social, political, and economic structure of the province was significantly transformed.

All of these works-of Anthony, of Groat and myself, of Adams and Tancred—spotlight the experience of "doing architecture" from the perspectives of many women's voices. These works also reflect a range of feminist perspectives on the making and remaking of the practicing architect. Adams and Tancred's work challenges the conventional look at the extant "top-down" view of the professions with a "bottom-up" view of the same work space, challenging much of the literature on gender and the professions that views and theorizes the professions from an institutional rather than an experiential perspective. They claim such a focus often results in homogenizing gendered experiences of professional work and workplaces. Adams and Tancred's expectation is that the interaction between the existing gendered substructure and women's experiences and actions can create new professional and workplace practices for architecture. Anthony's and Groat and my work take different perspectives, ones that are sometimes accused of being shortsighted because of limited transformative consequences. Liberal feminism's piecemeal, pragmatic approach that Anthony's work incorporates may harbor the dangers of relying on rights-based theories. And the cultural feminist approach emanating from Groat and my work runs the risk of stereotyping and totalizing. But as a practical strategy in the context of current political systems, they both offer a way of maneuvering through that system in ways that deconstructing fictional texts, for example, do not (Zalewski 2000).

The praxis value of these three works, however, lies not in their separate contributions but in syncretism: in uniting, not collapsing, them with a heterogeneous result. Together they represent short-term efforts and tactics to reform existing architectural education and practice, as well as long-term strategies to transform it; that is, syncretized efforts and strategies that together are simultaneously pragmatic and utopian in order to mutually strengthen. Tension arising from different forms of feminist praxis may be fruitfully harnessed when located in synergistic, rather than hierarchical, arrangements of levels of the political and analytical. Along the

same line, anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1979) has made the point that the combination of information from various systems of inquiry produces a type of knowledge that differs from the simple accumulation or addition of information. Using the analogy of vision, Bateson shows that the combination of information from different systems (right and left eyes) produces a new dimension of understanding, the dimension of depth. By combining and integrating the knowledge gained through various viewpoints, we can reach a deeper understanding of a topic than the understanding gained from any one system or from merely placing information side by side. To emphasize that this final activity is more than a matter of collating, collapsing, or totalizing perspectives, it is called syncretism rather than synthesis.

Another example of efforts to promote and develop "new ways of inhabiting" is Dolores Hayden's perennial research, community outreach, and professional advocacy (1981, 1984, 1997), which has resulted, directly and indirectly, in many built projects and has infused a generation of practitioners and policy makers in rethinking the nature of the domestic environment. Her earlier work on Charlotte Perkins Gilman and other material feminists (Hayden 1981) identified a vigorous group of architects, journalists, domestic economists, sociologists, anarchists, and suffragists who created alternative living spaces. While for the most part the visionary designs and places catered to the middle class and were mostly elitist, Hayden's research illuminated how gender relations act as one significant force in the creation of environments. Looking back at her proposals in Redesigning the American Dream (Hayden 1984) for reconstructing our gendered landscape in North America—places for cooperative meal sharing in residential developments, the conversion of neighborhood blocks into ones with collective backyards of community gardens and playgrounds, on-site child-care services in workplaces, conversions of the single-family house to multigenerational shared housing, and others—we see many of them today enacted in various communities of the country. Cohousing, for example, began to permeate the residential landscape in many regions of the country during the 1990s. While derived from Danish and Dutch models of collectively oriented housing, these cohousing developments reflect many of the reconstructed gendered practices in public and private space and relationships that Hayden advocated for and publicized as far back as the 1970s—even in that 1976 Signs essay!18

¹⁸ For other examples of innovative housing forms that reflect the ideas promoted by Hayden, see Franck and Ahrentzen 1989; Ahrentzen 1996b, 1999; and the Cohousing Web site: http://www.cohousing.org.

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Hayden's more recent foray was in architectural preservation (Hayden 1997). Her eight-year *The Power of Place* project, situated primarily in Los Angeles, reflected a community effort to tie place to social history. It profiled distinctive environments ranging from citrus groves, commercial flower fields, oil fields, produce markets, prefabricated housing, and racially segregated firehouses. Asserting that *The Power of Place* and other groups are forging a new kind of urban presentation, one that is community based and targeted to saving vernacular landscapes, her work and book unite hands-on experience and extensive theoretical research to argue for an inclusive interpretation of social history and one that engages the public primarily through art.

Together, Hayden's writings, advocacy efforts, and projects have had what Joseph DiMento (1982) calls "conceptual influence" in policy making, where ideas seep into public dialogue to indirectly influence the thinking of the public and of policy makers. To many, her work has acted as a compass to show how changes in the landscape of life create new contexts, new experiences, and new meanings and can provide possibilities for resistance and contribute to social change.

While the written word in academic tomes seems to be the tool of choice for many postmodern feminists in efforts to subvert and challenge meanings as a form of praxis, exhibits can also act powerfully in this regard, in ways targeted and accessible to a more inclusive audience. In 1972, Womanbouse was a groundbreaking feminist project by Judy Chicago, Miriam Schapiro, Faith Wilding, and other artists involved in the Feminist Art Program at the California Institute of Arts and from the local community. Converting an entire house into a series of exhibits and stages for performance art, Womanhouse was open to the public for a limited time but captured on film (Denetrakas 1971-72). In the 1990s version, WomEnhouse, a multiauthored Web site, explores the politics of domesticity and gender relations through virtual "rooms" and conceptual domestic "spaces." 19 Coming from different feminist perspectives but each reflecting a collaborative venture, both projects dissect the ways in which domestic environments are constructed, perceived, and occupied within gendered power systems.

There are also feminist efforts in architecture that urge us to go beyond simply developing "new ways of inhabiting" in order to focus on the built form and aesthetic itself (e.g., Dutton and Mann 1996). But effecting a formal aesthetic or design that represents critical, transformative feminist perspectives is likely not a top-down proposition. Karen Lehrman (2002)

¹⁹ See http://www.cmp.ucr.edu.

claims it is not female designers who have had a transforming effect on design since the 1970s but female consumers. Their interest in aesthetics coupled with women's responsibility for 80 percent of family consumer purchases has propelled the recent "design revolution" in the product industry. Female consumers are far more likely than men to judge a hotel by its window treatments or a razor by its shape, forcing the industries to pay as much attention to form as to function (Lehrman 2002). Here lessons are again drawn from Alice Friedman's work, reminding us of the importance of the program—the social, hidden, and personal—in driving form and aesthetic considerations. Any attempt to transform architecture, not simply as process but as form as well, will have to deal with the fact that architects and designers are generally not in charge of it. Our economic system has reduced the architect to the role of providing culturally acceptable rationalizations for projects whose form and use have by and large already been determined by real estate speculation (Knox 1987). Historically, architects have traded control over the building program for control over formal imagery in the profession's pursuit to define itself primarily as a practice of representation (Markus 1993). This division between formal and social programmatic issues in architecture further diminishes the engagement of architects with issues of power, a prospect untenable for feminists wishing to enact transformative changes in culture and the designed environment.

It seems, then, that feminist praxis and growth in architecture is a project of bricolage, in building stronger and stronger layers or linked threads so that ideas and beliefs about feminist theories and practices draw strength from one another. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966) describes the bricoleur as an odd-job man who works with his hands, employing the bricoles, or odds and ends. Unlike the engineer, the bricoleur does not perform his work using raw materials and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project but rather collects tools and materials because they might come in handy. With a kind of functional arrogance, the bricoleur crafts and constructs iteratively and in so doing defines her own success as she engages with the toolbox and the junk box, interrogating their myriad contents to determine how they might be best put to use (Strasser 1999).

The syncretic approach of praxis mentioned earlier is not unlike the project of bricolage in combining the hermeneutic, critical, and empirical; the poetic and social; and process, experience, and form in an iterative layering and weaving so that it successively constructs and reconstructs something new. Since research shows that women more than men are comfortable in fields or departments that cross and transcend disciplinary

boundaries (Aisenberg and Harrington 1988), it may be their prerogative to be instigators of the project of bricolage. Bricolage, however, is tricky business. I am not suggesting we create a theoretical or representational bricolage that fails to achieve any sort of intellectual coherency. In feminist efforts in architecture, we need more continuing dialogue, not serial monologue and disruption. Before the next Signs review essay on feminism and architecture (hopefully not another twenty-five years!), feminist projects in architecture may collectively strive toward a multiplicious, not totalizing or separatist, understanding and reconstructing of the gendering of built form and experience. A healthy, fruitful, and symbiotic tension can emanate as lived experiences and theoretical appropriations continually acknowledge, challenge, and enrich each other. It is a harmful tension if the various perspectives distort or unfairly deny the validity, even existence, of the others.

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Where's the Gender in Community Development?

ender analysis does not have much of an impact on U.S. urban planning, a multidisciplinary subject that faces a lingering identity crisis. In many circumstances, as if it is a beauty contest, gender is devalued because race and class are said to be more important. In diverse situations, whether women are key participants as heads of planning agencies, involved in consultation, or "disbeneficiaries" in neighborhood renewal schemes, gender analysis is met with skepticism. Tension exists about what is taught as compared with what is considered relevant to business and carried out in public agencies and consulting firms, usually through public funds. Gendered histories (Hayden 1981; Greed 1994) and histories that include gender (Birch 1983; Wirka 1996; Leavitt 1997) in urban planning have not been able to create a paradigm shift similar to that of Rachel Carson's Silent Spring (1962) in environmentalism or to make inroads into policy as occurred when Michael Harrington's The Other America (1962) foreshadowed the "War on Poverty." Nor did any books, such as Dolores Hayden's Redesigning the American Dream (1984), widely heralded as it was, have the power to launch a movement outside of planning or architecture.1

Gender and urban planning

Misgivings about gender may remain unvoiced, but a deafening silence produces a chilling effect. The result in planning education is a gender flat line. The result in communities in cities, as well as suburban, exurban, and rural areas, is the perpetuation of sexism, relieved in bits and pieces where a critical mass of women is at work inside and outside the formal

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¹ Given today's widespread affordable housing crisis, the growing gap between the poor and the wealthy, and the decline of the middle class, Hayden's revised and expanded Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Left (2002) may even have a broader impact.

institutions, such as in Uganda and Montreal.² In other places, efforts have been valiantly made but were cast aside, largely victims of conservative politics (Greed 1994; Little 1999).³

Urban planning's reluctance to incorporate gender analysis and feminism is not solely for reasons confined to the profession. When feminist agendas are inaccessible to urban planners and community developers, gender analyses fall by the wayside. Feminists have cast their eyes elsewhere, in areas that urban planning, no matter its broad sweep, ignores.

- ² The Ugandan organization Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) was formed in 1995 as an outgrowth of the Women's Caucus, the purpose of which was to unite Constituent Assembly delegates who represent marginalized groups, including women, youth workers, and persons with disabilities. The Women's Caucus made strategic alliances with women in professional organizations and women intellectuals, as well as with grassroots women. The mission of FOWODE is to promote gender equality in decision making through advocacy, training, research, and publishing. Parliamentarians have formed a Special Interest Group Caucus that includes all women members of Parliament, and they have been successful in including gender perspectives in the Local Government Act, the Land Act, and the budget process; POWODE has also implemented a skills-training course in twenty-five districts throughout Uganda to encourage the formation of local caucuses similar to the Women's Caucus. The Comité d'Action Femmes et Sécurité Urbaine, or CAFSU (Women's Urban Safety Action Committee), in Montreal is made up of women's groups, community organizations, universities, and local authorities. A coalition-women's centers, the public transit system on the island of Montreal, and Femmes et Ville, a support group-successfully implemented "Between Two Stops," enabling women to request that bus drivers drop them off closer to their destinations. In May 2002, 150 participants at the first International Seminar on Women's Safety witnessed the launch of the Montreal Declaration, a way of promoting safety and monitoring progress on programs that address violence against women. Montreal builds on the pioneering effort made in safety audits. See also Wekerle and Whitzman 1995.
- ³ See Jo Little, whose critique of local authorities in the United Kingdom illustrates the ways in which women's rights have not been addressed, despite inclusion of some form of women's initiative in the early 1990s. Little first provides an overview of women's initiatives in relation to national and local planning and then focuses on decision making within the local authority, specifically on the Bristol City Council. The significance of local, even informal, women's committees becomes critical when considering the engendering of community development. Little writes that "the decline in the number of local authority women's committees over the nine years indicated [1986–95] will potentially have serious ramifications for planning's treatment of gender inequality" (1999, 30–31).
- ⁴ Take abortion rights in the United States as one example. While urban planners might join demonstrations, it is unlikely that they would affirmatively include clinics in plans, although progress has been made in issues of inclusionary zoning for child-care facilities, as Marsha Ritzdorf (2000) has described. In studies about public space, planners have examined sidewalk uses, such as provisions made for demonstrations, but this is far from the norm in traditional planning documents. When twenty-aix resolutions were adopted at the Houston International Decade of Women in 1977, women in President Jimmy Carter's administration,

While the feminist agenda focuses on recognizing women's rights as universal human rights, mainstream urban planning adeptly avoids the issues.⁵

A major factor in the disconnect between feminisms, gender analysis, and urban planning is where planning is situated. Urban planning, from the neighborhood level on up, is inexorably tied to government functions, time lines, resources, and monitoring. Clara Greed says of Britain (during and after Thatcher's term) that women and the issues with which they were concerned were "overtaken by changes in the political structure of local government (which have generally moved to the right), and by reductions in funding" (1994, 5). Marilyn Gittell, Isolda Ortega-Bustamante, and Tracy Steffy (1999) found that a hostile political environment in the United States, combined with a history in which few women have held roles as political leaders and heads of agencies or been elected to office, is unlikely to foster a culture that is conducive to women-led community development organizations. In turn, programs are less likely "to target women, provide child care and elder care, as well as job search, placement, counseling, and referral programs" (20).6

Urban planning is a microcosm for understanding the hurdles feminisms confront when face-to-face with a profession that effectively circles its wagons and holds at bay ideas that some label extraneous and others find threatening. Feminism, more precisely the women's movement, has had the power to change the lives of individual women and has led to the introduction of some new ideas in urban planning (Hoch, Dalton, and So 2000), but as Linda McDowell writes, "Susan Christopherson . . . suggested [that] questions about gender, justice and inequality remain 'outside the project' for most geographers, even for self-identified radicals interested in class inequality and social transformation" (McDowell 1999, 9; see also Christopherson 1989).

particularly at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), circulated the resolutions in an attempt to raise awareness about the relevance of the issues. The department's Office of Policy Development and Research, headed by Donna Shalala, commissioned groundbreaking studies, reworking existing data to tease out the impact on women (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 1978), but such studies were not routinely updated.

⁵ Tow Fenster's edited volume (1999) focuses on elevating human rights in planning and development in different countries, including among migrants and indigenous people, in response to structural adjustment programs as well as in the context of local urban and rural planning. Nonetheless, Fenster concedes that the practice is one to strive for rather than one that has been achieved. The case studies are a useful reference in challenging the inevitability of planning as a control mechanism.

⁶ The caveats are that programs such as these may be provided if funding is available and that such programs may target women, children, and elder care.

This essay explores these dynamics by focusing on community development, a subdiscipline within urban planning that, I think, should be most receptive to feminist and gender analyses. Even so, focusing only at the local level and within the United States is insufficient. A crucial premise is that actions at the neighborhood level are entwined with those at the state and global levels (Edwards and Gaventa 2001; Naples and Desai 2002; Leavitt and Yonder 2003). As with the state and global levels (Rai 2000), the community is made up of many layers. Opportunities vary as to how community development organizations can be agents for mobilizing civil society and for promoting forms of participation that bridge public and private spheres. Different openings exist within communities, not only among communities; these suggest a more affirmative response to those who view community as so monolithic as to not even use "the term in a radical political project" (Rose 1997, 185). The concept of internal and external linkages—local to local and local to global—gives hope to the idea that an engendered community development, one that builds on its genealogy, can occur. Despite neglect within urban planning, community development has strong roots in feminisms, the women's movement, and gender analysis (Hayden 1981). The multilayered emphasis on making women visible and giving women a voice remains necessary in carrying out an engendering project, but horizontal and vertical linkages are necessary in order to go further, toward what some call global feminism (Basu 2002) and others transnational feminism (see also Keck and Sikink 1998 and Naples and Desai 2002, 5-12).

The community in community development

Within urban planning in the United States, community development, variously called *community development* or *local economic development*, is typecast as local activity where projects are creatures of external funding agencies. Institutional forms take shape as community development corporations (CDCs), community-based organizations (CBOs), community economic development (CED), and community development organization (CDO). Unless otherwise stated, I use *CDC* here as the umbrella

⁷ Randy Stoecker (2002) offers a refreshing alternative analysis in which he argues that the real issue is power, not development, and that community organizing has been lost in the quest to achieve more immediate goals. In an earlier article (1996) he calls for cleaning up "the acronym-laden fog of organizational definitions. Community development corporations, non-profit housing developers, community-based organizations, community-based development organizations, community housing development corporations, and all the other

term; later in the essay I will come back to the connections between organizing, development, and gender. Paul Brophy and Alice Shabecoff (2001) introduce community development as the "economic, physical, and social revitalization of a community" and add the common understanding, "led by the people who live in that community" (2). Readers learn that community developers work in a variety of public and private organizations, in a rapidly growing field with about 400,000 jobs. This analysis of community development is typically linked to its institutional forms. As such, it extols the institutions as the products of a movement loosely ascribed to the 1960s civil rights protests (Ferguson and Dickens 1999; Rubin 2000; Brophy and Shabecoff 2001).

Leaving aside the questionable claim of a movement by association, community development practice is often equated with geographic boundaries. The urban planning literature treats community as bounded by physical characteristics in which planners evaluate the conditions of buildings, infrastructure, and so on; assess needs; and assign priorities for funding (Hoch, Dalton, and So 2000; Simon 2001). In contrast, the feminist literature delves into the ways in which different communities facilitate or obstruct women's daily lives (McDowell 1999; Domosh and Seager 2001). Decades ago, Alvin Schorr (1963) drew attention to the block level as the place in cities where women are intimately engaged. More recent research reveals that the scale of the community is singularly important to women's choice of paid work in their daily lives, regardless of their marital status (see Domosh and Seager 2001). With our concept of the community-household model, Susan Saegert and I (1990) assert that the home acts as the anchor from which women expand their spheres of intervention, linking home to building and block and outward to community, city, region, and nation. We argue that African-American women living in landlord-abandoned buildings in Harlem drew on their history of social relations within their apartment buildings and on collective mem-

labels only confuse the distinction between community organizing and community development¹⁹ (10).

The proportion of women planners, measured by responses to a survey of the American Planning Association (APA), rose between 1981 and 1995. The APA's figures indicate that the typical member is a "white man with ten or more years' experience. in 1995, more than 25 percent of planners were women, although only about one in six planning directors were women" (Hoch, Dalton, and So 2000, 5). Data are less precise about planners' activities. A 1992 APA survey indicates that planners' activities, i.e., amount of time spent on a task, are mainly in regulation (more than 95 percent), drop to more than 55 percent for plan making, and are about the same for time spent on design review, transportation, neighborhood, and economics (7). Time spent will be largely a result of the interplay between available funding, policy priorities, and politics

ories of their community to reclaim individual homes and collective spaces. Drawing on unpaid skills used to maintain households, women, along with men, made repairs, negotiated rehabilitation budgets, and managed their residential buildings.

Intertwined with the roles that community plays in facilitating daily life are ways in which community mediates between the public and private spheres. Shirin M. Rai summarizes the past and longstanding debates about the relationship between public and private spheres—first, the distinctions; second, the obliteration; and now the bridging (2000, 6). Nancy Naples (1998a) makes the case that women's private concerns are made public at the level of the community and that public actions have the power to transform private acts into public policy. Naples's work (1998b), along with Saegert's and mine, illustrates the myriad ways in which women take their first, sometimes tentative, steps to influence public policy.

For those who practice community development in communities of the poor, and particularly in communities of color, the level of discourse is weighted toward increasing participation, resolving conflicts, achieving representation, and realizing material gains. In the wake of success, actively repudiating the other may be less the dominant issue than struggling against continued inequalities that abound in a limited geographical space. Most recently, with the emergence of organizing across diverse constituencies and communities to address issues that arise from expanding economies, planners have introduced the concept of regional economic community development (Pastor et al. 2000; Matsuoka 2002). This may mean fighting massive civil engineering projects that cut a wide swath through multiple communities, or collectively addressing the same problems, such as brownfields or toxin-producing industries, that often affect several adjacent communities.

However, an influential set of readings has framed the theoretical debates with warnings about the ideal community (Young 1990; see also Rose 1997). These criticisms about community usually focus on the oppressiveness of uniformity, rejection of difference, and intolerance of the other. Certainly in the United States, but elsewhere as well, longing to belong has provided porous ground for conservative thinking. Lisa McGirr's Suburban Warriors (2001), set in Orange County, California, is a compelling

In Mapping Gay L.A. (2001) Moira Rachel Kenney acknowledges that the idea of community as a safe haven may be tantamount to uniformity within but argues that that need not necessarily be the case. She notes that "the direct action movements of the late 1980s and early 1990s [for gay and lesbian rights] open up the possibility of rejecting the community ideal and acknowledging the differences within activist movements" (21)

account of the ways in which conservative thinking became identified with place. In the 1960s, boundaries between Orange County's cities were amorphous, planned communities were homogenous, and rapidly multiplying subdivisions were indistinguishable from each other. Housewives, businessmen, clergy, the media, and professionals in science—a sizable group of people who reveled in their new status as homeowners—formed block groups and neighborhood study groups. A right-wing ideology spread that was as much the result of place as of values held when people first moved to Southern California.

For those who theorize about community development, our understanding of community as a de facto breeding ground for neoconservative thought and action could benefit from greater reworking. The current writing about transnational activism can be informed by Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift (2002), who offer a salient reminder from the Progressive Era. In that period, Mary Follett's contribution to intellectual thought about social centers and civic clubs was that these "urban ventures were part of a wider political project; no parochial celebration of local community, but a recognition of the resonance of local issues with wider federal politics" (Amin and Thrift 2002, 134-35; see also Beard 1915; Lane 1977). Rather than discarding linkages within the nation-state, today's feminist scholars are putting forth ideas about community development projects that might gain power when linked to analyses and projects about the global. The combined emphasis on the local and the large scale might help offset gender silence within community development, especially in the United States.

Gender silence as a dominant norm: Community development within the United States

Perhaps it is not surprising to find gender analysis silenced when community development's long, rich history in the United States is generally abridged. The starting point is usually the 1960s, with a nod to Saul D. Alinsky's approach to community organizing and organizations in the late 1930s and 1940s (Alinsky 1946; Delgado 1994; Brophy and Shabecoff 2001). Susan Stall and Randy Stoecker (1997) draw attention to these silences by comparing a women-centered model with the Alinsky model of organizing.¹⁰ Brophy and Shabecoff (2001) evoke Alexis de Tocque-

¹⁶ Almsky, an organizer who lived from 1909 to 1972, is widely associated with organizing projects in Chicago and Rochester, N.Y. In 1940, he set up the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), which spread the Almsky organizing style and strategies to other cities. For a discussion.

ville's observations about civic associations in the 1830s, Booker T. Washington's and Marcus Garvey's "efforts to provide economic opportunities for former slaves after the Civil War" (11), and Jane Addams's founding of Hull House in Chicago at the turn of the nineteenth century. Linkages with the settlement house movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which gender is privileged, stand apart from this criticism. These historical analyses are typically about women's projects within the city (Hayden 1981; Christman 2000; Deutsch 2000) or about the rise of a profession such as public administration and management of the entire city (Stivers 2000).11 In Brophy and Shabecoff's hands, settlement houses and their workers are thinly treated: "They were a kind of community development institution, where trained workers settled in a disadvantaged community, in order to be an integral part of its revitalization. They tried to improve neighborhood life as a whole, through recreational, educational, and health care programs, as well as activities to promote neighborhood cooperation. Part of the agenda of Progressive reform of that era, settlement houses did not primarily draw on the indigenous leadership of the community they served" (2001, 13). More penetrating is Camilla Stivers's interpretation of settlement house workers. While Stivers covers familiar ground, her overall analysis of the workers and her comparisons of them with predominantly male municipal researchers are eye-opening and provide an alternative and richly complicated picture. Of the relationship with the poor, for example, Stivers writes:

The settlers saw their primary mission as the development of an understanding of the conditions and causes of poverty, especially by living with and learning from neighborhood residents themselves. By becoming neighbors of the poor, they would gradually become their friends; by sharing the experiences of the poor, they would be able to interpret neighborhood problems to those who currently did not understand them but might be able to make a difference. They rejected the basic principle of charity work at the time, which was that poor people were poor because of individual character flaws. The settlement workers believed, instead, that most poor people

of the Alinsky style and the history of IAF, see the discussion in response to Stall and Stoecker 1996 at http://comm-org.utoledo.edu/papers96/gender2.html (last accessed on February 19, 2003).

¹¹ In a recent example, Daphne Spain (2001) offers the concept of "redemptive places" in which women's activities in voluntary associations helped shape physical spaces of the city. She acknowledges CDCs in that they "approximate some functions of the old-fashioned settlement house" (244).

were caught up in economic and political dynamics that dwarfed individual initiative and hard work. (2000, 56–57)¹²

Stivers does not ignore the class and race biases among settlement house workers. Nor does she reconcile the views of settlement house women and men about the causes of poverty, the types of municipal reform required, and the role of government in struggles against segregation. What Stivers clearly conveys are separate approaches toward structural issues that distinguish the practices and accomplishments of predominantly female settlement house workers from the male research bureau workers who promoted scientific management of cities.

The gendered history of community development from the 1960s onprecisely the period when the modern-day women's movement surged forward—has received little attention. From this period and into the midto-late 1980s, the women's movement was one of several constituencies that identified community development as an arena in which struggles for social change took place. Gary Delgado (1994, 23) speaks about the ways in which women raised questions about community organizing, from "the preponderance of male staff to the ways issues were framed" (37). But even as this resonated within CDCs, the issues were not about women. Stunning examples of women-led projects and projects that addressed women's issues arose nonetheless, many of which remain functioning (Sprague 1991). With the increasing attention paid to immigration, issues about gender and work became tied to organizing by race and ethnicity in groups such as the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA). But CDCs-by then in the thousands-were not the institutional form in which this type of organizing took place. In the 1990s, coalition building began to occur across communities and workplaces, drawing its strength from unions and member-driven associations, both of which included large numbers of immigrants in low-wage, primarily service occupations. 13

¹³ Stivers writes: "Between 1886 and 1914, 60 percent of settlement residents were women. Most of these women were unmarried college graduates. The median length of residence for all settlers was three years, but unmarried women spent an average of ten years in settlement work, and many remained for their entire adult lifetime. For men, the more typical pattern was a short time in settlement residence during their twenties, then marriage and a career elsewhere. Settlement house governing boards also reflected female majorities" (2000, 59)

¹⁸ For example, the twelve-year struggle of the Los Angeles Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 434B, which represents home-care workers, included fighting for state legislation to establish a local public authority with which the union could negotiate on behalf of workers. Women make up more than 80 percent of home-care workers, outreach, particularly to churches in communities of color, was critical in identifying workers who are

Feminism and gender analysis in community development remained largely unheard of and uncounted in the expansionary stage of CDCs. Stoecker provides an overview of the growth starting with fewer than 100 first-generation CDCs and growing to between 500 and 1,000 during the second wave in the 1970s (1996, 2). By the 1980s, "the number of CDCs expanded to as many as 2,000 as debt-weary governments at all levels withdrew from the pressing problems of urban poverty" (Stoecker 1996, 2; see also Bratt 1988; Vidal 1992). Professionalism and efficiency had become the measurement of success. Community organizing also faced multiple obstacles by the 1980s, including "decreased funding resources, new competition for a shrinking pot of public monies, the changing role of government, the internal challenges of responding to changes in population, the external challenges of staff diversity, and the delegitimation of CO's [community organizing's] confrontational style" (Delgado 1994, 37). Women's activities were little known. Susan Stall and Randy Stoecker ([1996] 1997) attribute this to "the fact that struggles focused on the private sphere have been neither defined nor valued as important" (6). Largely unacknowledged, "women of color, low-income, and working class women create and sustain numerous protest efforts and organizations to alter living conditions or policies that threaten their families and communities. These include, but are not limited to, tenant organizing, low income housing, welfare rights, and environmental issues" (6). In the 1990s, the universe of community organizing realigned, this time in the "explosion of independent organizations in communities of color" (Delgado 1994, 37). Delgado observes that race and gender were still not central. "Issues that might mobilize women around issues deeply affecting them have been treated as suspect. Organizational staff structures have also reflected this bias. Through 1985, women and people of color were rarely in positions of authority in community organizations. . . . Though there has been substantial pressure by women, people of color,

independent contractors working for consumers in houses scattered throughout Los Angeles County. This union has identified issues of housing as an important struggle that affects its members. It remains to be seen whether Local 434B will form its own CDC, as did Boston's Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 26, or further its coalition building, collaborating with existing community development corporations. Building on a survey in which Local 434B staff and members, working with faculty and masters students from the Department of Urban Planning of the University of California, Los Angeles, Teresa Lingafelter and I conducted an initial 100 telephone interviews and subsequently an additional 446 interviews with a total of 546 union members living in Los Angeles County We held additional focus groups and in-depth interviews in which the connections between housing as a wage issue and home care as a housing issue were analyzed (Leavitt and Lingafelter, forthcoming).

and members of the gay and lesbian community to address issues of dominance and power within CO, these concerns still receive only cursory acknowledgment in many of the organizations and networks" (69). Race and ethnicity have since become more prevalent in CDCs as community organizing has responded to particular constituent bases. I argue that issues about women continued to be muted within community development, particularly as development became conflated with advocacy, which in turn was confused with organizing (Stoecker 1996), further silencing gender analyses and practice.

The circumstances were also affected by events that occurred in the organized women's movement. Barbara Epstein's (2001b) analysis suggests that the problems within CDCs coincided with the diffusion of feminist consciousness amid a decline in the women's movement and a rise in professional organizations. She writes that, despite

women's organizations with diverse, grassroots constituencies focusing on issues of concern to working class women and women of color... grassroots activism is not the dominant, or most visible, sector of the women's movement. Public perception of feminism is shaped by the staff-run organizations and by the publications of feminists in the academy. The mass diffusion of feminist consciousness, the bureaucratization of leading women's organizations, and the high visibility of academic feminism are all consequences of the acceptance of feminism by major sectors of society. But these changes have not necessarily been good for the movement. Feminism has simultaneously been institutionalized and marginalized. It has been rhetorically accepted, but the wind has gone out of its sails. (Epstein 2001b, 5)¹⁴

When it comes to funding, governmental agencies have tended to favor "brick and mortar" programs or buildings over people. The repercussions

¹⁴ Epstein gives as examples the National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW), which deals with the problems of working-class women and women of color; the Mothers of East Los Angeles, which has played an important role in environmental justice struggles; and Women's Action for New Directions (previously Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament), which brings women of color and white women together around issues of health and the environment. On NCNW, see Leavitt and Saegert 1990; Belenky, Bond, and Weinstock 1997; and Purushothaman and Jaeckel 2000; for a history of Mothers of East Los Angeles, see Pardo 1998; for Women's Action for New Directions (WAND), see http://www.wand.org/ (last accessed February 19, 2003). As to Epstein's reference to the academy, Acker 2001 and Eisenstein 2001 emphasize a growing, more diverse, and global emergence of feminisms that have relevance within the academy as well.

frequently lead CDCs to distance themselves from residents. This is significant for CDCs, since they promote connections to residents as the characteristic that distinguishes them from the far-removed faceless decision makers in bureaucracies (Rubin 2000; see also Stoecker 1996). Community development corporations are not feminist organizations, but, like many feminist organizations, they are subject to pressures from private foundations that propose and fund programs based on their understanding of the issues. Nonetheless, foundations spearheaded a shift toward communities collaborating with service institutions, undertaking comprehensive planning, and driven by resident participation (Pitcoff 1998).¹⁸

Gittell, Ortega-Bustamante, and Steffy's findings suggest that womenled CDCs may replicate behavior similar to that of the women in the feminist agencies that Epstein describes: "Women who are professionally trained as city planners, architects, public officials, and those with a background in finance, are socialized by their profession to be different in their leadership style than women who came to community development through community activism. Women leaders who are not activists tend to emphasize expertise above participation and have a more procedural style of leadership, while activist women tend to emphasize organizing and mobilization" (Gittell, Ortega-Bustamente, and Steffy 1999, 59).

Of course exceptions exist. Gittell, Ortega-Bustamante, and Steffy found that "a number of women expressed the view that credentials and training could be beneficial if they were defined by community needs and informed by knowledge of the community" (1999, 60). Other exceptions are identified within the literature of urban planning. Brophy and Shabecoff's (2001) career guide is likely to become a popular reference in educating people about community development. Many photographs of women are accompanied by descriptions of their career trajectories, but the guide is limited in its references to women's projects or gender issues." A little more is found about women in a staple of introductory urban planning classes, *The Practice of Local Government Planning* (Hoch, Dalton, and So 2000). The authors describe feminist analysis as an examination of "institutional biases

¹⁸ Comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs) are an outgrowth of community development that the Annie E Casey Foundation launched in 1993 with a Rebuilding Communities Initiative (RCI).

¹⁶ These include a community development financial institution, the Women's Opportunities Resource Center in Philadelphia, and New Economics for Women (NEW), a Los Angeles-based CDC that provides housing and jobs for single heads of household and that has begun an information technology incubator for women-owned and minority-owned businesses.

against women, nontraditional families, and other social groups" in planning practice and as a tool for giving voice to those who "might otherwise have gone unheard" (13). These welcome additions are relatively primitive, however, given strides made in feminist scholarship; feminist analysis is regrettably absent in the chapter on community development where the authors revert to the gender-neutral term of community residents.

How slowly urban planning practice has progressed in incorporating gender analysis, especially at the level of the community, is evident in the prizewinning video by Leah Mahan and Mark Lipman, Holding Ground (1996), the story of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) in Boston. One of the most respected models of community development, DSNI pioneered the local use of eminent domain as a means for a community institution—not profit-driven marketers—to control land assembly and therefore future construction. The video features the multicultural Roxbury community of African Americans, Cape Verdians, Haitians, whites, and Latinos. Women are prominent as board members, community organizers, participants in planning meetings, and new home owners. As the heroic saga of the community's growing control over its abandoned environment unfolds, an analysis of gender and race can be read into the narrative. The implicit analysis may be due to the filmmakers' orientation. In a book by Peter Medoff, DSNI's first executive director, and Holly Sklar (1994) on the chronicle of development, the authors confine gender to the chapter on holistic or human development and counter stereotypes about women on welfare and as single mothers. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative was part of Gittell, Ortega-Bustamante, and Steffy's study of community development organizations, the criteria for inclusion being "when women are directors of CDOs and when they are 60% or more of the board" (1999, 20). These thresholds determine "important differences in the types of programs pursued and in the leadership styles and organization structures" that emerge (20). Certainly, the comprehensive range of DSNI programs seems to support this gender distinction even as participants and observers of the project overlook or underplay it.

Feminist debates notwithstanding, a consciously gendered community development domain may reach a glass ceiling. This may be self-imposed, for example, as women in CDCs strive for acceptance as real estate developers, a male-identified calling, particularly in commercial and large-scale residential projects. Women who participate as members of a community, board members, recipients of services, or staff may consciously or unconsciously reject labels associated with feminism(s).¹⁷ They may not want to

¹⁷ See Naples 1998a, chap. 6, for the different ways in which African-American women

call attention to their needs as women and mothers. Reading about a gendered domain such as home economics makes clearer the vulnerabilities in what may be viewed as a gender disrobing that invites skepticism if not scorn. The caveat is that gender honesty also opens up new avenues and potential for the kind of social change for which many who practice and teach about community development advocate.

Lessons from home economics

The ways in which parochialism triumphed in the evolution of related professions illustrate the vulnerabilities of including a feminist and gender analvsis. Sarah Stage and Virginia Vincenti (1997) have assembled an anthology about an explicitly gendered domain, home economics. Professionalization, which became interlaced with women's private identification with home, children, and community volunteer work, vainly fought against downgrading as private concerns became elevated into social policy (Stage and Vincenti 1997, 18). Stage and Vincenti provide crucial information on the genealogy that ties community building to gender. Stage's opening essay (1997) highlights the career of Ellen Richards, the first woman to graduate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), who earned a bachelor of science degree in 1873. Richards was denied a doctorate because of her gender. In 1879 she convinced MIT to open a Woman's Laboratory, where she taught until 1883, when the building was torn down; 1883 also marked the year when women joined men in MIT's classrooms and when Richards became the first woman faculty member. However, Richards's brilliance in forging collaborations could not overcome home economics' close and negative identification with the home and family and with tasks such as cleaning, sewing, and child care. Expansion into social policy was thwarted time and again. In the 1920s, despite the support of federal and foundation funding, mainly male academics in psychology and sociology opposed or were skeptical of parenting as part of home economics' scientific agenda. Julia Grant, in "Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the Parent Education Movement, 1920-1945" (1997), writes that "child developmentalists were still struggling to be recognized as legitimate scientists within the disciplines of psychology and medicine. Aware of the stigma of home economics and not wanting to 'taint' their bid for professional recognition" (61), child developmentalists set themselves apart and emphasized

and Latinas express their views about the women's movement and feminism; and Millen 1997 for use of feminist research with populations that may not identify with, or may be hostile to, feminism.

their role as "disseminators, rather than the producers, of information in the behavioral sciences" (61). Stivers's analysis of public administration provides a provocative contrast to Grant's study of home economics, moving from auspicious beginnings when men's and women's approaches to municipal reform intertwined as they interacted in reform clubs and settlement houses only to lead to a schism "between the woman-oriented social welfare arena and the work of the municipal research bureaus" (2000, 65). Perhaps given the fact that urban planning is nested within and dependent on government structures, the hope that a woman-oriented social welfare approach could be maintained in the hallways of public administration was more fantasy than reality. Alternatively, decentralized projects such as today's community development organizations might find the freedom to go beyond the expected confinement and take lessons from a part of the history of home economics.

For example, Grant's chapter reveals that home economics met with popular success through state agricultural extension services, whose agents "moved education beyond the confines of academia and into America's rural villages and small towns" (1997, 62). Cornell University, Georgia State University, and the University of Cincinnati assembled curricula in child development, organizing nursery schools, and training extension workers in parent education. Home extension agents played roles that resemble some staff roles in contemporary community-based organizations. Cornell sponsored child study clubs similar to "train the trainer" or "promotora" programs, where agents "instructed local homemakers in the techniques of leading study groups because the number of agents available to lead groups was limited" (63). 18

The history of extension agents in the African-American community was pathbreaking long before faith-based community development became a buzzword in the present Bush administration.¹⁹ In "Grace under

¹⁸ See http://www.us-mex.org/borderlines/1998/b145/bl.html (last accessed February 19, 2003). The promotora strategy is used by the San Diego-based Environmental Health Coalinon (EHC), where trained women from the local community act as educators about issues such as toxic ingredients found in household cleaning products, the program results in women gaining greater knowledge along with increased confidence, which encourages them to speak out at public meetings on redevelopment and to run for the local board that advises the City Council on redevelopment.

¹⁹ Such initiatives typically involve religious institutions as sponsoring agencies and may foster strategies that reflect religious and spiritual aspects in addition to financial and physical improvements. Brophy and Shabecoff identify the growing support of faith-based development by "the Catholic Campaign for Human Development, the Congress of National Black Churches, and other large, mainstream religious denominations" (2001, 27).

Pressure: The Black Home Extension Service in South Carolina, 1919-1966," Carmen Harris provides what can be read as a minihistory of community development under segregation and in rural areas where women were hired to enter homes that white extension agents would not and could not because it was "socially and politically impossible" (1997, 207). In close contact with black women who held jobs as laundresses and domestics and in the face of the influenza epidemic of 1918, white officials quickened the pace of hiring black agents. But white administrators did not count on the resourcefulness of black home agents who worked with churches, founded community centers, and promoted more than sanitation and hygiene in the 1920s: "The [home economics] agents took a demographic survey of the county, which included population counts, patterns of farm ownership, health and sanitary conditions, cash crops produced, home industries and marketing possibilities, and the number of families already following some improved practices. Armed with these facts, they then developed programs uniquely suited to the needs of the communities they served" (Harris 1997, 217).

From 1930 until 1959—despite restraints within South Carolina, which increasingly centralized and controlled the extension service; the rise of McCarthyism nationally, which led to greater scrutiny and therefore circumspection in reports; and criticism of agents as promoters of social control—Marion B. Paul guided the black agents and understood the need to make connections between local and international work: "The home agent's task was to help blacks understand 'county, state, national and international affairs' so that they, and the United States, could take their place in the new order" (Harris 1997, 221). That intersection of race, gender, and development is present in today's growing possibilities for transnational feminism, or what may be termed global community development practices, linking decentralized community development projects internationally.

Crossing communities: Transnational gendered community development

Blueprints for transnational gendered community development are etched in shadow conferences to the United Nations. The international women's conference in Beijing "was the fourth of a series of world conferences on women which began in Mexico in 1975, with a second in Copenhagen in 1980 and a third in Nairobi in 1985" (Pietila and Vickers 1996). From the mid-1970s on, concurrent with United Nations prepcoms (preparation committees), conferences, and workshops, grassroots women organ-

izations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) met, networked, built relationships, debated positions, issued briefs, fell apart, and reassembled. The 1985 Nairobi conference marked the start of Grassroots Women Organizations Organizing Together (GROOTS), a network of grassroots women that linked the North and South. ²⁰ Some twenty-five years later, GROOTS became a key member of a loose coalition that formed at the Fourth World Conference on Women in China and that later became the Huairou Commission (HC; Leavitt and Yonder 2003).

Notwithstanding the uneven quality of images and intermittent background noise, the video We Are the Leaders: A Look at the World through Grassroots Women's Eyes (1997) is a useful supplement to books and articles about the 1995 Beijing conference. We Are the Leaders spotlights grassroots women, some of whom who belong to GROOTS and/or the U.S.-based National Congress of Neighborhood Women (Leavitt and Saegert 1990; Belenky, Bond, and Weinstock 1997; Purushothaman and Jaeckel 2000). Women from Canada, India, Tanzania, South Africa, and the United States are shown in the process of networking, sharing experiences about local conditions and projects, and analyzing structural adjustment policies that affect women's day-to-day work. At long meetings women meticulously focused on drafting word-for-word, line-by-line changes in the Beijing resolutions, a dual method that served as a collective educational tool and promoted the integration of grassroots women's issues into international documents and plans of action. 21 About fifty thousand people attended the official conference in Beijing and the parallel NGO forum held thirty miles away in Huairou (Pietila and Vickers 1996; We Are the Leaders 1997). The video ends with LaDoris Payne, director of WomanSpirit, a community development organization in St. Louis. As tents are taken down, Pavne, tearfully recalling the many women who came that far to be together and the official conference that consciously separated itself from the grass roots, ends by stating the need for a strategic plan to go further. The development of the Huairou Commission took up that call.

First, the broad-based group in the women's tent at Huairou organized itself as a supercoalition and issued a position paper on women, homes, and community (Feldman 1997). Second, hoping for greater influence at the

²⁰ See SEEDS, a pamphlet series that features innovative economic development projects in which women's voices and roles at the community level are central, at http://www.popcouncil.org/publications/seeds/seeds.html, last accessed February 19, 2003.

²¹ Some 133 such references are found in the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements Habitat II (UNCHS); see the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements Habitat II (1996).

1996 UN-Habitat II conference in Istanbul, the supercoalition accepted Secretary for Habitat Wally N'Dow's offer of a strategic location within the main conference. The Turkey-based Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (FSWW), which had worked with women in Istanbul neighborhoods for more than a dozen years, drew on its local ties and helped physically and politically to position the supercoalition (Yonder 2001). The FSWW and the group representing the German Mothers Centers (Jaeckel and Laux 2000) provided a child-care center, a first at a UN conference. The women's tent was located adjacent to the headquarters for NGOs; the outside space replicated a Mothers Center where conference participants were able to meet informally in a relaxed setting. Finally, following the Istanbul conference, the loose coalition formed as the Huairou Commission.

From 1995 on, the Huairou Commission has continued to evolve as a partnership organization, sponsoring disaster and development, peace, land, governance, and AIDS campaigns that are initiated at the local level; making gendered community development projects visible through exhibits such as "Our Best Practices"; and holding the Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA), all the time adhering to its original principles of accountability to the grass roots and transparency in decision making (see Feldman 2002; Leavitt 2002). The first exhibit of "Our Best Practices" was planned in conjunction with the preparatory committee meeting for Habitat II. Much like the first steps in any process of engendering, the objective lay in visibility and dissemination of otherwise overlooked or unknown women's projects. As Ayse Yonder and I write in our 2003 work, "Our Best Practices" "[broke] the dividing line between expert and grassroots women, where they negotiated ways to listen to and talk to one another" (215). For the Huairou Commission, "Our Best Practices" was an alternative to the official United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (UNCHS) "Our Best Practices" Exhibit and the Dubai International Awards.22

Mothers Centers, both an "Our Best Practices" designate and the winner of a Dubai Award in 2002, serve as an example of community-based projects that take different forms within different countries and across borders, where horizontal learning occurs through peer exchanges. Whereas Mothers Centers in the United States more closely resemble service providers, in Germany, the Mothers Centers were initially an alternative approach to the

²² The Dubai carnes a cash award and offers a platform that provides greater visibility for the winning projects.

traditional government-run social welfare agency.22 In the absence of stateprovided services in former socialist countries, the centers are equivalent to political and social spaces that women carve out of a community's fabric, finding and negotiating for room in vacant apartments, storefronts, and existing agencies that have survived government change. The pressing need for Mothers Centers is reflected in the speed with which they have grown: in the Czech Republic, about eighty sprang up within a one-year period after a Czech mother read about the German experience and visited a German center. By the following year, two hundred were operating. In Nairobi, the Mothers Center of GROOTS Kenya acts as the base from which other activities occur. For a minimal fee, mothers in the Mathari district, site of one of the largest squatter settlements in Africa, leave their children. The two-room center is minimally furnished by Western standards; the rear room has thin pallets on which the children sleep, and a few toys are scattered here and there, but the working mothers know that their children are in safe and caring hands. The center is the base out of which trained grassroots women visit homes and teach health-care lessons to families that have been decimated by the AIDS epidemic. Women from this area have also crossed national borders to join forces with grassroots groups across the region in the fight against AIDS.

Concluding thoughts

Some writers suggest that we go "beyond gender" and develop a new paradigm (Friedan 1997). Others caution against too closely identifying women with home, children, and community, stereotypes that are thought to be a form equivalent to domestic bondage within social policy. That educators and practitioners still ignore the rich analyses based on the intersection of race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, sexual preference, disability, and so forth, and use one-dimensional, gender-neutral arguments speaks to the need for engendering community development. Progress has been made toward gender breakdowns in data collection. Although information does not exist uniformly for all countries or in all research areas, the United Nations provides several differnt gender statistics da-

Monika Jaeckel and Andrea Laux (2000) articulate five concepts for a successful Mothers Center self-help experts who are mothers, not professionals; public space is claimed; women's work in the center is remunerated; children are welcome, but mothers' interests and needs remain paramount; the Mothers Center is female-managed public space. This differs from the practice of community development organizations including a child-care center in a housing complex or as part of an economic development scheme.

tabases, reports on methodology, and discussions about developing gender indicators. Organizations such as GROOTS provide a model practice that goes beyond rhetoric in ensuring that the intersections of gender, race, and class occur in practice and that the South has as strong a voice as the North. For those in community development in countries like the United States, consciously creating and speaking out for a gendered community development domain with linkages to local and state levels that extend to global development is a daring choice.

The grounds for this may be more attractive to those who agree with Epstein (2001b) that a response is necessary in the face of muted, if not silenced, feminist perspectives. In thoughtful rejoinders to Epstein, Joan Acker (2001) suggests that the issues feminists have faced and continue to face are daunting in their complexity, absent, in Acker's words, "a gender and race alternative to capitalism" (47); Hester Eisenstein (2001) reminds us of the formidable opposition, assaults, and backlash that "targeted the women's movement, along with the civil rights movement, the gay and lesbian movement, black and Hispanic welfare mothers, and illegal immigration" (51). Additionally, as both Acker and Eisenstein emphasize, economic restructuring and efforts at undermining the labor movement have escalated.

With eyes wide open, Epstein calls for an "updated version of sixties radicalism which would include both socialist and feminist perspectives and address itself to the increased power of the corporations and influence of marketplace values" (2001b, 13). This resonates with a call to engender community development and strengthen links with community organizing. Epstein concludes her essay by stating: "One can think of the radical feminist demand for equality and community as quaint, or one can see it as a precondition for a contemporary radical program" (2001b, 13). In her response to Acker and Eisenstein, Epstein reprises her point that feminism will not persist independently of other progressive movements but rather will be part of "a current, or many currents, within a broad progressive movement and also within particular movements around particular issues" (2001a, 55). Urban planners who are engaged in thinking about, writing about, and practicing community development might begin to enter the debate and in doing so raise particular issues and at last break the decades-old gender silence.

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Book Reviews

Connecting Links: The British and American Suffrage Movements, 1900–1914. By Patricia Greenwood Harrison. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.

The March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866–1914. By Martin Pugh. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

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the pleasing to see two books that add new pieces to the mosaic from which we derive our knowledge of the women's suffrage movement. We know much more about Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and Millicent Garrett Fawcett's National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) than we once did. But there are still conspicuous gaps in the picture. There is no published monograph on the history of the Women's Freedom League or any scholarly monograph on important figures in the British movement, including the WSPU's Annie Kenney. The impact of other suffragist campaigns on the movement in Britain needs more analysis, although good work exists on the contribution of suffragists from New Zealand to the British campaign.¹

Patricia Greenwood Harrison admirably fills a vital gap in the international dimensions of the suffrage movement, analyzing the personal and organizational links between British and U.S. suffragists between 1900 and 1914 and arguing that these links occurred on a much bigger scale than has been recognized: at no other period did British and U.S. women work so closely on a single, focused issue and objective. The year 1909

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¹ Patricia Grunshaw, "Women's Suffrage in New Zealand Revisited: Writing from the Margins," in Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives, ed. C. Daley and M. Nolan (Auckland. Auckland University Press, 1994), 25–41.

was the apotheosis of this working relationship, although Harrison traces Anglo-American cooperation back to the mid-nineteenth century. The U.S. suffragists Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton met at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, and in the early days of the Pankhursts' campaign U.S. women emulated some of the attention-seeking tactics that characterized the milder forms of British militancy. But as suffragette violence escalated in Britain, both suffragists who condoned violence and those rejecting it found sympathizers on the other side of the ocean.

Harrison authoritatively explains the diverse forms that Anglo-American suffragist connections took. Friendships were formed, common goals shared, and suffragists of both nationalities participated enthusiastically in each other's events. Votes for Women in Britain and the Woman's Journal in the United States each carried reports of work for women's suffrage overseas. The interactions among the national leaders—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, Carrie Chapman Catt, Anna Shaw, and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence—were particularly important. A number of young American women participated directly in the British campaigns, but British women did not as a rule participate in the U.S. campaigns in quite the same way. Lucy Burns worked as a WSPU organizer in Scotland from 1909 to 1912. Alice Paul, another American suffragist, was arrested, imprisoned, and forcibly fed. British suffragists of various political persuasions, including Richard Cobden's daughter, Anne Cobden-Sanderson, Emmeline Pankhurst, and Ethel Snowden, spoke to large sympathetic audiences in the United States, while Anna Shaw, Carrie Catt, and others addressed sizable meetings in Britain. Fund-raising was largely a one-way traffic, from well-wishers in the United States to activists in Britain.

Martin Pugh's book does not purport to be another narrative history of the women's suffrage movement but is made up of ten essays that ask specific questions and focus on interpretations of the topics and issues he has identified. His volume usefully addresses a number of interesting and important questions: To what extent did women supporters of the Conservative Party develop a distinctly conservative rationale for women's suffrage? Why did influential figures in the Liberal Party resist votes for women? Why were votes for women won in sparsely populated frontier places such as New Zealand rather than in densely populated metropolitan areas? What is shown by the results of the Edwardian by-elections? What can be learned from studying the fortunes of the antisuffragists?

The strength of this book lies in the use Pugh makes of important and hitherto neglected primary materials: the unpublished autobiography of

the Scottish suffragette Helen Crawfurd, archives in the Public Records Office, the Edwardian by-election records, and so on. The section on suffragette militancy does not give sufficient attention to what the militants had to say in justification of their own actions or take sufficient account of important feminist research analyzing militancy, including Sandra Stanley Holton's pathbreaking essay, "'In Sorrowful Wrath': Suffrage Militancy and the Romantic Feminism of Emmeline Pankhurst."²

- Pugh claims that his book is the first since 1967 to assess the entire campaign to secure the parliamentary vote for women. This is vitiated by the fact that his account ends in 1914, with the First World War relegated to a five-page epilogue, rather than in 1918 when the vote for women older than thirty was achieved in Britain, or in 1928 when the vote was extended to women over twenty-one. His choice of terminal date unfortunately precludes analysis of topics that are essential to an understanding of the thinking of different groups of suffragists and how and why women got the vote. These topics include the suspension of militancy and the patriotic stance adopted by Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst between 1914 and 1918 that endeared them to the authorities, the impassioned debates between those suffragists who supported the First World War and others who opposed it, and the importance that should be attached to the contribution ordinary women had made to the war effort, particularly through their work in the munitions factories. The latter did much to shift public opinion in support of their claim to the vote.

Why does Pugh call his book a revisionist history? Whose work is being revised? Drawing heavily on recent research, some of it by feminist scholars, Pugh argues that the "traditional chronology of the suffrage movement in Britain no longer fits the facts" (3). But research in recent years has been so diverse that it can be argued that there is now no "traditional chronology." Many feminist historians would agree with his argument that the achievement of the Victorian suffragists has been underrated. His misgivings about some aspects of the WSPU are also widely shared by feminists. Criticisms of the Pankhursts' autocratic behavior have a long provenance dating back to middle and early twentieth-century histories of the women's movement in Britain, for example, popular histories such as Marian Ramelson's The Petticont Rebellion: A Century of Struggle for Women's Rights (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1967).

Pugh argues persuasively that the 1890s did not see a decline in support for votes for women as is often supposed. On the contrary, it witnessed

² In *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold Smith (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1990), 7-24.

a revival of the fortunes of suffragists and a shift of parliamentary opinion in their favor. According to Pugh, the notion of support for the suffragists declining in the 1890s was merely propagandist and furnished Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst with an excuse for militancy. However, the WSPU leadership did not contend that nothing had been achieved by the supporters of the veteran suffragist, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and other women who did not believe in militant action but confined themselves to such activities as lobbying members of Parliament and writing letters. What the WSPU leadership argued was that the vote had not been achieved, despite the sizable public support that the work of the non-militants had built up. This is a rather different claim.

Pugh completes his analysis of the British campaign for women's suffrage by "examining the extent to which the non-militant campaign expanded into a mass movement, the significance of the alliance between the NUWSS and the Labour Party, and the attempt to develop a working class base in the two years before the war." Some readers will take issue with his contention that "it is here, rather than in the better-known suffrage campaigns, that the central explanation for the eventual success of the women's movement lies" (4).

The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice. By Bonnie G. Smith. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Gender and the Historian. By Johanna Alberti. Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2002.

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espite their similar titles, these two works about gender and the writing of history differ in most basic respects: scope, sources, style, and intent. Focusing on historical writing by women, Bonnie Smith traces the foundation and development of the historical profession through a gendering process that eliminated amateurs and limited admission to "scientific" writers, who were almost exclusively male and concerned largely with political events. Drawing on works by historians such as Germaine Necker de Staël, Athénaïs Mialaret Michelet, Eileen Power, Jane Ellen Harrison, Mary Ritter Beard, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and others, Smith recuperates "amateurism" from the basement to which the founding fa-

thers consigned it and offers a striking new interpretation of the content, purposes, and value of this largely unknown literature. "Before professionalization," writes Smith, "historical work was thick with unanswerable questions, contradictory layerings of the progressive and the mysterious, gender and race, imagination and reason, the written and the real" (35). Following a "narcotic road to the past" (14), for instance, de Staël produced works of "embodied genius," as passages from her "traumatic" and neglected history of Italy, Corinne, demonstrate (so effectively as to send me out to find the full text).

Asking "What Is a Historian?" Smith contrasts works of "unprogrammed ingenuity" (63) produced by amateurs with the kinds of scholarship that resulted from the seminar training and carefully defined research practices that came to shape and to gender the profession, while eclipsing the work of most women writers. Major contributions by wives such as Athénaïs Michelet and Mary Beard, or other family members, in the production of male historians' masterpieces became suspect or were simply denied. Constructing the new profession as science, closing it to women and other amateurs, the founders redefined history as what Lord Acton termed "the heroic study of records" (125). Their fixation on documents created a kind of "bibliomania" (121); their archival research constituted "feats of prowess" (118); their pursuit of history progressed into a kind of obsession that could even produce delirium and ecstasy. "Overcoming the fundamental divide between life and death, the expert in the critical study of documents claimed to enter the mind of the dead. [Jules] Michelet, after an alleged twenty years of daily archival work, professed to hear their moans, murmurs, and muffled cries" (126).

Smith thus shows that much more than a dream of objectivity motivated the men who came to define the new historical science. Influenced by the philological approaches in which nineteenth-century schoolboys were trained, the new professional historians replaced the "web of associations and analogies" (25) that fed the amateur's narrative with "facticity," with dates and details that existed only after "discovery, scrutiny, and verification by the historian" (135). These practices created the lines of exclusion that enabled "historical science [to write] its political narratives about a relatively small group of men of European descent, all the while appearing so genderless and . . . so real" (132).

While the professional men increasingly narrowed their field, amateurs expanded theirs to include "aesthetic, emotional, and kinetic registers." They ventured into neglected or disdained areas such as the history of venereal disease, pornography, and prostitution, also allying with nineteenth-century reformers to produce empirical studies of economic con-

ditions and sociopolitical movements. In several cases, feminist activists founded archives to house documentary collections left out of official archives. Amateur historians paved the way for professionals, some of whom began in the early twentieth century to rebel against what Benedetto Croce described as the "lifeless and disconnected facts" (215) to which "scientific" historical study was by then restricted. By "incorporat[ing] law, the everyday, the feminine, the aesthetic, the statistical, and much, much more" (215), amateurism served to introduce modernism into historiography (while, perversely, bringing no admission to women historians). In Smith's revisionist view, amateurs constituted an avant-garde for later historical writing, especially in social and cultural history, by the professional historians themselves.

In reevaluating the amateur history written by many long-disdained or forgotten women, Smith implicitly challenges the assertions of those historians who in recent years have chanted lamentations about an alleged crisis in historiography, including Peter Novick, whose 1988 work, That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), won wide acclaim but told only part of the story of the profession's origins. Smith's book provides an essential corrective—and much, much more. Richly textured, filled with fascinating anecdotes—like many of the works she examines—and drawn from an impressively wide range of primary and secondary sources, this study will interest not only historians of all types but also other scholars for whom the history of history, with its politics past and present, provides important insight into developments in their own fields. This highly original, erudite book should be required reading in every introductory graduate seminar for future historians.

Historians who want to pursue the writing of history by women into a later period, historians of women not yet engaged in the field in the 1970s and 1980s, and historians in England and the United States unfamiliar with the historiography of women's history in the other country (especially with labor and socialist history, where much important scholarship in women's history has appeared in Britain) may want to read Johanna Alberti's concise account of three recent decades of historical writing by historians of women (themselves largely though not exclusively women). Describing "a particular historical community and the debates within it about the subjects and methods which should be adopted" (138), Alberti provides a kind of extended review essay that surveys many important and influential works, all situated in their political as well as historiographical context. Written in an easily accessible style, this slim book would serve effectively as an undergraduate text.

Several of Alberti's chapter titles, beginning with "Woman as a Force in History," paraphrase or allude to important works in women's history or theory. Early chapters remind readers of formative contributions by Gerda Lerner, Joan Kelly, Natalie Zemon Davis, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg in the United States; by Sheila Rowbotham, Ann Oakley, Juliet Mitchell, and Jane Lewis in Britain; and by many others. A few continental European scholars, notably Gisela Bock and Michelle Perrot, also appear. The chapter "Liberating Women's History" reminds readers of how many still-important theoretical and critical issues were broached by authors in Berenice Carroll's 1976 anthology, including the need to reevaluate traditional historiography and the complexity of using the basic concepts woman and women. The chapter "Gender, a Useful Category of Historical Analysis, 1983-7" shows the many ways in which feminist historians on both sides of the Atlantic sought new, integrated conceptual frameworks and methods powerful enough both to advance their goal of rewriting history and to serve their feminism.

Alberti claims that "women's history has altered the way history has been perceived, initiating theoretical and philosophical debates in a way almost (the exception is the influx of Marxism) unprecedented in Anglo-Saxon historiography" (18). Taken together these books go far to document the basis for this assertion. It is time for a new version of historiography that recognizes it.

Voices of Women Historians: The Personal, the Political, the Professional. Edited by Eileen Boris and Nupur Chaudhuri. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

When Women Ask the Questions: Creating Women's Studies in America. By Marilyn Jacoby Boxer. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Coming of Age in Academe: Rekindling Women's Hopes and Reforming the Academy. By Jane Roland Martin. New York: Routledge, 2000.

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he intellectual and political coherence of feminist scholarship as a field of study, a discrete discipline, and an effective site for social change has never ceased to be fundamentally challenged within U.S. uni-

versities. However, we seem to have come to terms with, or perhaps simply resigned ourselves to, the inevitability of always having to answer the same fundamental questions about the intellectual legitimacy of our work and the institutional validity of our field. As feminist scholars we know that every new administrator, strategic planning committee, budget reallocation initiative, and general education reform will require thoughtful answers to questions that would insult practitioners in almost any other field in modern academe. Why does women's studies continue to deserve to exist? What is intellectually valuable about studying women from feminist perspectives? Is women's studies sufficiently open to other discipline-based approaches? Is feminist scholarship too interdisciplinary to claim a methodological integrity of its own?

However, the U.S. feminist scholars who founded this field thirty years ago and dedicated their professional lives to fundamentally changing society through the study of women from feminist perspectives are now asking themselves different and more difficult questions. How did we come to this compelling but underappreciated work within the hegemonic structures of higher education? What truly useful knowledge, structures, and practices have we produced from this powerful site? Has our participation in the modern university ultimately helped or hindered the lives of women? Where have we gone wrong? When did we get it right? And as we reflect on the late-twentieth-century flourishing of feminist scholarship, how close did we come to fulfilling the transformational promise of feminist knowledge? The three books under consideration in this review grapple with these questions and offer us, if not full and satisfying answers, then the necessary historical record and reaffirmed political values from which we can begin to move forward. In Voices of Women Historians, editors Eileen Boris and Nupur Chaudhuri have brought together a collection of essays that chronicles the historical conditions and personal circumstances that inspired the individual women who pioneered the field of feminist history. Marilyn Boxer's When Women Ask the Questions provides a well-documented history of the development of women's studies in all of its modern institutional permutations, and Coming of Age in Academe by Jane Roland Martin is an extended personal and philosophical reflection on the costs of feminist success in academe. Taken in turn, these texts provide a map of how individual women were drawn to the field, how they built powerful institutions from nothing, and how we should best utilize these institutions to revitalize feminist studies as a transformational project.

Boris and Chaudhuri have collected essays from twenty feminist historians, from founding members of the field to current graduate students.

Their personal reflections provide a panoramic view of the types of diverse experiences that compelled individuals to coalesce around a feminist historical pursuit of "the woman's question." Among the pioneer generation, Gerda Lerner entered Columbia University's graduate program as a married mother of teenagers, Berenice Carroll came to the profession with a skepticism shaped by her early life in the socialist Zionist Hashomer Hatzair and the leftist kibbutz movement, Nupur Chaudhuri's social and political activism stemmed from her family's resistance to British colonialism in Bengali culture, and Joan Hoff grew up in a poor union family struggling to survive in a strike-ridden Montana coal-mining town. Nancy Hewitt tells how her participation in antiwar protests, Laura X's Women's Herstory Archives, and late-night readings of Emma Goldman helped her understand how "personal upheavals converged with political and intellectual transformations to induce significant ruptures in my life and in my relation to scholarship and activism" (235). Crystal Feimster speaks as a young black graduate student from within "a new generation of women historians" who has consciously used her oppositional scholarship to "strive for wholeness, unity of heart, mind, body, and spirit" as she struggles with the insidiousness of academic inclusion without influence (276-79). Indeed, throughout this moving collection we come to appreciate how each scholar's intellectual autobiography helps illuminate the complex process by which context, identity, and a series of powerful political disjunctures shaped feminists' quarter-century journey to, through, against, and in some cases beyond the profession in their search for a usable past. In time, not only the subjectivities of these individual women but the very nature of historians' work were changed by these political/ intellectual upheavals and ruptures. As a result of feminist efforts to uncover and document the history of diverse women's experiences in all their complexity, new methods of inquiry emerged, neglected sources of primary data and evidence were legitimated, and fundamental questions about difference and structures of power became central to the field.

Most of the women in this collection served on the board of the Coordinating Council on Women in the Historical Profession (CCWHP). Their personal narratives document the painstaking work that went into building and sustaining one of the most viable feminist institutions devoted to the construction and advancement of oppositional knowledge within the academy. Founded in 1969 as an alternative to the American Historical Association (AHA), the CCWHP embraced an openly activist agenda: advancing women within the profession, legitimizing feminist approaches to the study of history, documenting the neglected history of women's experience, and, in the process, transforming the theoretical assumptions and methodological practices of the profession. The CCWHP operated as an independent advocacy group lobbying to improve the status of women's history and empower women in the profession, while its sister organization, the Conference Group on Women's History (CGWH), founded in 1974, devoted itself exclusively to the promotion of feminist scholarship. The primarily activist CCWHP and more academic CGWH joined forces in 1995 under the new rubric Coordinating Council for Women in History (CCWH), which continues to pursue "its strategy of infiltration from below" (xvi).

In a much more expansive treatment of feminist institution building, Marilyn Boxer brings her vast experience as a founding feminist scholar, women's studies chair, and university provost to her definitive rendering of the history of women's studies within the larger context of late-twentiethcentury U.S. higher education. When Women Ask the Questions is a detailed study of the many ways in which practitioners of feminist scholarship successfully combined their commitment to political advocacy and academic rigor within existing structures of U.S. universities transforming both higher education and our understanding of modern feminism in the process. "In women's studies," Boxer argues, "feminism has a curricular base from which new ideas can be generated to add to the intellectual reservoirs that supply the university, culture, and society. Even if women's studies has not yet impelled a reevaluation of higher education, women and gender now appear across the curriculum. Academic feminists have pulpits from which to speak. Transformation projects carry the new scholarship beyond women's studies classrooms" (243). Boxer begins her story with the creation of the women's studies program and its ten-course curriculum at San Diego State University in 1970 and then proceeds to carefully chart the field's rapid institutional expansion across a broad educational landscape into the present. In the process, she provides a clear and comprehensive institutional history of feminist scholarship, covering the struggles of its earliest renegade courses to the challenges facing its current interdisciplinary doctoral programs. Her useful taxonomies chart the historical development of feminist curriculum and pedagogical practices from early compensatory projects to recent feminist struggles with new conceptions of differences and multiple systems of subordination. And Boxer offers a host of essential definitions throughout the book that help to resolve some of the field's most difficult and persistent questions-What is women's studies? What makes a curriculum feminist? Those who lived through the historical development of women's studies may find little new in this story, for Boxer's analytic trajectory, principal agents, and primary texts never stray far from conventional

feminist narratives of the field. However, her unambivalent stance that feminist scholarship, through necessity and choice, has benefited irrevocably from its institutional integration into existing dominant cultural structures and practices has seldom been so convincingly argued. This rich compendium of women's studies courses, texts, programs, departments, journals, research centers, paradigms, and practices will prove to be an invaluable resource for future generations trying to understand how and why women's studies came to such unlikely fruition in this historical moment.

Jane Roland Martin, professor emerita of philosophy at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and veteran feminist theorist, based Coming of Age in Academe on a series of lectures she gave between 1991 and 1997 in which she argued that the feminist quest for academic acceptance, as celebrated by Boxer, has inadvertently led to a costly political insularity in women's studies and the denigration, if not outright rejection, of the authenticating lived experiences of women by its practitioners. Drawing on imagery from Three Guineas, in which Virginia Woolf invites readers to stand on the bridge connecting the private and public spheres in order to better observe the sightless, senseless procession of educated men. Martin asks: "How can feminist scholars find acceptance in the academy without losing sight of their mothers, daughters, sisters, half-sisters, female cousins and aunts—which means females of all classes, races, sexualities, and states of being? Without cutting ourselves off from the sound of women's voices. Without forgetting how to speak to other women. Without severing ourselves from our feminist roots. Without trading in our dreams" (4-5). Martin painfully concludes that we cannot. In an extended metaphor throughout the book, she likens women in higher education to immigrants assimilated and contained within the dissociative language and hostile structures of male-dominated academe. She argues that, in effect, academic coeducational environments have become sorting devices much like the old formal mechanism of sex-segregated education—a harsh and brutal filter of women—that facilitates our "ghettoization" in the larger society (81-82). The academy's most rewarded feminist practitioners, according to Martin, are those who have succumbed to its compassionless, disembodied estrangement from the feeling world of women. True transformation will require a fundamental redefinition of higher education—one that incorporates the woman-associated "three Cs of care. concern, and connection" into its understanding and treatment of diverse peoples, ideas, and circumstances (134). Unfortunately, when examined closely, many of Martin's metaphors and generalizations seem misapplied. However, taken as a whole, Martin's passionate treatise leaves us teetering

between the radical promise of full feminist participation in the academy and the fundamental price of trying to claim a home within powerful patriarchal structures.

Out of the Dead House: Nineteenth-Century Women Physicians and the Writing of Medicine. By Susan Wells. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001.

Conduct Unbecoming a Woman: Medicine on Trial in Turn-of-the-Century Brooklyn. By Regina Morantz-Sanchez. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

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he medical world of the nineteenth century was in deep flux. Gender, once hallowed, had become an "internally unstable affair." Men, once confident of their superiority, watched in disbelief as women streamed across every barrier. Such women seemed a different breed, not really women but females, who spoke up, wore pants, voted, battled their way into medical school, dissected in mixed company, and aspired to every rank of the profession, including the most sacrosanct of all, surgery. Apparently, medical women were intent on becoming "just like" men.

Or were they? In two unusual historical explorations, the rocky path of women in medicine is detailed through their writings in an attempt to discover if women wrote "an alternate medicine" or if they were part of a practice of science that "has no sex." Women physicians had to produce proposals, take minutes, give public lectures, and publish scientific papers. Their medical views were used to encourage women patients through a kind of "strategy masquerade," as explained by Susan Wells in Out of the Dead House, in which they wrote as males (read scientists) but did not present themselves as men. By studying the rhetorical practices of early women scientists, Wells finds that there is no distinctly feminine scientific voice, since this would imply resistance to a medical science produced only by men. Instead, in this well-researched and novel work, Wells maintains that women doctors intervened in medical discourse "at the very formation of the modern scientific profession," their influence scattered like traces of gold along the curving banks and channels of medical research. Through primary writings, she traces the female presence in medical research strategies, the use of survey information, methods of taking patient histories, and such conventions as "heart history," a tell-all session in which the patient's life story was revealed, allowing the woman physician to offer advice in return, whether medical, financial, religious, or moral—an opportunity to intervene in the personal life of the patient.

An exciting concept: reexamining the history of medicine through the literacy of its practitioners rather than only their medicine. But how better to track their progress? In journals and diaries, women physicians—Mary Putnam Jacobi, Hannah Longshore, Ann Preston—reveal individual, headlong progress as they move from general theory to pinpoint specialization. Knowledge and experience expand into specific interest. Mary Putnam Jacobi thrilled to new discoveries, used technical language floridly, and offered "multiple layers of description, from macroscopic . . . to microscopic" (159). She began her studies with the general theory of mental illness yet found herself drawn to the physical results of it, the "redness . . . [and] white swellings . . . [that] indicated scrofula . . . and purulent oozing from the urethera" (162). She took up the study of skin disorders.

Wells, in a way, follows the same pattern, progressing from general information, such as "speech performance" and "registers" (25), to the far more specific life interests of her key women physicians. Intense medical details reveal social and medical history. Once, women patients merely suffered "reproductive problems" (174), and female physicians suffered problems of medical prestige by having to treat them. Once, female physicians would seldom use the male term *Doctor*. They had to "develop distinctive strategies for speaking and writing in a hostile profession" (105).

One such strategy, says Wells, was "the venerable weapon of feminine satire" (186), as when Mary Putnam Jacobi dubbed her diseases by the names of the men associated with them, as well as taking secret pleasure in the progress of professional rivalries. Analysis of the woman, the profession, and the times through the writings is unique in this field, advancing the speech act theory that phrases and sentences themselves can actually effect the action named. That women, socially so powerless, could manifest such strengths through rhetoric is a fascinating study.

Progress was hard won, and women's entry into medicine "required a realignment of complex economies of medical vision" (10). Although the vision must have dimmed at times—during gender riots at Toronto University or when female students at Pennsylvania Hospital were jeered and had to dodge a hail of rocks—it springs to life when Mary Putnam Jacobi marvels at a "shred of tissue" seen in her microscope, which "seemed for

the moment to give a glimpse of a mighty vision of endless life, streaming with infinite energy into the minutest particles of an infinite universe" (188).

Wells has woven a complex analysis, bringing in enough history to create context and enough context to show how early texts developed scientific discipline. African-American women physicians are also brought in, as a small but growing presence in the U.S. medical scene, and though their writings are scarce, their examples, also, serve Wells's point: that nineteenth-century women's "perceptions and scientific interests" are not necessarily connected to "a feminine cooperative nature" (6).

Conduct Unbecoming a Woman also finds a relationship between words and nineteenth-century gender issues—words that spring from articles printed in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle detailing the supposedly lurid exploits of gynecological surgeon Mary Amanda Dixon Jones. In a highly publicized onslaught, the paper demonized Dixon Jones, accused her of murdering a patient after performing unnecessary surgery, then added to the allegations a litany of other medical outrages. It took Dixon Jones nearly two years to clear her name of the criminal and civil charges, and she retaliated by suing the Eagle in one of the longest libel suits tried in the country.

Not merely a feature story, Dixon Jones's downfall was, according to Morantz-Sanchez, a metaphor of social change "not just in Brooklyn, but in the nation at large" (201). How so? Previously, only men were identified with formal medical education. Dixon Jones broke upon the scene unrepentant and aggressive, claiming a new medical subspecialty—gynecological surgery—as well as breaking through the social restraints imposed on women, whether in private life or public domain.

To categorize Dixon Jones by the interrelationship between language and "individual consciousness, structures, and organization of power" simply adds a modern perspective to a woman described in her day as "peculiar in person, flashy...tawdry...quite a pachyderm" (10). In fact, no one in Victorian times quite had the words to describe a woman of Dixon Jones's upstart nature, and this confusion gives Morantz-Sanchez a platform from which to begin.

Morantz-Sanchez attempts to "read" Dixon Jones "back into the historical record" (10) in a way the doctor herself might not anticipate. Rather than lauding—or condemning—her surgical skills, she cites the doctor's "transgressive" professional nature that propelled her, full force, out of the traditional female professional networks into a world of unconventionality, leaving her at the center of the "weighty" conflux of "medicine, professionalization, social relations, and gender roles" (10).

All this, and able to care for patients, too? If anyone could straddle many worlds, it seemed to be Mary Dixon Jones, who was a "good Christian, very pious . . . and had performed eighty-five laparotomies by the late 1880s" (12). Skilled as she was, she did not anticipate the rancor that sprang up around her professional identity. While resistance to woman doctors was strong, the bias against women surgeons was staggering. Some might concede that women were qualified for suturing—tiny, feminine hands could make tiny stitches, just like quilting—but exploring the caverns, recesses, and fluid sacs of the human body was work for men alone.

Yet some women ventured into abdominal surgery—the field was new, there were few professional controls, and virtually any general practitioner could attempt it, without professional sanctions. Thus Dixon Jones found herself in a male-dominated profession, specializing in a medical area little understood by anyone, including the doctors. Yet she had a "surgical cast of mind" that embraced pathology and laboratory science and, ultimately, provoked criticism, even outrage. In 1888 she performed the first total hysterectomy for fibroid tumors in the United States, securing her reputation for innovation.

What makes Dixon Jones unique is that she represents a change in medical attitudes to women's ills, which were generally attributed to moral inferiority or inherent pathology. A sick woman prompted much philosophical theorizing. The female body lurked mysteriously behind the veil of ignorance, was prone to insanity from ovarian disturbances, and longed for its ideal state of innate purity. Women physicians working in gynecology had to change the medical perceptions of women's bodies, while their own professionalism changed social expectations of women. Dixon Jones went even further: she had an "obvious enthusiasm" for the knife and an "exuberant" desire to explore new techniques—hardly feminine behavior.

As science and scientific language changed, so too did women's position in society, as well as their understanding of themselves. Incredibly, women seemed to be actively managing their own medical affairs, and they often sought the advice of female physicians.

Dixon Jones's trial, according to Morantz-Sanchez, "opened a window onto Victorian society" (10), exposing contentious reactions to the "emergence of modern scientific values, technologies and medical-legal developments" (10). Although she lost the suit, it could well have been her gruff demeanor and general "conduct unbecoming a woman." Although branded by accusations of monetary greed and a twisted desire to rob women of their child-bearing abilities, her legacy also includes fifty published papers, numerous journal notices for presentations to the New York Pathological Society, and a meticulously self-promoted career. Dixon

litical culture mean that women activists, even while privately expressing concerns about domestic violence and justice within the family, work through organizations that align their projects with the party agenda and, therefore, focus on economic issues. In Bombay, where power is dispersed and where there is a "fragmented" and "heterogeneous" political culture, women's groups have been able to affect public discussions about violence against women and other seemingly more "gendered" issues. Here an autonomous organization, the Forum, sets the feminist agenda for the public through the media. The CPI(M)-affiliated group in Bombay, the Janwadi Mahila Sanghatana (JMS), supports the issues raised by the Forum, although it agitates around issues that affect women of the poorer classes as well, for example, the price of consumer goods. In two similar economic, but different political, contexts, women activists focus on different issues.

Feminists Doing Development puts Ray's work into a global context. The contributors, including the editors, Marilyn Porter and Ellen Judd, explain and illustrate the constant tension between feminism—an ideology and practice for the transformation of society—and economic development—a practice that sustains capitalist economic structures and spreads them throughout the world. The authors' understandings of the feministdevelopment tension is cultivated through their professional experiences within nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), donor agencies, government, and grassroots organizations of indigenous peoples, workers, and poor people. Contributors are concerned that integrating a gender analysis into development has meant not transforming development models but rather, in the words of Fenella Porter and Valsa Verghese, stripping "the word 'gender' of its political and transformational significance" (137). Yet despite their criticisms of, and cynicism toward, the development industry, these contributors are committed to the task of promoting a more transformative theory and practice of development. The authors work at the margins of, but within, existing paradigms in order to change them. Although most of the contributions offer important insights about how feminists are negotiating the tension between feminism and development, the real strength of the book is in these selections taken together. We see local and global feminist development working in concert.

Since 1990, through the *Human Development Report* the United Nations Development Programme has sought to transform the way global society and policy makers assess economic development by pushing measures of development beyond gross domestic product per capita to measures of human development, gender equity, gender empowerment, and poverty that are more descriptive of the lived conditions within states.

Human Development Report 2000 (HDR 2000) integrates theories of human rights and development such that we understand human dignity as requiring both rights and development, and that we regard the global community-including corporations, NGOs, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank-as responsible for promoting these. Using Amartya Sen's version of the capabilities approach—that development is a process of expanding and actualizing political, social, and economic freedoms—the authors offer a moral and political argument for the complementarity of the human rights and development fields. Human rights brings to human development the ideal that others have duties to promote development, that they should be held accountable, but that it is difficult to attribute blame for the failures of human development. Human rights offers tools for analyzing social progress—"the ways and means of promoting human development" (23). In the other direction, the development field lends concreteness to human rights discourse and experience in the evaluation of achievement. Human development has the tools for evaluating priorities and emphasizing "the importance of institutional complementarity and resource constraints and the need for public action to address them" (23). Human Development Report 2000 identifies successful actions—by nations, international actors, transnational actors, and local actors—from around the world that should be extended globally in order to promote universal human rights and development. Human Development Report 2000 offers a moral argument for global responsibility for securing human freedoms as they have been recognized through international law (Mary Robinson, HDR 2000, 113).

In Women and Human Development, Martha Nussbaum distinguishes her account of the capability approach from Sen's (and by extension from that of HDR 2000) and offers a moral argument for state responsibility for securing human freedoms. Capabilities—a list of activities that a human should be free to exercise—combined with a set of principles—that the state has a "compelling interest" in the human capabilities of its citizens, which it must secure by the least restrictive means—provide a basis for determining just constitutional principles and laws. Specifically, Nussbaum illustrates how these should guide public reasoning regarding women, religion, and the family. Although she respects the value of religion for many individuals around the world and appreciates cultural pluralism and internal cultural diversity regarding particular practices within religions, Nussbaum does not leave the articulation of cultural norms or religious values to conservative elites. Rather, she acknowledges the range of thought present in intellectual traditions and in contemporary life within cultures. In Nussbaum's hands the capabilities approach is not a global

overlapping consensus on common values of humanity (as it is in the HDR 2000 and as many contemporary human rights scholars, including Richard Falk, Jack Donnelly, and Charles Taylor, seek). Rather, the list she proposes is a list of capabilities that "feminists and other liberal thinkers" expect "to command an overlapping consensus" (80). Nussbaum's "consensus" is Rousseauian. Through simulated and real dialogue Nussbaum puts the values implicit in the lives of certain women in India, some Indian women's groups, and some Indian and U.S. court cases into a common moral context.

Each of the books under review is interesting and thought provoking. Each on its own has strengths and weaknesses that should occupy a review were I reading the texts in isolation, but I am going to focus my comments on those that are drawn out by reading these works together. As they illustrate, feminism is a collective and interdisciplinary project. One standard by which we should assess a given feminist project is how well it is, or can be, integrated with the collective feminist project.

Ray's work is easily integrated with the larger feminist project. She offers us a view of political fields and activism in India at a moment in time. However, her observations of the Calcutta grassroots women activists not toeing the party line on domestic violence and in Bombay about the Forum's inability to adapt to a changing political field suggest the need for further analysis. To follow the Forum example, why didn't members join the JMS in the latter's concern for the conditions of poor women? Why was the Forum unable to predict or respond to women's participation in ethnic-based violence incited by the Siva Sena Hindu nationalist party? Ray argues that Forum activists were not constrained by the political field. And yet they did not act. Why not? Human Development Report 2000, Collette Oseen, Nori Andriyani, Peggy Antrobus and Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, and other contributors to Feminists Doing Development would argue that it was because they did not have an integrated understanding of women's rights and development. Because Ray shares her methodology in an appendix, I suspect that she may be able to test that hypothesis in future work. However, in this book, Ray generally conflates the activists' and the organizations' ideas and arguments. Inspired by the contributions to Feminists Doing Development by Barbara Cottrell, Oseen, Andriyani, and Habiba Zaman, Ray can expand her analysis of women's organizations as constrained by political fields to an appreciation of the members of the organizations as actors with agency who design strategies appropriate for a given but changing political field. Ray might also reflect on the heterogeneity among the Calcutta activists that she reports but does not discuss. In the light of the other books, from Fields of Protest feminist scholars

learn that "political field" is of limited use as a static concept, that activists may reveal as much about their activism when they are commenting on their own lives as when they are speaking specifically about their work, and that a "homogeneous" political culture does not reflect homogeneous political thinking.

Feminists Doing Development is about the struggle to be feminist while working within a discipline, for a certain funder audience or in a defined policy arena. This book is easily integrated into a larger feminist project and encourages self-conscious reflection on the tension and risks of cooptation created by activism that seeks to get on the mainstream agenda in order to influence it, by policy initiatives that seek political power in order to change politics, and by scholarship that seeks disciplinary approval in order to move the boundaries of the discipline.

Human Development Report 2000 has much substantive information to contribute to feminism. The use of the capability ethic as a philosophical basis for integrating both human rights and development—two very established discourses and subjects of activism and policy—is particularly promising. In HDR 2000 the capabilities approach is revealed as a reasoning devise that helps us think about what matters for human fulfillment and our responsibilities (in states and as members of the global community) to foster the human dignity of others. Moreover, the theoretical reformulation of the nondiscrimination paradigm for human rights that is offered by HDR 2000—freedom from discrimination, for equality (3) provides the theoretical resources for understanding why the Lubicon indigenous community of Canada (including its female members) is worse off and now economically dependent after thirty years of "development" as Joyce Green and Cora Voyageur describe in Feminists Doing Development. However, while the capability ethic could be used to assess the capability failure of many populations, it has not guided the HDR 2000 to address the underachieved capabilities of indigenous peoples, other than to the extent that they are "minorities." Thus the capability ethic is revealed as an inadequate method of doing philosophy: it does not force the authors to seek out unfamiliar capabilities. The authors (not their critical method) determine its scope of application. In order to be better integrated with the broader feminist project, HDR 2000 needs a philosophical method that forces a more thoroughgoing analysis of (for example) indigenous peoples.

Nussbaum similarly lacks a critical method. In addition, her book is not integrated with women's activism and feminist development economics. While it may be possible to discuss the capabilities, religion, and family within a state model, the capabilities are subject to global factors affecting

poverty, employment, and child labor, for example. Both HDR 2000 and some contributors to Feminists Doing Development, particularly Judd, Joanna Kerr, and Isabella Bakker, demonstrate a multidisciplinary and holistic approach to development that requires analysis of local and transnational actors, national and global governance structures, macroeconomics, and the competitive, coercive, and dynamic character of the market economy. Moreover, Green and Voyageur demonstrate that looking at the demands for human dignity from the position of the most marginalized requires working outside the nation-state framework to consider the condition of indigenous women and the impact of globalization on their human development. Ray demonstrates the relevance of local politics and gives us a way to understand the impact of local politics on local activism and priorities. Although Nussbaum has met with activist groups in India who promote women's capabilities, Women and Human Development does not reflect the strategic challenges they face or the clever ways in which they have met those challenges (for examples see Feminists Doing Development and Fields of Protest). Ironically, then, Nussbaum's account, while connected to how many people live, is disconnected from transnational, extranational, and local activists who have been trying to hold states and international institutions accountable for women's human rights violations and women's human development.

In addition to not being integrated with feminist activism, Nussbaum's approach seems oddly uninformed by the work of feminist economists, given her quarrel with economists in chapter 2. In Feminists Doing Development, Bakker gives us an introduction to the key contributions feminist economists have made to the rethinking of economic assumptions and theories related to development. Feminist economics suggests that Nussbaum's legal- and state-oriented approach is too simplistic. For example, capabilities failures within religion and family are related not only to each other, as Nussbaum notes, but also to property rights and child labor, to which she says her model also applies. Yet these are inextricably linked to poverty, indigenous rights, the global movement of capital and labor, the governance of global liberal capitalism, and environmental protection and exploitation, all of which defy the model of the state as autonomous actor.

To use Nussbuam's own standard for assessing the practical relevance of philosophy, her project is not "tethered in the right way to a sense of what is relevant in reality" (10). Without integrating her project with feminist activism and with feminist development economics, Women and Human Development is not properly tethered to "reality" as women experience it.

In reading across disciplines feminists are reminded of the importance of the interdisciplinary nature of feminism and of the related need to situate individual work in the broader feminist context. When feminist scholarship is integrated as in Ray, Porter and Judd, and HDR 2000, we can appreciate narrowness of scope as a simplifying but not alienating assumption necessary for scholarship. We can appreciate revealed flaws in empirical methods as sources of inspiration for improving future methods. Integration forces self-conscious reflection on the critical perspective of the author, the scope of the project, its assumptions, empirical methods, and analysis. Thus reading across disciplines and integration strengthens individual and collective feminist projects.

Methodology of the Oppressed. By Chela Sandoval. Foreword by Angela Davis. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. By Linda Tuhiwai Smith. London: Zed Books, 1999.

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t is noteworthy that Chela Sandoval and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, two well-known scholar activists, would focus on methodology in their recent book projects. Taken together, these books offer an extended reflection on Audre Lorde's provocation, "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." Initial assumptions about what exactly constitute "the master's tools" have given way to more complex deconstructions, which find that "the master's tools" were often fashioned by subalterns—whose social location and political desires left imprints on the tools themselves. Such deconstructions, however, do not end the conversation. Rather, they highlight the need to construct critical methodologies drawn from diverse traditions and to trace the appearance of oppressed and indigenous desires within "Western" critical theory.

The primary concern of *Decolonizing Methodologies* is research in indigenous communities, which is "inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (1). The guiding question of Tuhiwai Smith's work is how indigenous researchers might unhinge—or disarticulate—the work of research from its enmeshment in imperialist regimes of power/knowledge: in other words, how to decolonize research itself. The author

begins with the proposition that research "can no longer be conducted with indigenous communities as if their views did not count or their lives did not matter," a position to which she would hold both indigenous and nonindigenous researchers (9). The primary task of this book is to guide indigenous scholars and activists as they attempt to conduct such research in accord with the desires of the communities they work with (and often come from), research the author in good humor describes as "not quite as simple as it looks, nor quite as complex as it feels" (5).

The first part of Decolonizing Methodologies explores "research as a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of knowing of the Other" (2). One specific site of this epistemological struggle is history itself. Echoing Gayatri Spivak's question, "Can the subaltern speak?" Tuhiwai Smith asks, "Is history important for indigenous peoples?" (29). She develops an argument against history by drawing on poststructuralist critiques that characterize history as a specifically Western Enlightenment project. She is referring to the discipline of history, not the stories that people tell about their past, which she notes are "reclassified as oral traditions rather than histories" (33; emphasis in original). The innovation of Tuhiwai Smith's argument is her insistence that "for indigenous people, the critique of history is not unfamiliar, although it has now been claimed by postmodern theories" (33). She explains, "The idea of contested stories and multiple discourses about the past, by different communities, is closely linked to the politics of everyday contemporary indigenous life. . . . These contested accounts are stored within genealogies, within the landscape, within weavings and carvings" (33). Drawing attention to critical theories connecting the project of history with imperialist ideologies, Tuhiwai Smith develops a list of ideas about history that she subjects to systematic critique from both indigenous and poststructuralist points of view. Her list begins with "the idea that history is a totalizing discourse" and includes "the idea that history is one large chronology" (30). Her schematic outline of poststructuralist critiques of history—and their overlap with indigenous epistemologies—is accessible and lucid. Subsequent sections of the book provide grounded discussions of how to develop and carry out research projects in accord with the principles of decolonization and self-determination.

Sandoval's project—while motivated by the same decolonizing impulse—is not concerned with field research as such. Instead, Sandoval rethinks the very terms of political engagement and possibility. The aim of *Mstbodology of the Oppressed* is to provide a "new, revitalized vocabulary" (6), to summon a "new kind of repoliticized citizen-warrior" (181). The

author develops her theoretical framework by putting U.S. third-world feminist theory in conversation with theorists of decolonization, such as Frantz Fanon and Roland Barthes, and theorists of postmodernism and poststructuralism, such as Fredric Jameson, Donna Haraway, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. The conversation staged by *Methodology of the Oppressed* enacts a kind of antidote to the "theoretical apartheid" that Sandoval finds both pervasive and debilitating.

Methodology of the Oppressed poses important challenges to feminism and women's studies. Sandoval contends that U.S. third-world feminist theory continues to be misread as pertaining to a particular demographic group (women of color) and not as a "theoretical and methodological approach in its own right" (171). In a footnote, Sandoval astutely observes, "The mystery of the academic erasure of U.S. third world feminism is an ongoing disappearing trick" (186, n. 9). Sandoval's project contravenes this erasure, placing U.S. third-world feminism on an equal footing with poststructuralism, tracing the similarity between these two intellectual and political trajectories.

In a convincing and long overdue argument, Sandoval excavates an affinity between terminologies that are usually seen as deriving from widely divergent theoretical traditions. She creates a list of terms—bybridity, nomad thought, marginalization, la conciencia de la mestiza, trickster consciousness, masquerade, eccentric subjectivity, situated knowledges, and différance (her list is even longer)—and argues that the "similar conceptual undergirding that unifies these terminologies" has gone unrecognized (69), evidence of theoretical apartheid but also of an emerging set of political possibilities. She writes, "What this concurrent, symptomatic, and insistent emergence is enacting out of each theoretical domain is the academic expression of a stubborn methodology... one that the cultural logic of late capital has made necessary... what I call, for political reasons, the 'methodology of the oppressed'" (72). Contra Jameson, Sandoval finds possibilities in "postmodern resistance and dissident globalization" (35).

Although quite different in content and tone, these two books converge in their explicit commitment to a process of decolonization. Both authors usefully situate their interventions in relation to globalization and its current economic, social, and political consequences for indigenous (Tuhiwai Smith) and oppressed (Sandoval) peoples. Tuhiwai Smith and Sandoval bring a history of activism to their scholarship, which infuses their work with energy and a sense of possibility while imparting wisdom that comes with practical experience. A professor of Maori education, Tuhiwai Smith

is renowned for her work in developing Te Kobanga Reo, the Maori language nests, and was part of a group that initiated an alternative Maori elementary school movement in New Zealand. Sandoval is a Chicano/a studies professor, well known for her report on the 1981 National Association of Women's Studies Conference, where she developed a theory of U.S. third-world feminism as "differential consciousness." Informed by the politics and location of each author, these two books offer compelling discussions of methodology appropriate for graduate seminars and reading groups. Both books deserve a wide audience and are likely to positively influence the formulation and direction of future scholarship.

God's Beauty Parlor: And Other Queer Spaces in and around the Bible. By Stephen D. Moore. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Closet Devotions. By Richard Rambuss. Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 1998.

The Silence of Sodom: Homosexuality in Modern Catholicism. By Mark D. Jordan. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

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n an easey arguing against the application of psychoanalytic theory to premodern texts, Lee Patterson argues that Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale" is "not about sex but about religion." In describing the Pardoner as a gelding and a mare, Patterson insists, Chaucer's narrator is not interested in marking the Pardoner as feminized, castrated, and sodomitic. Arguing that "neither castration nor sodomy seems to have mattered much as historical practices in fourteenth-century England," Patterson asks "what they might have meant symbolically. . . . And the direction in which medieval thought points is not toward psychology or linguistic absence but toward symbolic sterility. The medieval justification for proscribing sodomy is that it is nonproductive. The central fact about the Pardoner, for Chaucer, is neither that he is physically maimed nor that

¹ Lee Patterson, "Chaucer's Pardoner on the Couch: Psyche and Cho in Medieval Literary Studies," Speculum 76 (2001): 674.

his sexual habits make him a social outcast but that he is to be understood as spiritually sterile." Rather than taking Chaucer's narrator literally—precisely the sodomite's sin within the medieval context, Patterson notes—we should follow medieval readers in placing spiritual meanings at the center of our interpretations. Yet Patterson's insistence on spiritual interpretation impoverishes rather than enriches; his historical contextualization of the "Pardoner's Tale" univocally fixes meaning rather than opening the text to a multiplicity of readings. Patterson's historicism comes dangerously close to instantiating a new form of literalism.

Spiritual exegesis, on the other hand, depends on and makes possible multiple meanings. From this perspective, the critic who argues that the "Pardoner's Tale" is about both sex and religion may come closer to medieval modes of interpretation than does Patterson. Perhaps for contemporary historicism, sex can only be rendered allegorically; the oddity here is that even Patterson agrees that sex is operative at the literal level of the "Pardoner's Tale." Psychoanalysis is allegorical, then, only in the sense that it insists, as do medieval Christian exegetes, that texts often mean more than one thing. This is the central claim asserted and amply demonstrated, often on historicist grounds, by Stephen Moore, Richard Rambuss, and Mark Jordan.

At the center of the three books under review is an assertion of the homoeroticism of Christianity, most clearly present in the veneration by male believers of a nearly naked man on a cross. Moore's God's Beauty Parlor focuses primarily on biblical texts (with forays into late antique and medieval Jewish and Christian exegesis and twentieth-century culture). Rambuss's Closet Devotions reads seventeenth-century metaphysical poetry and religious prose in light of its extravagantly sexual religious imagery, and Jordan's The Silence of Sodom asks what is gay about modern Catholicism. The books differ radically in tone—Moore tends toward the playful and audacious, Rambuss adopts a careful scholarly voice, and Jordan moves between melancholic fragmentation and a moral, political—even religious—fervor. Yet the differences in predominant tone do nothing to undermine the seriousness of all three books as interventions within the academic study of religion and eroticism and within contemporary religion and culture.

Rambuss most clearly states and questions the claim current among medieval and early modern historians of Christianity that apparently sexual metaphors and images must be read solely in spiritual or theological terms. Although Caroline Walker Bynum, for example, insists on the polysemy

¹ Ibid., 663-64.

of medieval symbols and of the medieval body, Rambuss shows that she also "cursorily dismisses . . . [the] twentieth-century, post-Freudian interpretative legacy 'that the body means sexuality'" (48). She does so most quickly, moreover, when that sexuality is homoerotically structured. Bynum's concern that current obsessions with sex impoverish contemporary culture, then, fails to consider and may even contribute to "one form of cultural impoverishment . . . the obfuscating turn away from devotional envisionings of the body's homoerotic possibilities, possibilities as richly present in the medieval religious material she studies as they are in the seventeenth century devotional verse" that is a primary object of Rambuss's study (48–49).

Closet Devotions focuses on the ways in which "religious . . . texts represent and stimulate affect, particularly in its most amplified registers" by means of "structuring analogies to erotic expression and experience" (2). As Rambuss puts it later in the book, "religion and sex have done, and still continue to do, each other's affective work" (101). Chapter 1 traces out the specifically homoerotic deployment of sexuality within seventeenth-century religious poetry. Chapter 2 broadens the focus of inquiry, looking to a wide range of religious texts from the seventeenth century and the multiple forms of sexual desire and object choice displayed within them. Finally, in chapter 3 Rambuss traces the "closeting" of this excessive, transgressive, and eroticized religious desire within the private realm of the prayer closet, a move dependent on the affluence of the religious practitioner. In each case, Rambuss's readings demonstrate the breadth of the Christian tradition against its own normalizing and constraining tendencies. "Christianity's own myths, institutions, and cultural expressions offer too many transit points to the ecstatic, the excessive, the transgressive, the erotic to be allowed to serve tenably in . . . a censorious capacity, to be cast as a force field for the proscription of desire and its ever-wanton vagaries" (6).

A similar desire to read Christian traditions against themselves can be seen in Jordan's *The Silence of Sodom*, but Jordan is more guarded about the possibilities disruptive literary readings might have on a virulently homophobic Catholic tradition. To the question, why remain within—why even study—modern Catholicism, Jordan points to the tradition's deeply paradoxical nature. Modern Catholicism both condemns same-sex desire and creates "the conditions under which it can flourish" (7); at the center of the tradition lies the "paradox of the Catholic Jesus, the paradox created by an officially homophobic religion in which an all-male clergy sacrifices male flesh before images of God as an almost naked man" (8). The deep contradiction between these two positions leads, Jordan shows,

to the Church's insistence on silence about widespread clerical homosexuality. The challenge for Jordan is to find a language in which homosexual Catholic lives can be named and venerated within a tradition in which every naming of same-sex relations takes the form of a hysterical outing of an abjected other.

Jordan's desire to create new forms of speech and modes of life for gay men within the church—together with his recognition of the difficulties entailed in fulfilling this desire—gives rise to his style of "literary montage." "I am convinced," he explains, "that the homosexuality of modern Catholicism can't be written except by 'constellating' moral theology, church history, queer theory, the novel of manners, and utopian reveries. By gathering scraps from these kinds of texts, I hope to demonstrate both the inadequacy of official Catholic speeches about homosexuality and how challenging it will be to create more adequate ones" (15). At the same time Jordan insists that discovering and creating Catholic gay communities demands rejection of the absolute authoritarianism of post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism.

Thus in part 1, "Church Words," Jordan analyzes the authoritarian "rhetoric of the church's bureaucratic speech about sexual morality" (11). Rather than attempting to counter the substance of the church's arguments, Jordan shows that they are grounded in specific rhetorical moves that work to silence all opposing arguments, no matter how well grounded in texts, traditions, or reason. Through "numbing repetition," the "invocation of absolute authorities," and the "making of violent threats," Catholic moral teaching on sexual behavior effectively closes down reasoned and faithful discussion in the name of the magisterium's absolute authority with regard to moral issues (22). Part 2, "Church Lives," uses montage to discover routine but hidden realities about homosexual life within the church, uncovering both the fact of clerical homosexuality and the attractions of the priesthood to gay men. Finally, part 3, "Church Dreams," explores the alternatives—those that exist and those only yet imagined—for gay Catholics. Here Jordan reiterates his forceful claim that the only way truly to open the church to gay men and lesbian women is through challenges to its authoritarian structures.

Lurking behind Jordan's accounts is the question of the extent to which the homoeroticism of an all-male clergy comes together with—and may even depend on—misogyny. In *God's Beauty Parlor*, Moore addresses a similar question as it emerges with regard to biblical texts. The book is wide-ranging, with chapters on interpretations of the Song of Songs as the site of male (and female) adherents' erotic relationship with the divine,

the beauty of the post-Easter Jesus in John's Gospel and twentieth-century representations, the gender politics of Paul's letter to the Romans, and the Book of Revelation as a call for messianic war in which war is understood as the "quintessential performance of masculinity" (3). Throughout, Moore juxtaposes ancient and modern texts to highlight the "queerness" of both from the standpoint of normative religiosity and heterosexuality. At the center of the book is Moore's reading of Paul, in which he argues that Paul represents God as "the Impenetrable Penetrator" (169) and "the Bottomless Top" (172), a hypermasculine figure to whom men must submit and whom they emulate.

Within the gender terms of the ancient world masculinity is associated with activity and femininity with passivity. "Stripped naked and spread out on the cross, run through with sundry phallic objects, Jesus in his relationship to God perfectly models the submissiveness that should also characterize the God-fearing female's proper relationship to the male" (156). This is, as Moore shows, the "sexual substratum of Paul's soteriology" (156). Yet Jesus' feminization also marks his masculinity, "for his spectacular act of submission is simultaneously a demonstration of self-mastery" (163–64). Jesus then enacts a "soteriological sex-change" in which masculine self-mastery redeems feminine submission. Put in other terms, Paul argues that if submission to sin is feminine, then liberation from desire through a self-mastering submission to God is the masculine path of salvation. "The Jesus of Romans is a woman forever in the process of becoming a man" (164).

What then happens to women? In Paul's letter to the Romans, Moore suggests, women are abjected and marked as the site of greatest anathematization, particularly if they attempt to take over masculine activity through sexual relations with other women. Recognition of the sexual soteriology underlying Paul's letter to the Romans—its simultaneous homoeroticism and abjection of women—depends on the mode of double reading eschewed by Patterson in the name of historicism. Yet as Rambuss, Jordan, and Moore show, careful historical contextualization elucidates the multiple registers on which texts signify and demonstrates the intertwining of the sexual and the religious within ancient, medieval, and modern texts. The dangerous paradox is that those texts and interpretations produced in the post-Freudian world are often most uneasy with the interplay of religion and sex and, hence, like Patterson, most intent on hiding the eroticism of religion (and the religiosity of the erotic).

Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy. By Sonya Michel. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.

A Mother's Job: The History of Day Care, 1890–1960. By Elizabeth Rose. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

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ach of these two complementary works provides a much-needed comprehensive introduction to the history of child care in the United States. Sonya Michel's study explores the development of day-care policy at the national level from 1790 to the present. Elizabeth Rose's book, which looks at the history of day care in Philadelphia, uses the growth of day-care centers at the local level to illuminate many twentieth-century trends in the nation as a whole. Both authors begin with a foundational belief that access to child care is essential in women's struggle for equality, and each seeks to understand the historical barriers to group care in the United States. Although they come to some of the same conclusions, their distinctive approaches and findings make both works valuable contributions to the subject.

The approach and tenor of Michel's work is dominated by the question, "Why . . . does universal child care, organized and supported by the government, remain an elusive social good in the United States?" (1). Her extensive research into the records of numerous organizations and government agencies and her coverage of a broad sweep of time-officially two centuries but primarily the period from 1890 to the present-illuminate several trends that contribute answers to the question. She finds that much of the impetus for early group care came from upper-class reformers who consistently chose to emphasize the interests of children over women's rights; elite women founded day-care centers to keep children off the streets, not to foster equal opportunity for women. Their efforts were shaped by the dominant gender ideology of the nineteenth century, which emphasized women's mothering role. Michel tells the story of administrators, experts, politicians, and activists who time and again drew from this "maternalism" when developing public policy concerning child care, always emphasizing the "custodial" role of day-care nurseries and downplaying anything that hinted at increased freedom for women. In the end, these persistent attitudes—women as stay-at-home mothers and day care as charity—consistently prevented any effective propagation of the idea of universal state-supported care.

Michel suggests that several changes over the course of the twentieth century have contributed to a limited shift in attitudes and policy. During the Depression, the New Deal Emergency Nursery School Program, though maternalistic and inadequate in scope, set a precedent for federally funded child care and was later followed by the child-care tax credit and Head Start. Even more significant, the steady rise in numbers of mothers working outside the home for wages has increased grassroots support for day-care programs. Despite these advances, however, maternalistic views still hold sway and class differences still divide the child-care constituency. Americans still oppose state intervention into "private" affairs such as child rearing. As a result, the United States, having never fully embraced the rationale that public child care is necessary for equality between the sexes, lags behind many developed nations in the quality and availability of child care.

Elizabeth Rose's study is slightly more positive about Americans' acceptance of the idea of public day care, particularly after 1930, but she discovers many of the same barriers at the local level that Michel finds on the national scene. Using case histories and other records from Philadelphia day nurseries and agencies, Rose traces "the gradual transformation of day care from a charity for poor single mothers to a socially legitimate need of 'normal' families, and even a potential responsibility of the state" (5). Like Michel, Rose argues that the stigma of day care as charity along with the strong maternalistic bent of Americans have acted as barriers to widespread acceptance of pubic child-care systems. Rose agrees with Michel that some New Deal initiatives and manufacturing interests during World War II pushed the public discourse toward greater acceptance of public support and funding. Rose's approach also sheds light on how after 1945 working mothers fought to keep public funding for governmentsponsored day-care centers in Philadelphia and other cities, and advocates organized movements to try to shape policy.

The strongest contribution of A Mother's Job is its treatment of the people involved in this story. It effectively shows the tensions between the elite reformers and the mothers who brought their children to day-care centers, taking into account ethnic and racial differences on both sides. Working-class mothers viewed and used the day nurseries as one of many possible economic strategies for meeting family needs. What elite reformers saw as charity, working-class mothers saw as opportunity. Rose shows how these mothers, contrary to middle-class maternalistic conventions, viewed themselves as "good mothers" because of their efforts to provide for their children. As the numbers of working mothers rose after World War II, more Americans began to accept this view, and "women

began to speak of day care as a right rather than a charity" (81). Rose balances such optimistic statements with a final discussion of how this increased acceptance of the need for public day care has yet to translate into quality day-care facilities for all mothers working outside the home.

While these works make important contributions to the literature, they leave some questions unanswered. Because they are among the first extensive studies in this field, these two books will undoubtedly dominate the discourse concerning the history of child care for some time. Their focus on public group care means that child care performed outside of organized facilities—the lion's share of the child care performed throughout history—will probably be neglected in future debates. The important question of why parents often preferred informal arrangements to organized group care needs more study. Also, both authors are appropriately interested in mothers' role in this story, but each neglects the place of children and fathers. The issue of government's role in children's education and welfare, for example, probably should have played a more prominent part in each study. Moreover, men have always had some control over the allocation of family resources such as labor and income. Both authors briefly mention fathers but see the need for child care as almost exclusively a female issue. Clearly, women's role as primary caregivers placed them closer to and in a more vulnerable position concerning child care, particularly for single mothers, but men in many cases undoubtedly had a say in key decisions about whether or not wives should work outside the home, how much to pay for day care, and where to place children. Finally, some readers will find Michel's work limited by her single-minded pursuit of the inadequacies of past child-care efforts. In framing her whole work in the context of why the United States did not take one path, she at times neglects the path that was taken and occasionally views it without the sensitivity that it might have been given.

Nevertheless, both books are valuable additions to the growing work that explores the intersection of public policy, family, and gender. Michel's courageous wading through the tangled historical paths of numerous agencies and organizations gives us the means to see the intimate ways in which public policy is formed and provides us with a framework to question current policy.

Rape on the Public Agenda: Feminism and the Politics of Sexual Assault. By Maria Bevacqua. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000.

Rethinking Rape. By Ann J. Cahill. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001.

New Versions of Victims: Feminists Struggle with the Concept. By Sharon Lamb. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

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he three books under review each make timely contributions to the theorization of rape and help delineate areas in need of further analysis. They also address the issue from radically different perspectives and methodologies. Maria Bevacqua's Rape on the Public Agenda uses a wide array of sources to provide a rigorous historical account of the development of antirape consciousness as well as of the appearance of the issue on the public agenda. While the author identifies the second wave as the site of emergence of a provictim approach to rape in public policy, she is careful not to overlook the presence of a political understanding of rape in the work of earlier feminists. For instance, her discussion of Ida B. Wells's work in the 1890s emphasizes the historical link between rape and the construction of race since fraudulent rape charges were routinely invoked as grounds for the lynching of black men. One of Bevacqua's main contributions consists of showing that the racism through which rape was brought to the public's attention in the nineteenth century also characterized the arrival of rape on the public agenda in the 1970s. Indeed, the tough-on-crime rape policies that emerged then were primarily adopted to protect the nation's (white) women against black criminality. Last but not least, Rape on the Public Agenda also reveals how, once rape did reach the public agenda, the radical edges of feminist politics were dulled in order to accommodate a more institutional approach.

While Bevacqua provides a history of the development of rape consciousness, Ann Cahill's Rethinking Rape is a theoretical intervention that rightly challenges unproblematized histories of the body and subjectivity. Cahill begins with an analysis of two major schools of feminist philosophy. The first one defines rape as "violence, not sex" and is characterized by the work of Susan Brownmiller, while the school associated with Catharine McKinnon and Andrea Dworkin represents rape as an extension of compulsory heterosexuality. For Cahill, both schools wrongly establish an opposition between the violent and the sexual and perpetuate in doing so

the nature/culture binary. Woman is seen as a slave to biology on the one hand and the dupe of patriarchal culture on the other. Neither theory adequately addresses the sexed body, which is what Cahill seeks to remedy in *Rethinking Rape*. She then gives an overview of recent feminist scholarship in the area of corporeality and embodiment, which, she argues, provides the foundation for her own theory of rape. She discusses the work of Rosi Braidotti, Elizabeth Grosz, Judith Butler, Moira Gatens, and Luce Irigaray before proceeding to analyze rape as a sexual act that affects the body, agency, and subjectivity of its female victim. Conspicuously, however, her overview of feminist theories focuses on embodiment in general without addressing their relevance to rape, while the elaboration of her own theory of rape as embodied experience hardly engages the theories she just reviewed. Cahill concludes by addressing the ethical ramifications of rape as well as the possibilities for resistance embodied in self-defense.

Cahill's historically minded theory of rape and Bevacqua's theoretically informed history both illustrate the need for further theorization of the issue. Both critics reproduce the now axiomatic claim that rape is grounded in men's socialized aggression and women's socialized passivity. Male aggression and female passivity are treated as if they occur in a neat binary that explains rape as a social problem. As a result, the transformation of women's comportment and psychic orientation becomes as crucial a response to rape as the curbing of male violence. This approach to rape and prevention is problematic insofar as while male aggression is an invariable source of sexual assault, female passivity is neither a constant nor a cause of rape. Passivity is only sometimes a response to rape; it may or may not be an (un)successful deterrent. It never is, however, the cause of an aggression that can only be uprooted by addressing the problem itself rather than its symptoms. Infelicitous phrases such as Bevacqua's description of a political system that excused "the most brutal of rapists and blamed the most innocent of victims" (2000, 102) reflect the dynamic I am talking about, that is, one that shifts the responsibility for the crime and for its eradication to the victim. The juxtaposition of the degree of aggression of the rapist with the level of innocence of the victim necessarily obscures the fact that a victim can neither be more nor less innocent of a crime she did not commit.

Similarly, despite her exhortation that agency and passivity not be dichotomously defined (2001, 134), Cahill cannot help but reproduce conventional binary thinking about gender when she urges women to cultivate the instinct of self-defense that is encouraged in men. She argues that this "recodification of the female body would involve not an emulation of the male body, but rather the development of particularly feminine kinds of strength and power. . . . [W]omen would be able to stand . . . free from their dependence on men" (207). I fail to see how living one's life in perpetual preparation for the worst is a liberating proposition. According to Cahill, whether we are aware of it or not, the pervasiveness of rape in our culture has already deeply affected feminine bodily comportment. What is unclear is why we would further entrench this influence by promoting self-defense, which is yet another way in which the threat of rape and violence shapes and limits our bodies (albeit as bodies with a "particularly feminine" kind of power). Self-defense posits an attack one tries to resist and as such preserves the centrality of rape in women's lives. Making the threat of rape the basis for reshaping one's body and mind is no less problematic than the way it marks and constrains one's body in the first place. Cahill's insistence that we move beyond the discursive configurations that keep us locked within the existing social order cannot be reconciled with a model of resistance that maintains the centrality of rape in women's existence. Women's adoption of a ready-for-battle mode buttresses more than it challenges the dichotomous thinking of the sex wars.

As with most feminist scholarship on rape, Cahill and Bevacqua both focus on the variable that is female passivity as the site for change. As I argue elsewhere, such well-meaning feminist politics ultimately advances the causes of a culture that is too eager to locate the source of the problem and its solution in women's putative inability to take action. In representing female passivity and male aggression as two sides of the same coin (the sum of which is rape), we further limit the horizon of women's choices and fail to problematize agency and passivity as dichotomously defined. As long as feminist analyses focus on overcoming female passivity as if it were the mirror image of male aggression, we will contribute to a climate that turns victims into the source of their own problems. What about victims whose passivity constitutes a strategic choice? What if the decision not to take self-defense courses is deliberate rather than symptomatic of a passive adherence to gender roles? Why aren't we promoting and locating the "possibilities for resistance" in self- or rape-awareness courses for men rather than self-defense training for women? At least then, the blame for not having the time, money, or desire to take such courses would for once be directed against the sex that most disproportionately generates perpetrators.

Cahill assumes that "the woman who is able and willing to defend

¹ Carine M. Mardorossian, "Toward a New Feminist Theory of Rape," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 27, no. 3 (2002): 743-75.

herself" would be far less likely to blame herself (205). What this statement overlooks, however, is the degree to which self-blaming is not a function of the victim's actions or beliefs but of societal attitudes that locate the source of rape in women's passivity. To claim otherwise would be to argue that women's actions are the ultimate determinant of how women make sense of particular events independently of their surrounding social structures. This assumption is all the more ironic in light of Cahill's own emphasis on intersubjectivity in her theory of rape. It is simply not the case that the trauma experienced by survivors is proportional to the degree or success of resistance they offer. Neither is self-blame: rape survivors who successfully resist an attack sometimes blame themselves more than the "passive" victims feminism is so anxious to whip back into shape. When feminists advocate self-defense as a solution to rape, they cannot help but provide more fodder to a culture that is already too eager to promote change one woman at a time rather than to root out oppression. Placing the responsibility to deter rape on women without a guarantee of success individualizes the problem; it also merely shifts the ground on which victims blame themselves and get blamed.

While Bevacqua's and Cahill's books focus on sexual violence, the essays collected in New Versions of Victims address rape (and more specifically date rape) as one among other forms of victimization including domestic violence, violence perpetrated by women, victim-therapist relationships, teen-adult relationships, and incest. The book's guiding idea is the constructed and shifting nature of victimization and abuse. What is particularly noteworthy about its focus on victimization and voicing as products of social relations, culture, and language, however, is that this constructionist perspective does not result in victim blaming. That there are different "versions of victims" does not amount to saying that victims do not exist or that rape is a function of discourse. In "Heretical Texts," for instance, the psychologist Janice Haaken critiques the bible of the incest recovery movement The Courage to Heal for its emphasis on literal truth in cases of repressed memory. Haaken's point is not, however, that these memories are "made up" but that the absence of factual truth does not in fact signify an absence of truth. She urges us to reclaim remembering as a process whose multiplicity of meanings and fantasy elements reveal the narrative structuring of memory as well as its transformative power. Similarly, in "Constructing the Victim," Sharon Lamb investigates the shifting meanings of the term victim not to undermine women's experiences of victimization but to challenge the concept's damaging association with extreme suffering and pathological mental states. As these essays in New Versions of Victims demonstrate, destabilizing the meanings of rape through theory need not result in a regressive turn in feminist politics.

unInvited: Classical Hollywood Cinema and Lesbian Representability. By Patricia White. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Movie-Struck Girls: Women and Motion Picture Culture after the Nickelodeon. By Shelley Stamp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Feminism and Documentary. Edited by Diane Waldman and Janet Walker. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

OutTaker Essays on Queer Theory and Film. Edited by Ellis Hanson. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999.

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he four books under review share the goal of making important interventions in film studies while working to open up dialogue across a number of discourses: feminism and documentary studies in the case of the anthology edited by Diane Waldman and Janet Walker, feminism and film history in Movie-Struck Girls, queer theory and film studies in the remaining two books. While working across disciplines, all of the texts (implicitly in Shelley Stamp's work, explicitly in the other three) also pose an interest in working within and against the psychoanalytic model, especially as it has been used by feminist film theorists to interrogate spectatorship as a construction while accounting for the pleasures of viewing and the relationship of these pleasures to gender and sexuality. As Ellis Hanson puts it in his introduction to OutTakes, feminist film theorists "enrich political critiques of cinematic pleasures by theorizing the psychic mechanisms of identification and desire, but they also challenge such critiques by deeming impossible any necessary conjunction, any perfect fit, between ideology and desire, narrative and pleasure" (12). Since concerns about questions of desire and pleasure, identification, fantasy, representations, spectatorship, cultural appropriation and anxiety, and mass consumption move across all of these texts, the psychoanalytic model forms a paradigm through and from which the arguments and observations of the various writers move.

All of the writers who engage the psychoanalytic model do so with an awareness of the limitations of the Freudian-Lacanian model when applied to discussions of women and gay/lesbian subjects/spectators, taking care to position themselves within the various debates circulating around the uses and misuses of both Freud and Lacan. In keeping with what has become convention in feminist-inflected film studies, Laura Mulvey's seminal essay is evoked as a starting point, a shorthand of sorts that is used to mark off shared concerns about the ideological conditions of viewing, especially the narrative and psychological structure of our (women, gays, and lesbians) look while complicating her conclusions about the gendering of the spectator. By opening up spaces for viewers who might not be male, the essays draw attention to the heterosexist assumptions underpinning Mulvey's argument while also calling for an appreciation of cinematic practices that might not be as counter to cinematic pleasures.

The books and essays under consideration also share Hanson's observation that cinema "is one of those contested sites. With its seductive and seemingly inexhaustible apparatus for image-making, film is a privileged form for cultural self-definition, and sexual minorities are by no means immune to its charms" (4). Stamp articulates this contestation by looking at women viewers in the United States during the important transitional period in the 1910s when the industry, seeking cultural currency and larger profits, actively solicited female moviegoers. In her carefully researched and detailed examination of primary materials, she interrogates the discourses from the period as well as those of subsequent scholars who assumed that women were easily accommodated into moviegoing. Drawing on a variety of material, she persuasively argues that women viewers occupied a more complicated relation to the entire cinematic institution.

While central to the industry's drive toward respectability, women also posed a problem: "Growing female patronage and increased emphasis on female subject matter did not necessarily guarantee a smooth passage to respectability, as many in the industry had hoped, for women were not always enticed to the cinema by dignified, uplifting material and, once there, they were not always seamlessly integrated into the social space of theaters or the new optical pleasures of film viewing" (Stamp, 8). Stamp's careful analysis reveals that many of the moviegoing habits of women posed challenges to the industry's desires for cinema's uplift and to the social order at large, concerned as it was with women's emerging social and economic independence. Throughout the book, she thoughtfully es-

¹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in her Visual and Other Pleasures (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 14–26.

tablishes her argument that, while the industry used every ploy imaginable to entice "movie-struck girls" into the theaters, the presence of female viewers also figured anxieties about women's emerging social and economic independence. While various advertising campaigns and published articles actively courted female spectators, the same magazines also featured essays and cartoons lampooning them as unsuitable patrons of the cinema. This contradictory address was echoed in films such as the "white slave" movies in which women found themselves watching narratives that promoted the belief that, by attending movies (and engaging in other leisure activities), they were making themselves vulnerable to sexual assault and abduction.

At the same time, women found subversive pleasures in the voyeuristic sexual gaze constructed in these films. Even the serials produced by the industry to appeal to women and the films made by the suffrage movement allowed female viewers to step outside of the more standardized norms of classical narrative cinema, providing pleasures and stories not normally associated with the ladylike gentility the industry was seeking. Yet women were faced with the contradictory position of having their gaze solicited even as the films and the discourses around them continued to construct women as the object of the gaze.

The contradictory position of female viewers who both see and are seen can also be found in the relationship that lesbians and gay men have with classic cinema. Hanson articulates this difficulty, pointing out that to "proclaim that I can see again is always also to proclaim that I am seen again, that I am found out, that I am implicated in the film to whose questioning glance I respond with pleasure" (2). Both OutTakes and unInvited examine the relationship of queer spectators to the spectacles offered by primarily classic cinema. These two volumes work from the assumption as stated by Patricia White that cinema is a public fantasy that engages our particular and private scripts of desire and identification while mediating social identities and histories.

White focuses her attention on Hollywood films of the classic era, looking at how these films have worked to construct lesbian desire as well as the conditions of representability. Throughout her book she analyzes the way in which stars, costuming, reception, source material, and authorship can introduce traces of a lesbian presence that the narratives seem to exclude. The Production Code that sought to make lesbians invisible instituted a regime of connotations that knowledgeable viewers could read. Primarily visual codes, combined with an awareness of the intertextuality of Hollywood films, established patterns of signification that allowed the films to be read against the grain.

White's use of testimony from lesbian viewers as well as video and film texts that appropriate images from classical films to speak lesbian desire illustrates the role that fetishism plays in spectatorship while challenging mimetic models of identification and desire and the ways in which spectators actively use texts to shape and reflect their own desires. Using fantasy as a model, White shows how social representations can intersect with more private subjective positions as viewers assert their ability to invest the look with their own desire.

Out Takes shares White's project of combining queer theory with film studies, presenting a variety of essays concerned with questions of fantasy and identification, working along the same line of inquiry that allowed Movie-Struck Girls and unInvited to introduce spectators who are able to subvert and negotiate the codes of classical cinema while correcting a perceived gap in queer studies. By bringing the specificity of film theory's critical language into the context of queer theory and relying on close readings of the codes and rhetoric of film and video texts, the various essays examine the ways in which gay and lesbian viewers are "seduced by spectacle, by the conditions of our looking, by the somewhat paranoid sensation that the gaze of desire, like the gaze of the camera, is never quite our own, that it is a social and aesthetic construction that might not have our best interests at heart" (Hanson, 2).

Many of the essays in OutTakes share the project articulated in un-Invited, offering rigorous and nuanced discussions of classic cinema, challenging earlier conceptions of homoeroticism in mainstream representations, looking at representations of lesbians and lesbian desire in films as well as the multiple possibilities for lesbian fantasy and identification. Other essays examine the ways in which classic cinema constructs masculinity as well as male homoeroticism, with one of the more interesting discussions raising the question of how femininity is positioned within the articulation of male homoeroticism as well as the ways in which heterosexuality is constructed through and against homoeroticism.

The final section of OutTakes, "Queering the Real," offers a range of essays on independent queer cinema. Examining a wide variety of texts, including those by H.D., Kenneth Anger, and Derek Jarman as well as numerous lesbian documentarists, the writers discuss the richly textured and varied artistic and political strategies employed by film and video makers to subvert the conventional or classical representations of lesbians and gays. In many ways, the strategies employed by film- and video-makers extend and reflect the strategies of negotiated and subversive readings proposed by White and Stamp, while continuing the intervention in conceptualizations of spectatorship and texts. These strategies open up both

arenas to an understanding of the heterogeneity that moves across films, videos, and viewers and of the contradictions inhering in popular culture, its products, producers, and consumers. In the same vein, the essays in this final section of the book provide more nuanced visions of desire, pleasure, and identification while complicating the psychoanalytic model not only by utilizing models of fantasy but also by reclaiming fetishism for female, gay, and lesbian viewers.

These same concerns are echoed by many of the essays in Feminism and Documentary, especially those dealing with the ethnographic endeavor and its concerns about the ethics of representation and the relationship between inside and outside, self and other, filmmaker and subject. In the same way that Hanson, in the introduction to OutTakes, announces the goal of intervening in queer theory by introducing film theory's critical approach, so too do the editors of Feminism and Documentary announce their goal of overcoming the separation between women's studies and documentary studies. As they state it, "the aim of this volume [is] to poke holes in those boundaries so that ideas from the two areas may flow, or possibly crash, together" (1). Articulating the concerns with gender and sexual differences that circulate through the other texts, the editors make an important move to introduce racial and class differences as well. Making a claim for documentary studies as the place where such "connective theorizing can flourish," they point to the fact that many "documentary film and videomakers (and feminists writing about documentary film and video) frequently represent subjects and struggles that indicate the messy imbrication of gender, race, class, nation and sexuality" (10). One of the stated goals is to theorize the "connective and conflictual tissues of sexual, racial and class differences as applied to documentary studies" (2).

Many of the contributors to Feminism and Documentary—writers, theorists, and filmmakers—make an important intervention by drawing on various aspects of psychoanalytic theory. As the editors note, psychoanalysis offers a way to study the fusion of fantasy constructs and real remembered experience that forms much of documentary practice. Freud's repeated return to the significance of life events and the tension between experience and fantasy, real events and memories, provides a fertile model for examining the complicated ways in which documentaries, especially the autobiographical and ethnographic, present and interrogate the same relationships. Psychoanalysis also provides the tools with which to clarify and complicate the oral histories and testimonies on which so much documentary practice depends.

The essays in the volume are varied. The first section offers several counterhistories of feminism and documentary, including rereadings of

the classic texts of the 1930s, a rewriting of traditional male-centered documentary histories by looking at the role feminist exhibition histories played in early documentary practice, and a tracing out of a maternal line of women filmmakers as well as avant-garde shows. The second section extends these debates and dilemmas by applying feminist analysis to films that are not specifically coded as feminist, articulating the play of multiple identities and strategies that work across a variety of texts. In part 3, gender concerns are extended into questions of nation and ethnicity through the exploration, from a variety of perspectives, of numerous films of exile and return. Films addressing topics as diverse as Turkish exiles who have immigrated to Germany, the Armenian diaspora, and being Jewish in Germany are analyzed through a conceptual lens that deconstructs terms such as gender, nation, and history, illuminating their status as constructs at work through a variety of texts. The final section of the anthology looks at films and videos that present women's histories while interrogating the means of representation.

All four of the texts reviewed here make important interventions in the field of film studies, working as they do across disciplines to raise discursive questions and open up spaces in a number of fields of inquiry while providing more complex models of spectator identification and desire, especially in articulating the play of fantasy and fetishism that circulates through fiction and documentary texts, viewers and film/videomakers. The detailed analyses of specific texts give us a more nuanced vision of spectatorship and our pleasures while showing us how films, consciously or not, provide the visual and narrative codes that allow us to find our own desires displayed.

In some way, all four books present outtakes as a corrective to traditional histories and disciplinary approaches. As Hanson puts it, the "outtake is that part of the film that, for whatever reasons, ends up on the floor in the editing room, a scene that is shot but never quite makes it onto the screen. The outtake is the supplement, the remainder, that defines every narrative as a deployment of silences and absences. An outtake has, like the queer subject, a certain reality, a certain place and defining power in the larger narrative of cultural representation, but only as that which should not be looked at" (18). By drawing our attention to the various outtakes missing in classical cinema, film history, and documentary film and video practice, the various authors succeed in creating an interesting and dynamic tension between the center and the margins, the visible and invisible, the authorized and unauthorized, the subject and object of the look.

Bodies and Souls: Politics and the Professionalization of Nursing in France, 1880–1922. By Katrin Schultheiss. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Devices and Desires: Gender, Technology, and American Nursing. By Margarete Sandelowski. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Janice L. Thompson, University of Southern Maine

hase two books provide deeply productive and welcome examinations of the professionalization of nursing. They suggest that in the developing nation-states of early and late modernity, the professionalization of nursing was inextricably tied to complex elaborations of technology and citizenship (as citizenship for women was defined). Perhaps by extension, the two studies raise compelling questions about the influence of citizenship on professionalization in today's postmodern and increasingly international world order.¹

In Bodies and Souls: Politics and the Professionalization of Nursing in France, 1880–1992, Schultheiss meticulously reviews significant contradictions in the drive for professionalization in nursing in France during the period of the early Third Republic. She presents a complex analysis of different responses to the French impulse for professionalization. Her thesis emerges gradually over the course of six different chapters, each providing context-specific inquiries. That thesis "uses the transformation of the nursing profession in the decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century as a lens through which to examine the social, cultural, and political meanings of womanhood at a particularly crucial moment in the formation of the modern French republic" (9–10).

As the study progresses, Schultheiss describes different attempts to reform nursing in a variety of French contexts. These include the displacement of religious nursing sisters in Paris and subsequent problematic efforts to laicize Paris hospitals; the successful stabilization of a quasireligious, lay identity for hospital nursing sisters in Lyons; problematic efforts by elite nursing reformists to create a model for modern professional socialization in Bordeaux; contradictory appropriations of gender and class in nursing by labor movements in France; a contested campaign by the International Red Cross that, while it catalyzed women in France

¹ Ruth Lister, Cstissendrip: Feminist Perspectives (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

during World War I, also created a hybrid nurse-maternal citizen; and, finally, postwar efforts to standardize nursing education and practice, thus moving the profession toward more scientific and epidemiological concerns for public health.

Each of these chapters presents a complex, contradictory, and highly politicized history of professionalization. Throughout her study, Schultheiss places in analytic interaction several contextually specific elements commonly acknowledged to have influenced early modernity in France, including the effects of an anticlerical secularism in emerging representations of the modern republic. The author demonstrates how, within this history, political and social representations of womanhood were invoked alternately to preserve or to dismantle the influence of the church. She successfully illustrates how this secularization, when coupled with an essentializing feminization of nursing, produced conflicting and contradictory effects for the professionalization of nursing in France.

Perhaps Schultheiss's most interesting finding is a history that did not mirror England or the United States in producing a successful elite model of professional education in nursing. The author attributes this history to culturally mediated definitions of citizenship in France. As a nurse, I gained new understandings about how diverse histories of professionalization were embedded in the complex political processes of modernity, processes that shaped the professionalization of women's work by tying it to the hegemony of nation-states, national identity, and citizenship.

I was reminded of this insight again in reading Margarete Sandelowski's Devices and Desires: Gender, Technology, and American Nursing. This work takes much of its inspiration from contemporary gender and technology studies, using the theoretical and methodological locations of that field to explore technology and American nursing. The text's examination is framed more diffusely between early and late modern U.S. contexts and touches briefly on postmodern concerns in its last chapter.

The author tackles a highly complicated history, outlining the ambiguous relationship between U.S. nursing and technology. She deploys several theoretical positions in the course of her work. These theoretical influences include the use of instrumental realism, a position the author endorses as providing a complimentary epistemological alternative to the use of phenomenology in nursing.² For Sandelowski, instrumental realism offers a philosophy of science to nurses that explains how given technologies may provide instrumental evidence of physiological processes. But

² Don Ihde, Instrumental Realism: The Interface between Philosophy of Science and Philosophy of Technology (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

in her concern for cultural processes, Sandelowski also endorses the theory of structuration, a theory that Anthony Giddens originated and Wanda Orlikowski modified for technology studies.³ These theories of structuration apply contemporary social and political analysis to theorize social structures, describing both the anticipated and unanticipated effects of relations of power in modern and postmodern social contexts. Justifying her use of the theory of structuration, Sandelowski acknowledges the close fit between her own analysis and adaptations of structuration theory in technology and gender studies.

It is in her use of structuration theory that Sandelowski is most successful in producing a critical history of technology and U.S. nursing. While briefly acknowledging important controversy over the definition of technology, the author insists on the importance of maintaining her focus on material objects, at least in this study. Her research focus and theoretical choices are productive because they gently open a complicated and highly contested area of concern in contemporary nursing literature.

In her use of structuration theory, the author suggests that technology has functioned paradoxically both as an action and as an effect in the social history of U.S. nursing. "A structuration model of technology allows scholars to embrace the various dualities of technology as material fact and social construction, as cause and consequence, and as trigger and mediator of change . . . as both objective, material force and as a socially constructed entity, as separate from and continuous with human behavior. and as both device and desire" (43). Taking her title cue from this analysis. Sandelowski proceeds in thematic and historical couplings to explore several areas in a history of professionalization in American nursing. These explorations include nursing's contradictory use of "utensils and materials at hand," being and becoming the "physician's eyes," marking the distinctions between "truly and technically nursing," and taking up "spectacular" surveillance in the reading and interpretation of instrumentally mediated texts (e.g., electrocardiographs). The various texts and contexts of professionalization have produced paradoxical and sometimes ironic effects, sometimes liberatory, sometimes oppressive, always inextricably linked with gender and class, in the professionalization of U.S. nursing.

Like Schultheiss, Sandelowski produces a coherent and well-argued

³ Anthony Giddens, Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis (Berkeley. University of California Press, 1979), and The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structure (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), Wanda J. Orlikowski, "The Duality of Technology: Rethinking the Concept of Technology in Organizations," Organization Science 3, no. 3 (1992): 398–427.

analysis of a complicated history. Sandelowski closes with a well-conceived caution about contemporary "border crossings," or experiments in professionalization. These include problematic contemporary policies to deploy nurse practitioners in the provision of primary care in the United States. Her careful explorations here and throughout the text produce an intriguing analysis of the ambivalent, equivocal relationship between nursing and technology in the United States. Her work adds subtle nuance to many social and political histories of U.S. nursing, deploying and deconstructing many of the discursive moves that have engaged profound ambivalence in the identity of American nursing.

What I find most productive in these two texts is also perhaps their greatest limitation. Each succeeds beautifully in presenting a cultural history of nursing within a national (b)order, the United States and France. But taken together, the failure of these two texts to engage a wider conversation with postcolonial feminist scholarship leads them both to peculiar silences on matters of race and decolonization in modern global contexts. While they both appeal to a certain poststructuralist and postmodern sensibility, they do not, unfortunately, provide a frame of analysis that allows us to make connections between the two, nor do they provide any sustained analysis of the influence of decolonization and racism in the professionalization of nursing. Unfortunately, this oversight is a common characteristic of many histories of nursing. It might be corrected by widening the unit of analysis to a postcolonial and international world order, an order in which nurses also function as citizens and engage ambivalently with technology.

United States and International Notes

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society welcomes announcements of fellowships, calls for papers, upcoming special issues, and new journals for the "U.S. and International Notes" section.

Calls for papers

The editors of a special issue of Feminist Theory devoted to feminist theory and/of science invite articles that consider the relations between feminist theory and science, as well as feminist theories of science. Literary, historical, and/or visual and cultural studies approaches, sociological and anthropological approaches, as well as perspectives from the scientific discipline, are encouraged. Detailed notes for contributors are available from the Feminist Theory office; direct e-mail to feminist theory@york.ac.uk. Manuscripts should be clearly marked "Special Issue" and sent to Susan Squier, P.O. Box 557, Boalsburg, PA 16287, or to Feminist Theory, Centre for Women's Studies, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD, United Kingdom. Deadline for submissions is December 15, 2003.

The guest editors invite proposals for a special issue of the Journal of the History of Sexuality on "Studying the History of Sexuality: Theory, Methods, Praxis." Possible topics include (but are not limited to) the relations of the history of sexuality to other fields, methodological approaches and problems, and the position of the scholar vis-à-vis the history of sexuality. The deadline for submitting proposals to the guest editors is January 31, 2004; the deadline for submitting completed manuscripts is October 31, 2004. The issue will be published in 2005. Proposals may be submitted electronically (by e-mail attachment) to Julian Carter at julian carter mindspring.com or to Lesley A. Hall at lesleyah primex.co.uk.

Call for artwork

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society seeks submissions for cover art. Published quarterly by the University of Chicago Press and distributed internationally, Signs is an interdisciplinary academic journal that focuses on race, class, nation, and sexuality. Submissions are not limited by style or medium (photography and film stills are welcome) but should reproduce well in black and white; content should represent a point of view on women's issues. One full-color cover will be published annually. Send up to ten labeled slide duplicates to Art Editor, Signs, UCLA, 1400H Public Policy, Box 957122, Los Angeles, CA 90095-7122. E-mail signs@signs.ucla.edu. A small honorarium is available. Deadline is ongoing.

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zation, Social Change, and the Housing Market, ed. Gary A. Dymski and Dorene Isenberg (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002).

Cathy Luchetti has written eight books on American history, three of which have won prestigious awards, including the Pacific Northwest Booksellers Award for Literary Excellence for Women of the West and the Willa Award runner-up for Medicine Women. She was recently invited to the White House to participate in a symposium on Women of the West and speaks nationally on the subject of women on the frontier.

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Authority: Women's Studies, Feminist Politics, and the Popular Press," Signs 20, no. 3 (1995):668–84. Her current book project is titled "Stealing Power: Race, Gender and the Politics of Cultural Authority."

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Guidelines for Contributors

The editors invite submission of article-length manuscripts that might appropriately be published in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. We publish articles from a wide range of disciplines in a variety of voices—articles engaging gender, race, culture, class, nation, and/or sexuality. We are looking for lively, provocative essays that launch new inquiries or prompt intense debate; we publish essays not only in areas of scholarship familiar to Signs readers but in newly emergent fields relevant to women and gender as well. Essays may be discipline specific if they are cross-disciplinary in their theorizing, their methodology, or their sources.

Signs does not consider manuscripts that are under review elsewhere or that have been previously published. Signs does not accept unsolicited book reviews.

Each author (or set of coauthors) will receive 10 copies of the issue or a year's subscription (or renewal).

Editorial procedures

All articles published in Signs are peer reviewed.

Preparation of copy.

- 1. Articles should not exceed a maximum length of 10,000 words, including references and endnotes. Please indicate the word count on the title page.
- 2. Type all copy—including endnotes and reference list—double-spaced on standard bond paper, allowing generous margins on the top, bottom, and sides.
- 3. A separate title page should include the article title and the author's name, postal address, telephone number, e-mail address, and fax number, if available. The first page of the manuscript should have the article title 2 inches from the top of the page. The text should start 2 inches below the title. To protect anonymity, the author's name should not appear on the manuscript, and all references in the body of the text and in endnotes that might identify the author to the reviewer should be removed and cited on a separate page. Articles that do not conform to these specifications will be returned to authors.
- 4. A high-quality photocopy of each illustration should accompany the manuscript. Reproduction-quality prints of illustrations will be required for manuscripts accepted for publication.
- 5. Submissions for regular issues should include a cover page with identifying information, 3 copies of the manuscript, and 3 copies of an abstract (of not more than 150 words). Please include a 3 1/2-inch high-density disk copy of the essay and abstract, preferably in MSWord (please specify word-processing software on disk). Send submission materials to the Editors, Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, University of California, Los Angeles, 1400H Public Policy Building,

Los Angeles, CA 90095-7122. Manuscripts submitted to Signs will not be returned. Manuscripts submitted without abstracts will not be sent out for review.

Citations and references

Submissions should follow the author-date system of documentation, with limited endnotes, as outlined in *The Chicago Manual of Style* (14th ed.). (See chapter 16 outlining documentation for the social sciences.) The journal office may request full revision of manuscripts not meeting the *CMS* requirements for documentation.

References to works are given in the text in chronological order by enclosing the author's last name and the year of publication in parentheses (Miller 1978) and are keyed to an alphabetical list of references at the end of the article. Specific page or section references follow the date, preceded by a comma (Miller 1978, 234). Other examples are: (Miller and Jones 1978) for dual authorship; (Miller et al. 1978) for more than three authors; (Miller 1978a, 1978b) for two works by the same author in a single year; (Smith 1982; Chanock 1985; Robertson and Berger 1986) for two or more works by different authors.

Endnotes are used for material commenting on or adding to the text and should be used instead of parenthetical citations for references to more than three works, archival materials, unpublished interviews, and legal cases. Within endnotes, second and later references to a work should refer to the author's last name and date. Do not use *op. cit.* Endnotes should be typed double-spaced at the end of the article, following the list of references.

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Thanks to Reviewers

The Signs editors and staff gratefully acknowledge the contributions of the following thoughtful and generous scholars who reviewed manuscripts for the journal during 2002.

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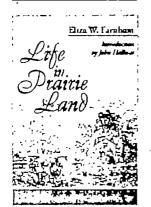
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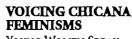


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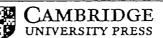
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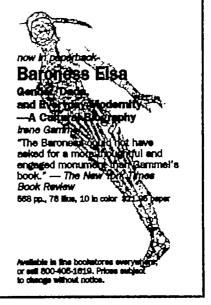
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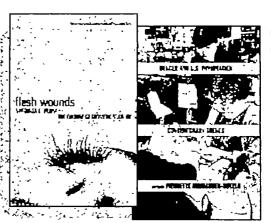
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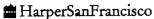
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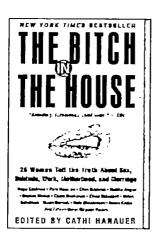
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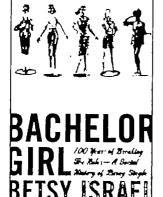
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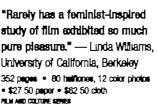


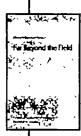
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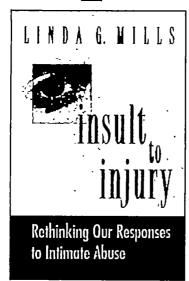
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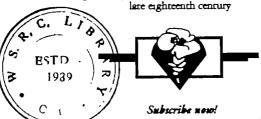
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Special Issue Editors

Françoise Lionnet, Obioma Nnaemeka, Susan H. Perry, Celeste Schenck

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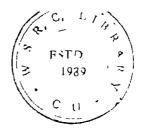
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Signs Special Issue: Gender beyond "Sexual Difference": Rethinking Feminisms and Visual Culture

Igns: Journal of Women in Culture and Society seeks submissions for a special issue titled "Gender beyond 'Sexual Difference': Rethinking Feminisms and Visual Culture," slated for publication in spring 2006. The editors of this special issue seek manuscripts that offer new feminist strategies for examining visual culture, convincing critiques of earlier approaches to feminist visual analysis, and/or new models of feminist visual theory that accommodate the multivalence of women's identities and experiences. We are interested in essays that revise binary models of sexual difference by considering the coextensivity of gender and the myriad other aspects of identity (sexuality, race, ethnicity, etc.) defining contemporary experience. This special issue of Signs will explore the powerful political conflicts that inform the work of feminist visual theorists and practitioners today and will place a particular emphasis on the burdens and conflicts that fall on those whose work is simultaneously feminist, antiracist, queer, postcolonial, Marxist, and so on.

This issue will include works that attempt to rethink the nexus of feminisms (in the plural) and visual culture beyond the dualisms generally posed by "sexual difference" theory, as important as this theory was in developing critical models for analyzing the patriarchal structures of visual representation in Euro-American cultures. Located at a moment of intense shifts in conceptions and experiences of identity (national, international, class, ethnic, racial, sexual, gender, and otherwise), this issue intends to provide multiple points of view on the intersection of feminism and visual culture, to pose new critical models of reading imagery and/or interrogating how feminist visual theories and practices from the so-called fine arts to television, performance art, and the Internet might productively negotiate the increasingly complex pressures of global capitalism. Possible topics could include essays analyzing the productive or destructive conflicts between specific feminist visual theories and particular queer, antiracist, Marxist, postcolonial, and/or other theories of identity; articles addressing key feminist works of art (e.g., Adrian Piper's performances) through models of analysis acknowledging the intersectionality of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, nationality, and so on; papers examining visual images or

objects that articulate complex formulations of gendered identity as multiple and unfixed; or essays offering new feminist models of visual theory that accommodate the interdependence of gender and other aspects of identity.

The special issue editors are Amelia Jones (history of art, School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester) and Jennifer Doyle (English, University of California, Riverside). Please send submissions (three copies) no later than August 1, 2004, to Signs, "Rethinking Feminisms and Visual Culture," University of California, Los Angeles, 1400H Public Policy Building, Box 957122, Los Angeles, CA 90095-7122. Please observe the guidelines in the most recent issues of the journal or at http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/Signs/instruct.html.

Introduction

The Human Face of Development: Disciplinary Convergence and New Arenas of Engagement

n the past twenty years the entire field of development has come under critical academic and activist scrutiny. In the field, the structural adjustment crisis of the early 1980s forced development theorists to reassess the wisdom of basing development programs solely on economic theory. In the academy, scholars chronicled the failure of development on the ground and invoked contemporary methodologies such as feminist theory, postcolonial theory, postmodernism, and interdisciplinary pooling of perspectives to formulate alternative paradigms. François Perroux pointed out as early as 1983 that "personal development, the freedom of persons fulfilling their potential in the context of the values to which they ascribe . . . is one of the mainsprings of all forms of development" (1983, 180). Some years later Vincent Tucker noted in "The Myth of Development" that "the deconstruction of the formerly hegemonic discourse of development in itself opened up new possibilities" (reprinted in Munck and O'Hearn 1999, 22). He then urged academics and activists alike to "leave behind the epistemological illusion of concreteness" (Tucker 1999, 9) provided by statistical and economic models and to factor into development discourse "other peoples, other perspectives, and other cultures" (Tucker 1999, 22). Tucker insisted that we need to "identify the arenas where such dialogues are taking place in order to learn from and improve them" (Tucker 1999, 23). Numerous feminist critics followed suit, including Marianne Marchand and Jane Parpart in Feminism/Postmodernism/Development (1995); Catherine Scott in Gender and Development: Rethinking Modernization and Dependency Theory (1996); Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Laurie Nisonoff, and Nan Wiegersma in The Women, Gender and Development Reader (1997); Martha Nussbaum in Women and Human Development (2000); and Susan Perry and Celeste Schenck, in Eye to Eye: Women Practising Development across Cultures (2001). This special issue of Signs—"Development Cultures: New Strategies, New Realities, New Environments"—inscribes itself at this critical turn in development thinking.

This special issue is the result of our efforts to create new sites from which to think about development issues, actual spaces/places across the globe where new development practices are unfolding: primary, undergraduate, and graduate classrooms, biology laboratories and professional ethics committees, flower markets, cinemas, novels, tourist sites, factories, community radio studios, op-ed pages, street performances, collectively administered credit unions, village councils, and art installations for a participatory public, to name but a few. Obioma Nnaemeka, in her essay in this issue, speaks of the imperative of operating from a "third space where the immediacy of lived experience gives form to theory, allows the simultaneous gesture of theorizing practice and practicing theory, and anticipates the mediation of policy, thereby disrupting . . . [both] the academy and activism as stable sites" (377). In our solicitation of articles and selection of submissions, we have sought to close the gap between academic theorizing and fieldwork or activism, and we have deliberately chosen pieces that are not so theoretically self-conscious that they stand at a distance from the populations and the projects they describe. We feel that the most interesting recent work on development has tended to stress the universal interest of local practice, an abandonment of North/South polarities and hierarchies, and full support for the rich, textured, human face of development cultures worldwide.

The first section of this issue, "Debating a Global Feminist Ethics for Development," works through several models of feminist development ethics, effectively debating relationships between the universal and the particular. The three articles by Anne Donchin, Martha Nussbaum, and Obioma Nnaemeka engage ongoing discussions about feminist theorizing and propose new directions. Donchin argues for the efficacy of an amalgam of theories—development and human rights theories, for example—in elucidating and explicating feminist theory (feminist bioethics, in this instance). She notes that feminist bioethics could gain a global appeal and texture with the infusion of development and human rights theories and discourses. Proposing a third way of reconceptualizing and arguing the individual/collective dichotomy in universalist/cultural relativist debates, she affirms that traditional relationships can sometimes be mobilized to tap human potential. Nussbaum speaks to the importance of theory in framing everyday, practical issues because good theories "are an important part of getting a hearing for urgent moral concerns in the international arena" (329) and provide different constituencies, particularly policy makers, with the context for policy design. She identifies women's education

as a top priority because it is the key to ensuring that progress is made on other fronts of human development and effective participation in society. Arguing that the prioritization and effective implementation of women's education is not necessarily guaranteed by economic growth, but rather by a nation's use of available resources to create the appropriate environment for the flowering of human potential, imagination, and creativity, Nussbaum insists that only a combination of conducive environment, internal mechanisms, and the commitment of wealthy nations, corporations, and citizens can guarantee the prioritization and effective implementation of women's education. Nnaemeka advocates for a multipolar theory making that recognizes the importance of local and indigenous grounding and at the same time accommodates and promotes the possibilities of global interfacing, interaction, and mutuality. Her article explores the interweaving of the colonial moment, the politics of fieldwork, and the politics of representation in feminist scholarship and development studies by revisiting the processes of theory making and knowledge construction in an environment of unequal power relations. Arguing for an African feminist framework that is built on the indigenous, she proposes nego-feminism as a term capturing the centrality of negotiations in African feminisms.

In the next two sections, titled "Imagining New Frameworks: Development, Gender, Globalization" and "New Identities, New Environments," we have included case studies that give thickness and form to the theoretical debates in the field. The essay by Sarah Radcliffe, Ninah Laurie, and Robert Andolina echoes Nnaemeka's call for an indigenous framework of analysis and demonstrates how transnational forces have an impact on indigenous gender relations in the Andes. The authors challenge "the erasure of gender from grand theories of globalization" (389) and provide an alternative analysis of the interconnected gender and racial hierarchies that the prevailing "Western norms of efficiency and disembodiment" (411) tend to reinforce during the process of global restructuring. The essay thus suggests important new avenues for feminist critiques of ethnodevelopment. Focusing on India, Christine Keating questions standard models of citizenship and those "new forms of democratic inclusion fostered by . . . processes of . . . globalization" (417) that aim to ensure greater compliance within an ethic of consumerism. She examines the ways that the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), by contrast, "strives to foster a participatory culture of democratic responsibility that works against the logic of capitalist democracy" (427). Louise Yelin's review of several current theoretical and empirical studies of globalization leads her to point out that in the

empire that Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri describe, "gender is absent from the array of conceptual categories" used to explain the "production' of identity and difference" (441). But she also finds that although feminist scholars, by contrast, "treat women as historical actors" (442) in their mappings of global migrations, they cannot provide us with insights into the ways in which women subjectively experience social change and the "migrations of the heart" that literary authors and autobiographers such as Caribbean-born Maryse Condé (Guadeloupe) and Jamaica Kincaid (Antigua) are able to convey through their writings.

New identities and new environments emerge from Molly Talcott's nuanced and richly detailed ethnography of the Colombian flower industry's success story. By analyzing the forms of women's involvement in flower production in Bogotá, she considers the lived realities of those who labor in the fields while "community mothers" care for the children. Talcott develops an account of the informal support networks, the modes of resistance, and the gendered webs of development that allow women to envision alternative ways of relating to one another within a global economy that need not produce the inequalities that it does. Amanda Swarr and Richa Nagar similarly bring to light the everyday struggles of women who are finding new ways of relating to one another. Focusing on samesex relationships in India and South Africa, they undo the first/thirdworld binary by analyzing "the politics of sexuality and intimacy" that render "lesbian" lives invisible in the work of development theorists. Their interviewees' stories illustrate the ways in which some of the world's "most economically and politically marginalized women exercise their sexual agency" (514) and thus create public spaces and gain social acceptance.

"Notes from the Field" brings to this issue the lived experience of practice. In each of the two sections—"New Places" and "New Spaces"—our contributors recount their life's work in the first person, sharing innovative solutions to seemingly intractable problems such as lack of access, disenfranchisement, or even, in some cases, discrimination or threatened space in which to act. The tone of this section varies widely, at times brisk and playful, at other moments ironic or despairing. In this section particularly, the narratives bear witness to a replacement of numerical development models with holistic, imaginative, and pragmatic strategies that negotiate a range of local and global constraints. "Notes from the Field" is an eclectic record of development thinking outside the box.

All of the pieces in this issue attest to the fact that when you remove the economic straitjacket from development practice, you release participatory energy and create greater access for committed actors. As a result, readers of this issue will find within these pages much more than an explanation of development programs and dry accountability reports. For example, an entire section has been devoted to testimony on 9/11 from across social classes, ethnicities, and geographies. Why? We believe that the widespread support for acts of terrorism such as the World Trade Center attacks is the direct result of misguided and misappropriated development policies that render countries of the South voiceless and powerless to plan their own futures. Decades of fruitless efforts to alleviate crushing, relentless poverty through inappropriate economic models have sapped all human dignity from the development process. The 9/11 tragedy sounded, among many other things, the death knell of traditional development approaches.

The viewpoints section includes three pieces that critically review the traditional development domains of international institutions and human rights issues. Margaret Snyder, the first director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), draws on her long and rich experience in development and women's issues to trace the evolution of the women-and-development movement over the past fifty years. While recognizing the many gains made by and on behalf of women, Snyder appeals for maintaining a vital link between scholarship and activism that has grassroots relevance. Sophie Bessis, a Tunisian political economist, assesses the gradual adoption of gender policies by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations and its agencies, ultimately holding these organizations accountable for the instrumentality of their "feminism." Focusing on her attempt to formulate and implement an integrated legal outreach model during her tenure as manager of the World Bank's Gender and Law Program, Leslye Amede Obiora argues that a meaningful gender mainstreaming requires a paradigmatic shift in development conceptualizations, processes, and practice that must recognize African women's autonomy and agency and take into account the relationship between life options and social change.

The last article in our issue covers an art exhibit in a small industrial town in Taiwan. This group show, gathering artists from both sides of the Pacific Rim and inviting local community members to participate in the making of commemorative art, is a testimony to the power of the humanities to provide forums for collective development processes and practices. The participation of Judy Chicago in this exhibit brings several decades of feminist artistic engagement full circle, in light of her early representation in Signs. 1 Chicago's inclusion as part of a collective of artists from the Pacific

¹ Chicago's "Dinner Party" was first mentioned in Signs in H. Diane Russell's review

Rim relocates her work in a global network of feminist artists and illustrates the increasing transnationalism of development efforts in the arts.

Development, a field traditionally located squarely within the parameters of the social sciences, has of late taken on new life in the humanities. In her article titled "Freedom, Development and Human Worth," Nobel Peace Prize laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi rhetorically disassociates true development from mere economic growth. At the heart of the development process must be "a sense of empowerment and inner fulfillment," she rightly maintains, as people's social and political transformation is "the central issue of our time" (1995, 17). For Aung San Suu Kyi, development requires democracy, the genuine empowerment of the people, the very sort of participation advocated and recorded in this issue. When this is achieved, culture and economic development will "naturally coalesce to create an environment in which all are valued, and every kind of human potential can be realized" (1995, 17). Women make up the majority of the world's marginalized people, and their disenfranchisement has clearly thwarted sustainable development. Nonetheless, we are contemporary civil society's most resourceful actors. By imagining new strategies, new realities, and new environments for human fulfillment, as individuals and active members of our communities, we create viable development cultures.

The editors would like to offer their collective thanks to the members of the Signs staff for their professionalism, flexibility, sharp-eyed editing, consultive support, and genuine interest in this special issue of the journal.

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cessay, "Art History" (1980, 474). Later, her work at the California Institute was reviewed along with that of Minam Shapiro in Paula Harper's report on the First Feminist Art Program (1985).

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Converging Concerns: Feminist Bioethics, Development Theory, and Human Rights

Itse feminist scholarship generally, feminist bioethics has been continually remaking itself as new issues emerge and conceptual shortcomings surface. This article has sprung from my growing realization of a limitation in feminist bioethics, which was prompted by the chance remark of a newcomer to the field, who, at a recent conference of the Feminist Bioethics Network, expressed her surprise that so few speakers had mentioned the human rights movement. Initially puzzled, I reflected on the network's mission statement, particularly its emphasis on the development of a more inclusive theory of bioethics encompassing the standpoints and experiences of women and other marginalized social groups, on the examination of the dominant bioethical discourse that privileges those already empowered, and on the creation of new methodologies and strategies that are responsive to the disparate conditions of women's lives across the globe.¹

Given these long-term goals it now struck me that the range of feminist bioethics scholarship had been too constricted. My colleagues and I had yielded to the feminist trend to turn away from global thinking to emphasize local and contextual knowledges.² Consequently, like much other feminist scholarship, our discourse had become more local as the world grew closer together (Benhabib 1995). In attempting to globalize feminist

I wish to express my gratitude to colleagues in the International Network on Feminist Approaches to Bioethics and the editors of this Signs issue who have contributed to my exploration of the problems I examine in this article.

¹ See the musion statement of the International Network on Feminist Approaches to Bioethics (FAB) at http://www.fabnet.org. The network currently has approximately 350 individual members in twenty-eight countries, publishes a semiannual newsletter, and organizes a biennial conference. Scholarship by its members has appeared in two anthologies (Donchin and Purdy 1999; Tong 2001). A third focusing on usues addressed in this article is scheduled to appear in 2004.

² Notable exceptions include Florencia Luna (2001) and Jeanelle de Gruchy and Launel Baldwin-Ragavin (2001), who have already begun to explore specific interconnections between feminist broethics and human rights.

bioethics and advance health and well-being across diverse cultures and traditions, we had added a miscellany of diverse voices and given too little attention to major structural injustices that often override local boundaries. Subsequent conversations with colleagues in overlapping fields led me to two arenas of discourse and activism that address the intersection of global concerns and feminist bioethics: human rights and development theories. But critical exploration of the human rights movement would compel me to reconsider my own reservations about rights discourse. And forays into development theory would require rethinking my own, predominantly visceral, reactions to the dominant development paradigm. This article incorporates these reflections in the hope of developing a more coherent and integrated global framework for feminist bioethics. In order to strengthen connections among these overlapping arenas, I probe interconnections that might overcome the compartmentalization and bifurcations that impede collaboration among feminists who share a common commitment to global change. I hope to show how such linkages could enrich all three frameworks, thereby contributing to a truly global feminist program that links theory and practice in ways likely to enhance women's health and well-being across diverse cultures. Though my attention will be directed primarily to extending the feminist bioethics agenda, converging connections will, hopefully, encourage partnerships among feminists in all three fields.

In matters of health and well-being, all three groups already share commonalities. They recognize that health does not depend on behavioral choices alone but is the result of interlocking status determinants that affect people's capacities to realize tenable life goals. They also understand the need to shift the attention of providers and policy makers from an overemphasis on the delivery of health care services to a greater investment in preventive programs. And they are acutely aware of conditions that impair women's health and diminish their agency, particularly the health care needs of marginalized groups and those subject to abuse and neglect and the impact on health of abusive practices such as domestic violence, discrimination against female children, and demands for husbands' authorization of their wives' medical care. All also understand the impact of local, national, and international power hierarchies on the distribution of health care resources. Rather than merely deploring existing injustices, they call for programs of social change to rectify inequities, to empower marginalized people to define their own health care needs, and to configure local programs to meet those needs (Cook 1999; Holmes 1999; Nicholas 1999).

Building on these commonalities, I initially consider major critiques of

rights-based theories, leading responses to them, and recent initiatives within the international bioethics community intended to reclaim human rights. Next, I shift to efforts within the human rights movement to advance global health and consider impediments generated by the dominant economic development paradigm. I then take up an alternative paradigm that seeks to forge a global ethic conjoining development and human rights theories. I evaluate an influential version of this approach and indicate respects in which it is flawed, noting particularly its failure to make adequate provisions for group relations that frame the context of individual lives. Finally, I propose an alternative framework for a global feminist bioethic that is more fully responsive to practices that would strengthen all people's capacities to enjoy healthy, productive lives.

Rights speech: Reservations, rebuttals, and revisions

Feminist resistance to a conceptual apparatus that stresses rights language has sprung from both sources external to feminism and tendencies within it. Prominent among the first group is the negative-positive rights polarity rooted in the liberal tradition. Feminist theorists often point out that a claim to a negative right obligating others to abstain from interference has little value without access to resources enabling its exercise. Take the right to noninterference: it is vacuous without authoritative implementation (consider access to abortion facilities or enforcement of prohibitions against rape). Even the right to self-determination requires considerable social cooperation. For it cannot be exercised even minimally without the mutual recognition of people's interdependence. Optimally, it requires mastery of appropriate cognitive and emotional skills, opportunities to shape one's identity in nonoppressive ways, and social support to achieve personal agency.

An overlapping concern is the tendency of rights-based theories to lapse into a rigid individualism that disregards the basic human needs of socially excluded groups. Developing this thread, feminists from a variety of traditions have spoken out about an overemphasis on individual rights, how it lends itself to an impoverished sense of personal and social values, and how it neglects other moral aims that are not expressible as matters of individual preference—relational ties, sexual equality, and a nurturing stable child-rearing environment. Some stress affinities between the appeal to rights and masculinist ideologies of personal control and domination and chide those who emphasize rights discourse for neglecting relational values tied to care and interpersonal connection. In a related vein others fault the conception of personal autonomy associated with rights discourse

for its mentalistic assumptions that valorize a distinctively masculine ideal of autonomy that diminishes the importance of embodied particulars and relegates women to a natural sphere disjoined from human reason (Lovibond 1989, 10).

Diana Tietjens Meyers makes a related point, noting that appeals to rights are often made when there is a breakdown in loving and caring relationships—when people's interests are neglected. She sees the morality of rights primarily as a morality of self-defense used to protect people from assaults on their personal integrity. Invoking a right introduces a generalized perspective that captures one dimension of morality but does not tell us how to respect people individually (Meyers 1994, 155). I will revisit this perspective later within the context of relationships between human rights discourse and development theory.

A further factor in feminist distrust of broad appeals to rights stems from the early history of the international human rights movement, when women's concerns were relegated to the periphery. Despite the 1948 UN Charter's inclusion of a right to the highest attainable standard of health, linkages between health and human rights did not become a focal concern until the 1980s. The initial formulation addressed only civil and political rights. In response to pressures to formulate more concrete and potentially enforceable rights, in 1966 the UN General Assembly adopted a covenant incorporating social, cultural, and economic rights (known as second-generation rights). But even this extension did not expressly address equal protections for women and other marginalized groups.

Other sources of resistance to rights discourse stem from tendencies within feminist theory. Over the past two decades feminists have turned away from global thinking to emphasize local and contextual knowledges. Under Carol Gilligan's (1982) influence many have stressed patterns of reasoning allegedly characteristic of women—those based on caring, relationships, and responsibilities—and contrasted them to masculine modes of reasoning that privilege justice and rights. Though Gilligan did not regard either as superior, some of her followers, most notably Nel Noddings (1984), did. Noddings believed feminists could dispense with moral principles, including those that use the (masculine) language of justice and rights. Adequate moral guidance could be gleaned from individual cases where people exercise caring duties.

Despite feminist theoretical resistance to the use of rights language, rights talk has been integral to activist feminist strategies for decades. Within feminist bioethics, particularly, there has been broad support for women's right to reproductive services and the rights of patients to take control of their own medical decisions. However, feminist bioethicists have

been reticent to extend rights language to a broader set of practices. Why so? This reticence can be explained, in part, by international criticism of U.S. bioethicists for their supposed obsession with rights language. What is seldom well understood by critics, however, is that appeals to rights are often rooted in specific features of the U.S. experience that arose at a time of major change in the expression of ethical principles and that marked a significant power shift from physician paternalism to patient autonomy. The articulation of these principles is historically linked to other rights-based initiatives in the United States, particularly the civil rights movement and the struggles for women's rights in the 1960s and 1970s. Both movements brought to public awareness submerged voices and injustices inflicted on those lacking access to power.

Turning now to rebuttals to these critiques of rights talk, I will consider grounds for broader inclusion of rights language in feminist bioethics. One approach focuses on deficiencies in the theoretical turn exemplified by Noddings (1984), especially on its virtually exclusive emphasis on interpersonal relationships and its disregard for the political dimensions of social connection. Martha Minow addresses the difficulty of holding together a vision encompassing both the personal and political. Responding to injustices suffered by marginalized groups, she has framed what she calls "the dilemma of difference": ignoring group differences undermines efforts to mobilize opposition to group discrimination, but emphasizing differences risks entrenching the dominant group's stereotypes about the discriminated (1990, 20).3 She attributes the dilemma to social institutions that establish only one norm, thereby ignoring the perspectives of those who fall outside that norm (94-95). An exclusively case-oriented perspective, such as Noddings advocates, would obscure these effects of social institutions.

Others have pointed out that rights talk cannot be expunged from a language that preserves concepts bound up with duty and obligation.⁴ While resisting propensities to totalize rights language, they emphasize its central functions. "For the historically disempowered," Patricia Williams remarks, "the conferring of rights is symbolic of all the denied aspects of their humanity" (1991, 152). Williams stresses the need to assess the value of rights not only from the privileged position of those who have always had them but also from the position of those to whom they have been denied. For U.S. blacks, particularly, "the attainment of rights signifies the respectful behavior, the collective responsibility, properly owed

³ Others have constructed variants of this dilemma. See, e.g., O'Neill 1993, 307.

⁴ For more on this point see Minow 1990 and Tong 2004.

by a society to one of its own" (1991, 163). Rights talk, when uttered by people with the protected standing of bearers of rights, is a socially empowered form of speech. Lacking it, Margaret Walker notes, people may voice preferences or complaints but cannot articulate demands that others are required to meet (2003, 175).

Concurrently, the human rights movement has extended its scope bevond the two categories of rights formerly identified and has turned to the explicit recognition of women's rights, the rights of peoples (as distinct from states), and the right to development. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) stresses basic education, career, vocational, health, and family planning information. It also incorporates mechanisms for monitoring injustices, including inequitable access to health care services (British Medical Association 2001, 333). Signatory governments, if found deficient, are obligated to respond. Walker (2003, 171-72) notes that many provisions of CEDAW grew out of the women's movements and come much closer than any prior document to reflecting the lives of women who have been systematically silenced and to addressing those oppressions that are based on group membership. Michael Ignatieff, reviewing the past five decades of the human rights movement (2001c, 169), acclaims its transformed agenda, which emphasizes social protections against threats to human well-being, the empowerment of victims, and the validation of their entitlements to freedom.

Feminist bioethicists could considerably advance the project of globalizing bioethics by reassessing reservations about the adoption of a more inclusive rights discourse and by giving greater heed to the aims of CE-DAW. Available evidence shows a high correlation between gender oppression and preventable illnesses, particularly in countries with a strong preference for boy children (Drèze and Sen 1989). However, to address these issues adequately we need a conceptual apparatus that transcends dichotomies between developed and less-developed countries, incorporates a compatible development ethic, and integrates relevant features of the global human rights movement into feminist discourse. Medical groups in a few countries outside North America have already broken ground at a practical level.

Some medical organizations are coming to realize that physicians play a significant role in both the concealment and exposure of human rights violations. Since physicians are often the first beyond law enforcement officers to see evidence of the systematic violation of human rights, they have a heightened responsibility to protect the rights of those in their charge, and they deserve protection for reporting abuses. The *Handbook*

published by the British Medical Association (2001) offers a rich source for exploring the extensive overlap and interconnections between the conceptual frameworks of bioethics and human rights and their practical applications. Most important, it facilitates understanding of the ways in which bioethics and human rights provide complementary approaches to improving the health of vulnerable populations, particularly within poorer countries; advancing their well-being; pressing for equitable access to treatment; protecting women's health and reproductive rights; developing nondiscriminatory HIV/AIDS policies; and encouraging practitioners to act as agents and advocates for social justice.

Issues overlapping bioethics and human rights include the health care of vulnerable groups, dilemmas about how to respect cultural diversity without jeopardizing the rights of individuals and groups, securing meaningful informed consent to research (particularly where drug companies in advanced industrialized countries exploit people in less-developed ones to research drugs for the market), discrimination in the delivery of health care services, and connections between such underlying determinants of health as nutrition and sanitation. Poor nutrition associated with poverty aggravates the health problems of pregnant and lactating women and increases their vulnerability to poverty-related diseases.⁵ Food contamination, infant dehydration, and other life-threatening conditions are responsible for many infant and child deaths (Mata 1988). Rebecca Cook observes that "promotion of women's health depends on the interaction of most, if not all, human rights" (1999, 260). She specifically mentions the protection of women's employment and equal pay for work of equal value, education, information, political participation, influence, and democratic power within legislatures.

To recapitulate, though feminist reservations about rights language are often directed more to misleading theoretical expositions of rights than to activist strategies, they have practical consequences too. Theories that make inadequate provision for rights risk obstructing the advancement of subordinated groups. But moral theories that give centrality to individual rights can provide only a partial moral vision. For rights-based moral thought alone can tell us nothing about what should be done in the absence of claimant procedures. What is needed is a moral framework that encompasses rights claims within a broad range of moral norms, a framework that is fully responsive to conditions that shape human health and

⁸ For a fuller discussion of associations between health and poverty, see Jaggar 2003, 198–203, and the sources cited there.

well-being across the globe. However, efforts to shape such a framework need to be responsive to the resistance to a global bioethic that encompasses human rights. I turn now to the principal sites of resistance.

Global health and the dominant development paradigm

Of course, criticisms of rights language extend well beyond feminist contexts to moral thought in general as well as to central claims of the human rights movement. Despite successive reformulations of human rights, some bioethicists still think human rights language is too closely tied to Euro-American bioethics to contribute meaningfully to a global bioethic. According to Ruth Macklin, opposition to human rights is widespread among Chinese scholars (1999, 228–33). Other Asian scholars advocate a very particularized global approach that counters claims to universal human rights. Defenders of this view assert two related claims. First, in many countries in East and Southeast Asia, people have no theoretical background for the concept of human rights. Second, these people seek primarily to overcome starvation and poverty by increasing national wealth and mutual aid (Sakamoto 1999). Arleen Salles and her collaborators report similar arguments rejecting human rights claims among some Latin American scholars (2002).

Several considerations need to be taken into account to evaluate the responses. Regarding the second objection, it is often not commodity scarcity that causes famine, injustice, and other factors that contribute to ill health but socially produced deprivations such as the lack of legal and other entitlements to food and income (Sen 1990). Among these missing entitlements is appropriate maternal education to enable mothers to avoid food contamination, infant dehydration, and other life-threatening conditions that are responsible for so many infant and child deaths (Freedman 1999). I will turn to a more detailed discussion of this issue in the next section, where I argue that bolstering economic assistance to poorer countries is not incompatible with human rights advocacy. Denial of a human rights tradition in Asia is also highly questionable. Amartya Sen has unearthed evidence dating human rights advocacy within the Indian tradition to the twelfth century (2000). And Salles points out that the independence movements of several Latin American countries based their demands on claims to natural rights, the antecedent of human rights (2002).

Though the modern formulation is undoubtedly Western in origin, as Sen's evidence illustrates, moral discourse that emphasizes rights is a descendant of older concerns about obligation and justice, virtue and happiness, that have been ubiquitous in ethical discussion since antiquity. Not

until the seventeenth century, though, were the legal dimensions of this discourse extended to the situation of women and other disenfranchised groups. The agendas of the social movements that culminated in the French and American revolutions provided the context for a conceptual shift to human rights discourse as well as a family of interrelated concepts that have been central to moral discourse ever since. Though these movements fell far short of their ideals, their stress on the universality of rights laid the groundwork for contemporary rights claims. The struggles for voting rights, for full participation in the workforce, and for equal opportunity for minority populations are all descendants of these movements and are grounded in a conception of a common humanity based on shared human needs.

Seen in this light the unqualified rejection of human rights discourse that marks some non-Western approaches to bioethics seems directed more to those who already have control over the basic conditions of their lives than to those living on the margins who lack the economic security and reliable social support that the more privileged take for granted. However, as I noted previously, the value of rights needs to be assessed not only from the privileged position of those who already have them but also from the position of those to whom they have been denied. Once human rights are understood as the moral rights of all people in all situations, the central issue is transformed from whether human rights claims should be included within moral discourse to how to identify and characterize them.⁶

The application of this criterion provides a yardstick for evaluating models of economic development directed to improving living conditions in developing economies. In the next section, I will examine in detail the human capabilities model advanced by Sen and Martha Nussbaum, but first I will take up the model that has dominated international assistance programs in developing economies. Based on a quasi-utilitarian model of preferences that prioritizes economic values, it takes a country's gross domestic product to be the measure of the quality of life of its inhabitants and assumes that people's expressed preferences represent their actual needs and wants. Institutions that direct globalization support this paradigm. Control of these institutions intensifies the West's economic dominance through programs of national-multilateral "security" that exacerbate the marginalization of populations that cannot contribute significantly to wealth expansion. Alison Jaggar (2003) documents how economic globalization contributes to

⁶ This is the characterization of human rights preferred by both Williams (1991) and Macklin (1999), esp. 225–28.

growing disparities in health outcomes for women worldwide. She, among others, has taken the International Monetary Fund to task for championing market supremacy and insisting on repayment of wealthy creditors even when reimbursement impoverishes the domestic economy of the debtor nations and intensifies their poverty, because forcing debtor countries to repay loans regardless of the condition of their economy severely diminishes the resources available to support the health and well-being of their people. For example, the intellectual property rules that require poor nations to honor drug patents will result in a transfer of \$40 billion a year from poor countries to corporations in the developed world (Rosenberg 2002). Other stratagems employed by Western economic interests include co-optation of rights language to distort and threaten alliances between Western women and those in developing economies. Some feminists fault these interests for using the cloak of reproductive rights to hijack the agenda of population control programs by manipulating women's reproductive capacity to achieve the demographic goals set by dominant elites (Freedman 1999, 234).

However, in some of these countries feminists have begun to seize the initiative, restoring the vitality of rights discourse and opposing the treatment of women as "targets" of contraceptive programs. Women from Asia, Africa, and Latin America have played leading roles in defining the terms and setting the direction of women's human rights movements (as well as reproductive health and rights movements) both in their own countries and at the international level. Several groups are now seeking to counteract programs that would narrow the human rights agenda to the advantage of the West. In a recent address to the World Bank, Mary Robinson, the United Nations high commissioner for human rights, summarized recent efforts within the United Nations system to channel economic growth resulting from globalization to eradicate poverty, inequality, and deprivation. She called for "ethical globalization" that would make the full complement of rights articulated in the international human rights standards available to all (2001).

Human rights and capabilities models of human development

Economist Amartya Sen, joined by a number of development scholars, has questioned the economic development model on two interrelated grounds. First, as I pointed out earlier, famine, injustice, and other factors that contribute to ill health are due primarily not to commodity scarcity so much as to socially produced deprivations, including lack of entitlements to food and income. Second, the desires and preferences expressed

by people who live under oppressive conditions may not provide an adequate guide to their actual needs for either survival or flourishing. Sen (1985) cites health surveys in India that document disparities between women's self-reports about their health and their actual health status. The weight of patriarchal social structures and the ancestral history of women's subjection may distort their consciousness, so they internalize prevailing social norms and fail to recognize their own actual needs. In such instances, Sen insists, their preferences are deformed.

Based on these criticisms Sen has developed a comprehensive economic strategy for encompassing development goals within a more inclusive theoretical framework that takes into account aspects of all three generations of human rights ratified by UN member states: civil and political rights; social, cultural, and economic rights; and rights that protect marginalized social groups. The approach to human development that he has pioneered is known as the capabilities approach because, instead of taking gross domestic product as the measure of wealth, it weighs people's capability to lead lives of their own choosing.

In 1986, Nussbaum and others joined Sen in a collaborative UNsponsored project to incorporate interdisciplinary perspectives into development projects. In a succession of works (1992, 1998, 1999, 2000), Nussbaum has sought to provide philosophical grounding for a specific version of the capabilities approach. She distinguishes her model from Sen's by its explicit disavowal of relativism, its conception of human functioning derived from Marx and Aristotle, and its enumeration of specific central capabilities.⁷ Following John Rawls's thought experiment (1971), she imagines a hypothetical group of people deprived of all knowledge about their social position, natural assets, and specific conception of the good life. They assemble to specify fair terms of cooperation for regulating the basic structures of society. She reasons that they would aim at equality of capability rather than equality of resources, since the latter would be more likely to lead to unequal outcomes that could affect them adversely; some people—for example, disabled people or those who need more food because they perform hard physical labor-might need more resources than others to achieve a comparable quality of life (Nussbaum 1992). She then enumerates ten functional capabilities, including bodily health, adequate nourishment, and shelter, that people require to freely choose lives they personally value (2000, 78-80).8 Understood in this way, the ca-

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of her differences with Sen, see Nussbaum 2000, 11–15.

^a Nussbaum has continually revised her formulation of the functional capabilities. I summarize only her most recent version.

pabilities approach has profound implications for development strategies aimed at implementing health-related rights.

Nussbaum, like an increasing number of other scholars and development organizations (e.g., World Bank 2001), has recently turned her attention to the broad economic and social implications of gender discrimination in developing and transitional countries. Nussbaum's concern, however, is also directed to the influence of patriarchal religious communities on women's ability to enjoy healthy, satisfying lives. A recent remark by Ignatieff, reputedly an ardent supporter of human rights, aptly illustrates the kind of insensitivity to gender hierarchies that creeps into Western scholars' attempts to avoid criticism of other cultures' religious practices. In the course of a discussion urging equal political representation of the interests of the powerless, he asserts: "If, for example, religious groups determine that women should occupy a subordinate place within the rituals of the group, and this place is accepted by the women in question, there is no warrant to intervene on the grounds that human rights considerations of equality have been violated" (2001b, 19).

Unlike Ignatieff, Nussbaum is not averse to taking on the naturalizing hierarchies of power and privilege that persist in many religious communities and contribute to the continuing impoverishment of women. She also recognizes connections between these hierarchies and privatized family structures that exploit women's labor only as a means to collective family well-being. Her sensitivity to these issues leads her to focus on the embodied individual as the basic unit for political thought. She develops a rationale for distributing resources in ways that attend to the well-being of all individuals whatever their capabilities and wherever they fall in the life span. This approach has the advantage of addressing specific development goals within a more encompassing global context than the leading development paradigms. In this respect her model, like Sen's, is compatible with features of third-generation human rights that attempt to specify human rights more concretely than earlier conceptualizations.

Nussbaum recognizes the dominance of rights language in the international development world and acknowledges a very close relationship between capabilities and rights, but she prefers to take capabilities as her starting point (2000, 97–101). She believes that rights language often obscures difficult questions and can create the illusion of agreement where there is actually deep philosophical disagreement. Examples she cites include differences about the basis of rights claims, relationships between rights and duties, whether rights belong to individuals or groups, and what the rights holder has a right to. She prefers to think of both first-generation (liberty) rights and second-generation (welfare) rights as com-

bined capabilities that provide a benchmark for thinking about what it means to secure someone's right. However, she does not wish to do away with rights language altogether. She enumerates several important roles that it plays in public discourse: reminding those in power that people have certain justified claims whether or not anyone has done anything about them, emphasizing people's choice and autonomy where rights are guaranteed by the state, and preserving a sense of a terrain of agreement. Her comments suggest the possibility of interweaving both the capabilities model of development ethics and rights discourse within a common pluralistic framework. Before addressing this point, however, I would like to consider some limitations in her theoretical framework that cry out for more comprehensive strategies. I will focus first on the most serious—a disregard of individuals' connection to a nexus of group relationships that shape their identities and regulate their social positioning. Then I will briefly mention several others.

integrating group identifications into a development paradigm

Nussbaum's account of capabilities recognizes only two levels of identification: the universal and the individual. Within her scheme the individual is the basic unit for political thought. She understands the central capabilities I have enumerated as universal norms of human functioning. To protect the universality of her account and save it from charges of relativism, she deliberately excludes social groups from her structural framework. Feminist accounts, she is convinced, have a tendency to slide into relativism by employing "collectivist means to individual ends" (1999, 67). She apparently believes that the only way to avoid this snare is to base moral claims on universal human capabilities rather than social endowments or relations (1999, 72). To her conviction that individuals have an essential core of moral personhood, she recognizes only one alternative, "communitarian anti-essentialism."

But feminists who call her formulation into question are not, by and large, either Marxist "collectivists" or liberals (in the classical sense defined by Jaggar [1983]). They tend to resist claims founded on purportedly universal human qualities because such appeals have historically been used

It is noteworthy that in her subsequent book only a year later Nussbaum disclaims commitment to any particular view of the person or human nature (2000, 76). It is not easy to reconcile the two claims even if she is taken to mean that though the capabilities she enumerates are derived from human nature, the more comprehensive theory of justice she syows is not.

to shield oppressive political practices from scrutiny and to justify patterns of discrimination that exclude women from educational and social opportunities. Feminists who wish to circumvent cultural relativism commonly employ other strategies that bypass essentialist commitments. Though Nussbaum's version of essentialism may be comparatively benign, the case for a capabilities approach might be articulated in other ways that avoid appeals to both human essences and individual-collective dichotomies. 10 The case for universal human rights is often launched on grounds that presuppose no comprehensive theory of human capacities. Ignatieff builds such a case on human history, taking into account memory of the horrors unleashed by the Nazis (2001a, 80-81). In an extended response to ethical relativism, Macklin (1999) distinguishes between values specific to cultural groups and a class of actions falling under the umbrella of human rights that pertain to health, well-being, and survival universally. Macklin declines to delve into deep theoretical questions about the sources of the latter group, preferring to rely on agreement within the international community. Feminist scholars have utilized several overlapping strategies to counter moral relativism. Susan Sherwin (1992) mounts a persuasive case for the universal condemnation of all forms of oppression, and Seyla Benhabib (1999) defends a modified version of Kantian autonomy that emphasizes the ability to adopt the standpoint of the other.

Such approaches can accommodate social groups in a nonindividualistic way. Iris Marion Young (1990) has built a cogent case for conceiving of groups as not mere aggregates or associations of individuals but as representing a distinctive kind of collectivity whose members have a special affinity with one another based on their similar experience or way of life. They need not have a complete identity of interests but may hold only certain interests in common around which their group identity is constituted and maintained. Insofar as they hold group rights, these would be limited to their common interests. Individuals would be free to remain in the group, leave the group, or join another. Hence, the advantages that Nussbaum associates with individualism (women's freedom from domination by oppressive families or political regimes) might be achieved without forgoing the affirmative values of group affiliation. Examples of

¹⁰ In response to Nussbaum's position on this point, see Flax (2001), who takes Nussbaum to task for conflating human capabilities with human nature, thereby relegating power relations to the background.

¹¹ I am not persuaded that this is always possible. In an article extrapolating from quandaries in genetic decision making (Donchin 2000), I argue that family members may break off contact with kin, but terminating the residue of psychological and biological connection may be far more difficult.

groups that meet these criteria vary widely and include the kinds of traditional groups recognized in the third generation of human rights enumerated by the United Nations as well as resistance groups including the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina and the women's networks in Nigeria that I discuss below. In this manner a development theory could accommodate groups as collectivities without jeopardizing the basic rights of individuals or privileging protections afforded to one group over those of others.

Even liberal scholars such as Rawls (1999) view human rights within the context of associations that are necessary if individuals are to enter into schemes of social cooperation. But Nussbaum's theory bypasses even this intermediate level of affiliation. Her omission is surprising, considering that the World Health Organization's definition of health and subsequent documents based on it all extend the conception of health promotion to groups as well as individuals (Mann et al. 1999, 8). Moreover, many rights proclaimed by the United Nations, including the right to development, entitle people to goods that are only accessible through participation in a particular community or group. Other rights specific to groups include nationality, civil association, political participation, union affiliation, and cultural life as a group member. David Ingram points out that the freedom of religion, freedom to work, and freedom from insecurity and ignorance are also rights that individuals are unlikely to exercise apart from group participation (2000, 242-43). Like some feminist scholars cited above, he holds that all rights are inherently relational since they presuppose social guarantees and other positive enabling conditions (247).

Nussbaum's rejection of collective means is particularly puzzling in light of her remarks about people's identification with community values that they have not deliberately chosen and her passing references to groups of powerful people (1999, 70). Moreover, development scholar Martha Chen (1995) associates Nussbaum's approach with her own work among indigenous private development agencies in Bangladesh that have broken with local tradition, which forbids women to work outside the home. These agencies enter into participatory dialogue with local communities in order to promote the gainful employment of those who have been denied the economic security that tradition is supposed to offer. Chen explicitly identifies these strategies with Nussbaum's approach (Chen 1995, 40), but there is no place to fit such groups into Nussbaum's framework.

The universal-individual polarities imbedded in Nussbaum's theory obscure both the patterns of group discrimination that impinge on individuals' abilities to fulfill their capabilities and the seeds of empowerment that group affiliation can provide. Feminist accounts depart conspicuously

from Nussbaum's perspective in their recognition that individuality is inevitably situated within particular configurations of power relations and social connections that provide nurturing, care, and identity (Donchin 2000). People are dependent on their social milieu not only to satisfy their most basic physical needs but also to guarantee their self-affirmation and dignity (Freedman 1999, 237). Failure to take systematic account of the social, political, and relational matrices on which identity is produced and maintained seriously weakens any program aimed at implementing a conception of justice that dislodges traditional gender and class hierarchies. Struggles to alter conditions under which women live on any part of the globe are bound to misfire if they disregard local group arrangements, for local people are uniquely situated to anticipate dislocations in adjacent areas of life resulting from social change and to mobilize responses to them. And they can draw on their own indigenous networks to resist dominant norms. Without the collaboration provided by cohesive groups, marginalized and impoverished individuals are unlikely to gain the widespread social support and resources needed to develop their capabilities and become agents of personal and social change.

The kinds of problems that arise when local perspectives are disregarded have been dealt with at length in the controversy that erupted over the film Warrior Marks (1993), which was produced by Alice Walker, and her related novel Possessing the Secret of Joy (1993). This debate aptly illustrates problems that arise when Western activists bypass indigenous local groups. Walker's campaign to rally support condemning the practices of African communities that participate in ritual cutting of young girls' genitals was much criticized by African women as still another manifestation of Western imperialism. Critics charged that her film portrays the African continent as a monolith and uses female genital mutilation as a gauge by which to measure moral distance between the West and the rest of humanity.

These critics insisted that the struggle to transform such traditional practices is better left to those who are sensitive to the social conditions that perpetuate them and who can foster change in ways less likely to intensify the oppression of these women. A New York Times op-ed piece by Seble Dawit and Salem Mekuria (1993, A27) put it this way: "Genital mutilation does not exist in a vacuum but as part of a social fabric, stemming from the power imbalances in relations between the sexes, from the levels of education and the low economic and social status of most women. All eradication efforts must begin and proceed from these basic premises." They urge the formation of partnerships with African women; such partnerships would use the power and resources of the West to create space for these women to speak out and to speak with us.

Through such dialogue policies might be developed to change the ways that such women are socially perceived, both by themselves and by others (Valdés 1995, 428). Crucial to such an undertaking would be encouraging the capacity to reflect critically on the patriarchal status quo (Li 1995, 409). Of course, critical reflection would be pointless without the power to implement alternative courses of action. Throm this vantage point an even stronger case can be made for indigenous programs aimed at advancing gender equality by expanding opportunities at both individual and group levels, empowering the development of critical reflection skills, and fostering local alliances to create alternative group practices within communities.

Several further considerations also favor a development theory that incorporates an intermediate level of social affiliation. First, to achieve a more just redistribution of resources it is necessary to demonstrate inequalities within the prevailing distribution. Unless individuals are envisaged within a sociopolitical context, disparities among resources available to them are likely to appear as mere aberrations, not the result of systemic neglect. Only by noting group imbalances is it possible for policy analysts to realize the full implications of maldistribution and to bring to light the assumptions that have brought it about. Moreover, as Uma Narayan points out (1997, 11), without collaborative reflection among similarly situated women, individuals are unlikely to recognize that their own deprivations are part of a pattern of cultural norms that reflect their position within the social structure. Narayan speaks of her own mother in India, who frequently complained about the oppressive conditions that bound her but was unable to see that her oppression did not stem primarily from the behavior of particular individuals, such as the mother-in-law who maltreated her, but from the social structure that assigned mothers-in-law to positions of such authority.

Second, traditional relationships and dislocations within a local culture can often be mobilized to tap human potential. Despite resistance from entrenched bureaucrats, indigenous groups have built partnerships for change. In many areas of the globe the traditional work done by women and the power these responsibilities confer on them can serve as powerful catalysts for social change and empowerment. Narayan, like many feminists working in development studies, recognizes that cultures are seldom monolithic but incorporate within themselves a diversity of norms and values that may not be mutually compatible. Salles, generalizing from her own

¹² This position has been developed particularly forcefully by Benhabib (1999).

¹³ On this point see Sherwin's cogent discussion (1992, 61-62).

Latin American experience, points out that "the cultural identity of a community is always in a state of evolution or transformation" (Salles 2002, 18). I referred above to Chen who stresses the evolving character of rural South Asian cultures as they respond to internal (often local) tensions and instabilities that compel women to end their traditional seclusion and seek employment outside the home. Margarita Valdés (1995) makes an analogous point from the perspective of Mexican culture. She extends to developing economies Susan Moller Okin's (1995) observation about developed countries: employment makes women less dependent on men and improves their status within the family, thereby strengthening their bargaining position in relation to men. Furthermore, Valdés points out, having a job breaks the social isolation of women who had been bound to the domestic sphere, thereby enabling them to function in different social spheres and take action to improve their living conditions. She notes that in the large Mexican cities many poor women workers have organized themselves to demand urban reforms and contest the division of work according to gender (1995, 430). Examples such as these show that indigenous women's groups can often intervene at the intersection of local tradition and social instability to direct social change along paths that only they can identify as most likely to improve their living conditions.

Works by Obioma Nnaemeka (1996, 1997) and Nkiru Nzegwu (1995) illustrate the numerous practices of cooperative reform and resistance practiced by African women, particularly among grassroots networks of affiliated women's groups that constitute the backbone of local development. Nnaemeka shows how the structures of indigenous culture guarantee and maintain the existence of these networks, and she points out how some of the most successful development programs in these countries are "conceived, designed and executed by the national or local government organizations" (1996, 274).

Nzegwu (1995) chronicles the economic and social power that women held in Igbo culture prior to colonial rule. Indigenous cultural traditions valued female assertiveness and collectivity. Women utilized their networking skills to mobilize across cultural, religious, and economic boundaries, effectively resisting male encroachment on their independence. But after colonial powers imposed their own scheme of gender-specific values on Igbo society, women were reclassified as dependents, a status that precipitated the 1929 Women's War disclaiming their invisibility. Nzegwu's account vividly portrays the effects of the sexist system imported by the British colonizers and shows how co-optation of African men into Western gender stereotyping damaged Nigerian political culture. Today development projects are still targeted at men, and wide disparities in the incomes of men

and women persist. Nzegwu urges developers to consider the diverse character traits of groups of women and to be responsive to alternative models of experience and organizational skills. But it is not only developers who have hindered Nigerian development. Granddaughters of the women who fought the Women's War have taken on a wealthy multinational oil company that has drained their country's natural resources and contributed nothing to local development. They are now demanding that this company employ more local people, invest in infrastructure projects, and assist villagers to supply food to the company's employees. Their strategies draw on the tradition of market trading by women and modes of protest deeply rooted in their indigenous culture (Peel 2002).

By such means African women have been challenging both multinational companies and technically oriented development projects that have irresponsibly imposed changes depriving local economies of resources needed to meet subsistence needs. They question the effectiveness of large-scale centralized programs and recommend that development assistance be adapted to local institutional structures and cultural environments. And they insist that companies that drain local resources share their profits with the local economy. They draw on an established tradition of group cohesiveness concentrated in the intermediary political and cultural spaces of prevailing networks and historical relationships stretching between the family and the state.¹⁴

Nussbaum's interpretation of the capabilities model is largely silent about the tendency of multinational corporations to exploit the resources of developing economies. Sensitivity to varying cultural contexts and crosscultural influences would greatly enhance the case for the universality of the capabilities approach to human development. Recognition of universal human capabilities has major implications for the responsibilities of wealthier countries both to less-developed ones and to pockets of poverty, health care disparities, and gender inequalities in their own economies. Okin notes that when comparisons are made between the living conditions of poor women in developed and developing countries, disparities between economies diminish considerably. She points out that though the severity of their poverty may be greater in poorer countries, patterns of discrimination in developed countries are very similar, particularly within family units (Okin 1995, 284). Moreover, though imbalances in access to health care among economic groups and disparities in maternal-infant morbidity and mortality may not be as severe in richer countries, their injustice is

¹⁴ For the views of other scholars seeking to counter the dominant development paradigm, see contributors to Munck and O'Hearn 1999.

all the more striking since the resources needed to rectify such imbalances are readily available. An analogous point can be made about violence against women. Cass Sunstein cites data showing that women are the victims of both public and private violence in similar proportions in both developed and developing countries (1995, 357).

One final point about Nussbaum's formulation: her insistence on locating human rights within liberal theory risks undermining pragmatic aspects of the human rights movement and getting in the way of efforts by international bodies to forge consensus around practical goals. Within the bioethics community it has already been shown that it is far easier to reach common ground at the level of practice (on the basis of what Sunstein [2001, 49-66] calls "incompletely theorized agreements") than moral principle. Anthony Appiah points out that unlike the U.S. Constitution, the international human rights framework has an important advantage in that it does not proceed by deriving human rights from metaphysical first principles (2001, 104). This was a deliberate strategy on the part of those who drafted the framework, for they were aiming to achieve universal assent. Even among so-called liberal countries there is widespread disagreement about how to prioritize theoretical principles. Some question even the desirability of formulating principle-based frameworks for medical decision making. The Scandinavian countries, for instance, tend to emphasize social welfare and patient entitlements, while several others (most notably the United States) emphasize individual rights (Dickenson 1999). The consensus achieved in such agreements as the Council of Europe, the Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine (1997), the Bioethics Declaration approved by the World Conference of Bioethics in Gijón (2000), and the UNESCO Document on the Human Genome (1997) was possible only by focusing on concrete goals and bypassing any single overarching grand theory.

Toward an alternative framework

Considering the range of disagreement, a multipronged pluralistic approach seems far more likely to contribute to alleviating injustices than a unified theoretical design. To be effective in countering global economic and political interests that flout human rights, we must move beyond even the empathetic identification with the situation of the deprived that feminist theorists have endorsed. Feminists need to forge links with likeminded groups to thwart power elites intent on bypassing the rights of oppressed people. Narayan's mother failed to understand the forces that victimized her, so she misidentified the source of her oppression. Similarly, many women who submit to genital cutting see themselves as having no

effective options within the social context that frames their lives. It is vital that as people are awakened to their deprivations they be empowered to develop viable alternative institutions and practices.

There is need, then, to work cooperatively at both theoretical and practical levels to challenge the dominant economic development paradigm and to foster a more nuanced and fully integrated conceptual apparatus that combines human rights discourse with a flexibly constructed capabilities model that is responsive to changing conditions in local cultures. In some cultural contexts, such as African communities where a tradition of local women's groups persists, local knowledges and affiliations should be reinvigorated. In others (e.g., Mexico) where traditional male privileges have blocked the formation of women's alliances, new relational networks need to be encouraged to advance women's interests. To be of practical use, this alternative paradigm should recognize both traditional and innovative local alliances, thereby contributing to structures that enhance women's agency and well-being both individually and collectively. As has been shown with HIV/AIDS medical therapy and prevention work in the Asia-Pacific region, individual empowerment is inextricably interwoven with the well-being of communities. Only if human rights are protected at the local level can individuals be empowered to make the fully informed choices that create a climate for dealing effectively with disease prevention and intertwined conditions that perpetuate discrimination and block reconstruction of the cultural fabric of oncemarginalized communities (Bagasao 1998).

Vital, too, is support for the expanded definition of health advocated by the human rights supporters and alliances with women working in the movement to strengthen overlapping agendas. With a few notable exceptions, infrastructure development has a far greater impact on health than specific medical interventions. And the net needs to be cast still wider. For the promotion of women's health in particular depends on the interaction of many human rights—including rights to employment, education, information, political participation, influence, and democratic power within legislatures (Shinn 1999). To call attention to the multiplicity of factors affecting health, we need to mobilize across divides of race and ethnicity to advance debate and build coalitions to pressure for the implementation of the full complement of human rights.

Feminist bioethicists can contribute to this program by integrating into our perspectives relevant features of both human rights discourse and a capabilities approach to development. We need to restructure our framework to supplant the dominant individualistic bias with the recognition that individual identity is constituted and maintained through relational

networks. To this end, I propose adopting and implementing the strategy Sherwin (2001) has put forward for the future development of bioethics. Instead of aiming at any single grand theory, we should reconceive moral theories as multiple perspectives that provide partial and overlapping resources to address difficult moral issues. Within such a reconception, feminist bioethics, development theory, and human rights discourse would offer overlapping and interlocking "lenses" to illumine dimensions of moral problems obscured by accounts that are structured by a single overarching theoretical matrix.

Such a reworked moral framework offers the best promise for revealing structural injustices that are masked by prevailing approaches; reshaping social conditions to promote the autonomy, health, and well-being of subjugated peoples across diverse cultures and traditions; and removing barriers that impede women's full participation in both local and global networks. Feminists working in both bioethics and development theory can play an important role in this enterprise by linking their conceptual frameworks in a manner that preserves the universal dimension of human rights without neglecting the distinctive contributions local groups can make to overcoming oppressive conditions. On a practical level, alliances should also be forged with human rights groups that are challenging dominant development paradigms, which advance the interests of elites at the expense of marginalized individuals and groups. Such integration would benefit both development theory and feminist bioethics. Hopefully, by this means feminists can forge a truly global feminist framework.

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Women's Education: A Global Challenge

She mixes the cowdung with her fingers. It is goocy, smelly; she deftly mixes it with hay; and some bran; then she tries to stand up on the slippery floor of the cowshed and skids; slowly she regains her balance, goes outside with her basket and deftly pats cowdung cakes on the walls, on tree-trunks. . . . When dry her mother uses them for cooking. . . . She does a myriad other kaleidoscopic activities. The economy would not survive without her—at least not the economy of the poor: the girl child.

While she is doing all this what is her brother doing? Studying and getting his books ready for school.

The girl child thus remains outside education.

—Viji Srinivasan, director of Adithi (Patna, Bihar, India), in its monthly newsletter

The right to education flows directly from the right to life and is related to the dignity of the individual.

-Supreme Court of India, Unnikrishnan J.P. v. State of Andbra Pradesh

t is late afternoon in the Sithamarhi district of rural Bihar, in northeastern India. Bihar is an especially anarchic state, with a corrupt government, a problematic infrastructure, and few services for the poor. Roads are so bad that even a Jeep cannot go more than twenty miles per hour; thus it has taken us two days to go what must be a relatively short distance from the capital city of Patna to this area near the Nepalese border. We arrive to find little in the way of public education but a lot of activity provided by a local branch of the Patna-based nongovernmental organ-

¹ All India Reports 1993 SC 2178 The court is referring to an interpretative tradition according to which Article 21 of the Constitution (the analogue of our Fourteenth Amendment), which stipulates that no person may be deprived of "life or liberty" without due process of law, should be interpreted broadly, so as to include within the concept of life the idea of a life with human dignity. This tradition has therefore also held that the right to life includes the right to livelihood.

ization (NGO) Adithi, founded and run by Viji Srinivasan, whose dynamic organization is one of the most influential advocates for women's education in this difficult region.²

The girls of the village, goatherds by day, are starting school. They come together in a shed, all ages, to attend the Adithi literacy program. In some regions of India, most notably Kerala, the state government has been highly effective in promoting literacy for both boys and girls. Here in Bihar, the state government, run from jail by demagogue Laloo Prasad Yadav, fails to deliver essential services to the poor, so most education for the rural poor is pieced together in this way. Viji and I sit on the ground to watch the class, which, like the one-room schoolhouses I read about as a child in stories of the American West, covers all levels and subjects at once, with about fifteen students. Somehow, it all seems to work, through the resourcefulness and responsiveness of the teachers, themselves poor rural women who have been assisted by Adithi's programs.

Viji, who has worked in women's development for almost forty years, began to run Adithi in 1988. It currently helps more than twenty-five thousand women and children in rural Bihar. After the math and the reading comes drama: the girls proudly present for Viji and me a play that they have improvised and recently performed for their entire village, about a young man who refuses to demand a dowry when he marries. (Dowry is a major cause of women's poor life chances in India, both because it defines a girl child as a drag on family resources and because it can later be used as the occasion for extortionate demands for more, frequently involving domestic violence and even murder.) The girls play all the roles; one big tough girl, whose six-foot stature gives surprising evidence of good nutrition, takes special pleasure in acting the young man's villainous

² Adithi had to begin by creating teaching materials. India has 385 or so languages, seventeen official, and many with no written traditions. The poor are often simply unable to obtain an education if their only language is one in which education is not offered.

I Laloo Prasad Yadav's wife, Rabn Devi, was running the state officially, given that he had been jailed for corruption (a grain/bribery scandal). Shortly after this time, a state of national emergency was declared in Bihar, and the state was put under the direct governance of the national government for a month or two, not long enough to effect any real change. I cannot resist adding one point connected to my earlier writing. In several papers, most recently "Human Capabilities, Female Human Beings" (Nussbaum 1996), I criticized a paper by anthropologist Frédérique Marglin that attacked the practice of smallpox vaccination in India on the grounds that it had eradicated the cult of Sittala Devi, the goddess to whom one prays in order to avert smallpox. I can now announce that Sittala Devi is alive and well in Bihar Indeed, she flourishes under the patronage of Laloo Prasad Yadav, who believes that she cured him from a liver ailment. I have seen her beauteous shrine in a slum in Patna, surrounded by the signs of Laloo's neglect of his civic duties.

father, greedy for dowry. (This area of rural Bihar has a female-male ratio of 75 to 100, giving strong indication of unequal nutrition and health care; girls in school do better because their families expect that they may bring in an income.) At last, young love and good sense triumph: the couple get married and go their own way, and no money changes hands. Even the groom's parents say that this way is better. The girls giggle with pleasure at the subversive thing they have cooked up. One little girl, too young for the play, sits by the window, her hair lit up by the setting sun. On her slate she draws a large and improbable flower. "Isn't she wonderful?" Viji whispers with evident zest.

Since my practice is to follow activists around, observing what they do, I usually do not see villages in which activists have not been active. So I usually do not see the most depressing things. But I know that, for every village like this one, there are ten where girls have no education at all, no employment options, and no opportunity to criticize the institutions that determine the course of their lives. In the nation as a whole, female literacy is still under 50 percent.4 And the sex ratio, a good index of the worth in which female life is held, has been plummeting, from 92/100 in the 1990 census to around 85/100 now. Those are aggregate figures and official statistics. Here in this particular region of Bihar, a head count by Adithi has found the astonishing figure of 75/100. Talking about this to Viji, I ask, "How do you sustain hope in a situation like this, when you can see that, even if you do some good in one place, there are so many more places that you haven't influenced?" She says, "I just try to focus on what my organization can do here and now. That is the way I keep on."

Women's education is both crucial and contested. A key to the amelioration of many distinct problems in women's lives, it is spreading, but it is also under threat, both from custom and traditional hierarchies of power and from the sheer inability of states and nations to take effective action.

In this article, I shall try to show, first, exactly why education should be thought to be a key for women in making progress on many other

⁴ The rate is 45 5 percent, according to the 2000 census, the male ratio is 68.4 percent. (For data here and elsewhere, see UNDP 2001.)

Even the 1990 figure was the lowest since the census began to be taken early in this century. It is estimated that when women and men receive equal nutrition and health care, the sex ratio should be around 102 or 103 women to 100 men. The recent sharp decline can be attributed to the new availability of techniques for determining the sex of the fetus and a resulting increase in sex-selective abortion. These techniques are illegal, but they are available more or less everywhere.

problems in their lives. Second, I shall describe the sources of resistance to educating women and argue that objections from the side of traditionalism are misplaced and incoherent. (Here I shall draw on my experience with women's development groups in India.) Finally, I shall argue that, if women's education is to be fostered around the world, two things must happen that are now not sufficiently happening. First, nations, and states within nations, must make women's education a high priority matter and devote a good deal of their resources and energies to it. Second, wealthy nations, their concerned citizens, and their corporations must all commit resources to the effort.

In the process, all concerned should recognize that promoting economic growth is not a sufficient way to promote education for women. Development theorists who focus only on maximizing economic growth, assuming that growth alone will provide for other central human needs, are very likely to shortchange female education. In their comparative field studies of the Indian states, Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen have shown that growth-oriented policies do not improve the quality of education, particularly female education, in the absence of additional focused state action (1995).6 Thus states such as Gujarat and Haryana that have done well in fostering economic growth often do quite poorly in basic education,⁷ and Kerala, whose economy has not grown well, can boast 99 percent literacy for both boys and girls in adolescence, against a background of 35 percent female and 65 percent male literacy for the nation as a whole. In Kerala, intelligent state action has delivered what NGOs like Adithi currently try to provide in states such as Bihar, where the public sector has not assumed the challenge of female education. And indeed it is very important to insist that development is a normative concept and that we should not assume that the human norms we want will be delivered simply through a policy of fostering economic growth. As the late Mahbub ul Haq (leading development economist and former director of the United Nations Development Programmes [UNDP]) wrote in 1990, in the first of the Human Development Reports of the UNDP, "The real wealth of a nation is its people. And the purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy, and creative lives. This simple

The field studies are published in Drèze and Sen 1996.

⁷ Bihar is not doing well either economically or in its record on health and education.

^a The democratically elected Marxist government has allowed labor unions to force wages very high, which has caused jobs to move to neighboring states. Many Keralan men are forced to look for employment outside the state.

but powerful truth is too often forgotten in the pursuit of material and financial wealth" (UNDP 1990, 1).

Mentioning the Human Development Reports gives me a way to respond, in a preliminary way at least, to a perpetual question: What is the use of theory when we can see that what makes women's lives better is courageous activism of the Viji Srinivasan type? Now one might respond, first, with a plea of personal competence. Some people are good activists; others are not. If theory is what one can do, and professionally does, then one might as well try to see how theory might make a positive contribution to the lives of women. I believe, however, that the examples of Sen and ul Haq point the way to a stronger defense of theory.

Good theories are an important part of getting a hearing for urgent moral concerns in the international arena. Before the "human development" paradigm was crafted by ul Haq, drawing on Sen's ideas, the development paradigm was focused exclusively on economic growth. The quality of life was measured by looking only at gross national product (GNP) per capita, an approach totally inadequate for analyzing the problems women face in the developing world (Nussbaum and Sen 1993). Having a new explicit theory of what real development consists of, and putting that forward in reports that packaged information in a new way and ranked nations in a new way, was not a totally original contribution, for, of course, advocates for the poor had been saying just such things for years. But the theorization of such insights was a big part of enabling the new "human development" paradigm to capture the attention of governments, development agencies, and, increasingly, agencies such as the World Bank. The "capabilities approach" to the measurement of the quality of life (which Sen and I have developed in different ways) needed to be brought down to earth and made easily accessible for policy makers and bureaucrats: this was the tremendous contribution of ul Haq, who had a keen instinct for what would "work" politically and what would be too fussy or complex.9 But the background theoretical ideas needed to be there to be scrutinized, and these ideas continue to be a source of further work and of argument against the still-dominant economic growth paradigm. It is only because the work has some degree of theoretical sophistication that it is increasingly being used by economists who consult in international agencies and by philosophers who develop its implications further.10

For some differences between Sen's version of the capabilities approach and my own, see Nussbaum 2003a.

¹⁰ For example, see Alkire 2002.

Our world is increasingly dominated by the profit motive, as multinational corporations and global markets increasingly leach sovereignty away from national governments. The dominant economic paradigm encourages continued insensitivity to the situation of the world's poorest people and to the special disadvantages suffered by women—not because economists are by nature bad people, but because they see things through the lens of a bad theory (which, of course, might have insensitivity somewhere behind it, or maintaining it in place). This paradigm, and the practices it supports, should be contested. Consumer protests and protests in the streets are one crucial part of that critical process, but good theory is another part that is not without value. It is not as though we could ever remake the world so that it was simply run by the wisdom of people such as Viji Srinivasan. It is run by think tanks, corporations, bureaucrats, and politicians, and these people typically use some formal model of what they are pursuing. If they have no "human development" paradigm and no writings expressing the importance of women's education and other goals stressed by that paradigm, they will use the existing paradigm, and they will focus exclusively on growth. So those of us who do not have Viji Srinivasan's creativity, stamina, local knowledge, and physical courage may still have a task that we can undertake that could possibly be of some use, when sufficiently attentive to the complexities of experience.

Education and women's capabilities

Despite a constant focus on women's education as a priority in global discussions of human rights and quality of life, and in the efforts of activists of all sorts and many governments, women still lag well behind men in many countries of the world, even at the level of basic literacy. In many countries, male and female literacy rates are similar. These include virtually all the countries that the *Human Development Report*, 2001 (HDR) of the United Nations Development Programme identifies as countries of "high human development," because most of these nations have close to 100 percent literacy, at least as measured by data supplied by the countries themselves (UNDP 2001).¹¹ But relative male-female equality can also be

¹¹ Countries in this group that show a striking male-female disparity (more than five percentage points) include Singapore, Hong Kong, Brunei Darussalam, Bahrain, and Kriwait. Lest we think that the "Arab States" are systematically depriving women, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar show a higher literacy rate for women than for men. The sheikh of the United Arab Emirates is a vigorous supporter of female education and is also opening a coeducational liberal arts university that recently offered a position to one of my graduate students who specializes in feminism and environmental ethics.

found in many poorer nations, such as Trinidad and Tobago, Panama, Russia, Belarus, Romania, Thailand, Colombia, Venezuela, Jamaica, ¹² Sri Lanka, Paraguay, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, South Africa, Guyana, Vietnam, Botswana, and Lesotho. ¹²

There are, however, forty-three countries in which male literacy rates are higher than the female rate by fifteen percentage points or more. Since the *HDR* lists 162 nations, this means more than one-fourth of the nations in the world. These nations include India, Syria, Turkey, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Sudan, and in general most, though not all, of the poorer nations of Africa. ¹⁴ (China's gap is 14.5 percent, so it barely avoids being part of the group of 43.) In absolute terms, women's literacy rates are below 50 percent in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Egypt, and the preponderant number of the nations listed in the "low human development" category. ¹⁶ Some of the lowest rates are Pakistan at 30 percent, Nepal at 22.8 percent, Bangladesh at 29.3 percent, Yemen at 23.9 percent, Senegal at 26.7 percent, Gambia at 28.5 percent, Guinea-Bissau at 18.3 percent, Burkina Faso at 13.3 percent, and Niger at 7.9 percent.

If we now turn to secondary education, the gaps are even more striking. Moreover, as is not generally the case with basic literacy, the gaps are actually growing: in twenty-seven countries the secondary school enrollment of girls declined between 1985 and 1997. And this happened, as the *HDR* stresses, during a time of rapid technological development, in which skills became ever more important as passports to economic opportunity (UNDP 2001, 15). Finally, although data on university enrollments of women are not presented in the *HDR*, it is evident that, in many nations, women form a small fraction of the university population.

Why should we think that this matters deeply? Is not all this emphasis on literacy an elite value, possibly not relevant to the lives that poor working people are trying to lead? Approximately in January 1988, Rajeev Gandhi came to Harvard to deliver a large public lecture about the achievements of his administration. Questioned by some Indian students about why he had done so little to raise literacy rates, he replied, "The common

¹² Jamasca, although relatively poor (78 on the Human Development Index [HDI]), actually shows 90 3 percent female literacy and 82.4 percent male literacy.

¹³ In Lesotho, women allegedly have 93.3 percent literacy as against only 71.7 percent for men, so there is really a large gender gap, but in the atypical direction.

¹⁴ Kenya, which barely gets into the "medium" rather than "low human development" group, does unusually well on education, with 74.8 percent literacy for women, 88 3 percent for men.

¹⁸ The most striking exception at the bottom of the HDI is Zambia, with 70.2 percent female literacy, 84.6 percent male literacy.

people have a wisdom that would only be tarnished by literacy."Why was this answer so ill received by the Indians in the audience, and (more importantly) why was it a bad answer?

First of all, let us get rid once and for all of the idea that literacy is a value that is peculiarly "Western." Women all over the world are struggling to attain it, and some of the biggest success stories in the area of literacy are non-Western stories. Kerala, for example, raised literacy rates to virtually 100 percent for both boys and girls—by virtue of intense government concern, creative school designing, and other things that I shall later discuss. That is a staggering achievement given Kerala's poverty, and it is supported with joy and energy by girls and women.

We can add that most women in developed countries do not have to struggle to become literate: it is foisted upon them. So we do not really know how deeply we value it, or whether we would, in fact, fight for it, the way women in India and other developing countries do every day, often at risk to safety and even life. But perhaps we can see even more clearly why literacy is not a parochial value if we begin to ponder the connections between literacy and other capabilities for which women are striving all over the world.

If there was a time when illiteracy was not a barrier to employment, that time has passed. The nature of the world economy is such that illiteracy condemns a woman (or man) to a small number of low-skilled types of employment. With limited employment opportunities, a woman is also limited in her options to leave a bad or abusive marriage. If a woman can get work outside the home, she can stand on her own. If she is illiterate, she will either remain in an abusive marriage for lack of options, or she may leave and have nothing to fall back on. (Many sex workers end up in sex work for precisely this reason.) While in the family, an illiterate woman has a low bargaining position for basic resources such as food and medical care because her exit options are so poor and her perceived contribution to the success of the family unit is low. Where women have decent employment options outside the home, the sex ratio tends to reflect a higher valuation of the worth of female life.

Literacy is, of course, not the only key factor in improving women's bargaining position: training in other marketable skills is also valuable, though literacy is more flexible. Property rights that give women access to credit and programs that give them credit even in the absence of real property are also highly significant.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Sen 1991.

¹⁷ See Agarwal 1994, 1997.

Because literacy is connected in general with the ability to move outside the home and to stand on one's own outside of it, it is also connected to the ability of women to meet and collaborate with other women. Women may, of course, form local face-to-face networks of solidarity, and they ubiquitously do. But to participate in a larger movement for political change, women need to be able to communicate through mail, e-mail, and so forth.

More generally, literacy very much enhances women's access to the political process. We can see this very clearly in the history of the panchayats, or local village councils, in India. In 1992, India adopted the seventy-second and seventy-third amendments to the Constitution, giving women a mandatory 33 percent reservation in the panchayats. 18 (Elections take place by rotation: in each cycle, a given seat is designated as a woman's seat, and the woman's seat shifts from cycle to cycle.) This move, of course, had intrinsic significance. Increasing women's literacy by itself would not have produced anything like a 33 percent result, as we can see from the United States, where women still hold only 13 percent of the seats in Congress. But in order for this result to be truly effective, making women dignified and independent equals of males, literacy has to enter the picture. According to extensive studies of the panchayat system by Niraja Jayal and Nirmala Buch, women are persistently mocked and devalued in the panchayats if they are illiterate. (Jayal and Buch note that illiterate men do not suffer similar disabilities.)19 Women often campaign as stand-ins for husbands who can no longer hold their seats—and their independence is greater if they are literate, able thus to have greater independent access to information and communications. As a woman seeks to contest a nonreserved seat (sometimes running against her own husband), her chances are clearly enhanced if she can move as a fully independent actor in society, with access to communications from memos to national newspapers.²⁰ Literacy is crucial in this transition. Buch finds that one of the biggest changes brought about by the new system is a greater demand on the part of women for the education of their daughters—so that they can take their place as equals in the new system. While this finding shows us that we should not push for literacy in isolation from other values such as

¹⁸ Sec Numbeum forthcoming a

See Buch 2000 and Jayal 2000; I am also greatly indebted to Zoya Hasan (2000).

²⁰ See "Sex, Laws, and Inequality: What India Can Teach the United States" (Nussbaum 2002b), where I discuss one such case and the history in general. (*Careat lector* the publishers, in their infinite wisdom, removed reference to teaching the United States from my title when they put it on the cover of the journal, calling it simply "Sex, Laws, and Inequality. India's Experience.")

political participation—for here it is the fact of greater participation that drives the demand for literacy, not the reverse—it does show us that the two are allies.

On the plane of national and international politics, it is very difficult indeed for an illiterate woman to enjoy full participation. India makes it easy for illiterate people to vote by using party symbols instead of words on ballots; national elections have a remarkably high voter turnout, including many illiterate women and men. But obviously enough, a person who can read the newspapers has a much fuller and more independent voice than one who cannot. (In most of rural India, electricity is sporadic, often available only at odd hours of the night. Thus television is no solution. There are many television sets that are purely decorative.) As actual participants in national legislatures and in international gatherings such as human rights meetings, illiterate women are obviously very likely to be left out. Even if at times their voices are heard, they cannot participate fully as equals in meetings that involve the circulation of draft upon draft of a human rights document.

Even in professions where literacy is not crucial to the employment itself, it proves crucial to the politics of employment, as women need to band together, often transnationally, to fight for better labor standards. A fine example of this fact is Women in the Informal Economy Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), an international group of female home-based workers (hawkers and vendors, craft laborers, etc.) who have organized for better working conditions. This group does reach out systematically to illiterate women, but again, it is obvious that participants in the international meetings of this organization, where draft resolutions are discussed, are overwhelmingly likely to be educated women.

Literacy is crucial, too, for women's access to the legal system. Even to bring a charge against someone who has raped you, you have to file a complaint.²¹ If your father or husband is not helping you out and some legal NGO does not take on your case, you are nowhere if you cannot read and write—and, indeed, more than that. For you need an education that includes basic knowledge of the political and legal process in your own nation. Many NGOs in India spend a lot of time helping uneducated women bring their complaints, and individual educated women often do this as a kind of voluntary public service. But obviously enough, more such work could be done if more people could do it!

²¹ Called, in India, a "First Information Report" (FIR), these documents must be initiated by the victim: thus in India law-enforcement agencies all on their own typically do not initiate criminal procedution.

These concrete factors suggest some less tangible connections. Literacy (and education in general) is very much connected to women's ability to form social relationships on a basis of equality with others and to achieve the important social good of self-respect. It is important, as well, to mobility (through access to jobs and the political process), to health and life (through the connection to bodily integrity and exit options)—in short, to more or less all of the "capabilities" that I have argued for as central political entitlements.²²

Especially important is the role that female education has been shown to have in controlling population growth. No single factor has a larger impact on the birth rate: for as women learn to inform themselves about the world they also increasingly take charge of decisions affecting their own lives. And as their bargaining position in the family improves through their marketable skills, their views are more likely to prevail.²⁵

So far I have focused on the role played by education in supporting other capabilities. But learning has a more subtle value as well, as a cultivation of powers of thought and expression that might otherwise go neglected. Such neglect of a human being's mental space is especially likely in lives given over to heavy physical labor and the added burden of housework and child care. The girls in Bihar were learning useful skills, but they were also learning to value their own humanity. The pride and confidence of their stance as they performed the play, their happy giggles as they told us how they first shocked, then influenced, their village—all this shows us that what is at stake in literacy is no mere skill but human dignity itself and the political and social conditions that make it possible for people to live with dignity. A young widow in an adult literacy program in Bangladesh told activist Martha Chen that her mother questioned the value of the class. She replied: "Ma, what valuable things there are in the books you will not understand because you cannot read and write. If somebody behaves badly with me, I go home and sit with the books. When I sit with the books my mind becomes better" (1983, 202).24 The feeling of a place of mental concentration and cultivation that is one's own can only be properly prized, perhaps, if one has lacked it. There is

²³ See Nussbaum 2000 and 2003a. The list of capabilities, as published in Nussbaum 2000, is presented as an appendix to the present article

²³ See Sen 1996. Presented as a working document at the Cairo Population meeting, Sen's paper strongly influenced their conclusions. For a more general discussion of women's bargaining position and the factors affecting it, see Agarwal 1997

²⁴ Rohima, the woman in question, also emphasizes the way in which literacy has increased her general mental concentration and understanding.

something in sitting with a book, this young woman was saying, that makes her feel more herself, less willing to be pushed around by others.

Thinking about the intrinsic value of basic education makes us see that what should be promoted—and what good activists typically promote—is not mere rote use of skills; it is an inquiring habit of mind and a cultivation of the inner space of the imagination. The girls in Bihar did not just drill on their sums and write letters on their slates. They gave plays, sang, and told stories. They used imagination to address their predicament, and this use of the imagination was woven into the entire educational process. This is typical of the approach of good NGOs in this area—unless entrenched social forces block their efforts. One day in January 2000, I went with activist Sarda Jain to visit a girls' literacy project in rural Rajasthan, several hours from Jaipur. This is the region of India in which child marriage (illegal) is the most common. Large groups of girls are married off at ages four or six. Although they do not live with their husbands until age twelve or so, their course in life is set. Their parents must keep them indoors or watch over them constantly to guard their purity, so that they can not really play outside like little boys. In addition, the parents know that these girls will not support them in their old age—they already "belong" to another family. So their development and health are typically neglected. The program I was visiting, run by an NGO called Vishaka, gives basic literacy and skills training to girls between the ages of six and twelve, that is, before they go to live with their husbands and while they are doing either domestic work or goatherding.25 On this particular day, the girls from many different villages were coming together for testing in a large group. Sarda said to me, "I don't want to see the sums on their slates. I want to see the look in their eyes." The girls duly appeared—all dolled up in their women's finery, unable to move freely, faces partly covered. The expected presence of strangers had made their parents costume them so as to assume their role as wives. They were physically unable to dance. Sarda was profoundly disappointed, for she interpreted the demeanor and appearance of the girls as a sign that all their training was merely skin deep and would not survive in their new lives as married women, as an inner shaping of their mental world.

²⁵ Vishaka is famous in India because it was the plaintiff in one of the landmark sexual harassment cases (Vishaka it Rajasthan, discussed in Nussbaum 2002b and also in Nussbaum forthcoming b). The Vishaka case is not the one I call "problematic": it is a promising example of the creative use of international documents in crafting domestic law The Supreme Court held, in this case, that the guidelines on sexual harassment in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) were binding on the nation through its ranfication of the treaty.

My argument about the role of education in developing central human capabilities in no sense implies that, without education, women do not have selves worthy of respect or basic human dignity. We may acknowledge that the absence of education involves a blighting of human powers without at all denying that the person who has been so blighted retains a basic core of human equality that grounds normative claims of justice. Indeed, in the capabilities approach it is precisely the presence of human dignity that gives rise to a claim that core human capacities should be developed, as an urgent issue of justice. Thinking about how to reconcile the recognition of dignity with the recognition that life's accidents can deform and deeply mar human powers is a very difficult matter, one that political philosophy has not yet resolved in a fully satisfactory way.²⁶ But it does seem clear that we can respect basic human capacities (what I elsewhere call "basic capabilities") without denying that the failure to support them (by nutrition, health care, education, etc.) can blight them in a serious way, by denying them a full development that is essential to the person's ability to live a life worthy of human dignity. The uneducated woman is likely to be a woman whose human powers of mind have been seriously underdeveloped, in just the way that the starving and powerless workers whom Marx describes in the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts ([1844] 1982) are cut off from the fully human use of their faculties.

So far, I have focused on basic literacy—and with much reason, given the depressing statistics about women's literacy in the developing world. And basic literacy already opens up many options for women, as well as having intrinsic value as a cultivation of mind and thought. But one should emphasize that most job opportunities require far more than basic literacy. So does most active participation in citizenship and politics. Secondary education is a more difficult goal by far for women than primary education, since it is at this time that girls who have managed to go to school are often taken out of school to do housework or to get married. University education is the most difficult of all, because it usually requires going away from home, and the sacrifices involved are more readily made for boys than for girls. But the reality of politics in developing countries suggests that university-educated women are far more likely to be able to influence debates at a national level as well as to have access to the most influential and higher-paying jobs.

Women from poor rural areas face particularly great obstacles in seeking a higher education. A new university is currently being founded to address this need. The Asian University for Women (AUW) will be located in

²⁴ See Nussbaum 2002a, 2002c.

Bangladesh under a land grant arrangement from the national government. It will seek out female students from all over South Asia, preferring students from poor and rural areas and focusing on nations that have a weak higher education structure, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal, although it will also include women from India, Sri Lanka, and possibly Indonesia and Malaysia. It will be similar to the liberal arts college as we know it in America; that is, two years will be spent pursuing a wide variety of subjects thought to constitute a "liberal education," and then two will be spent in a major subject connected to job opportunities and culminating in the equivalent of a European or Indian M.A. The major subjects are largely in the sciences and social sciences (computer science, public health, etc.), but the "humanities," much neglected in Asian higher education generally, will play a central role. Thus the required curriculum will probably include an emphasis on public debate and critical thinking, the study of the major world religions and cultures, and a large role for the arts.27 (These ideas have deep roots in Bengali educational traditions, and particularly in the thought and educational practice of Rabindranath Tagore.) All these subjects will be introduced not as abstract elite refinements but as deeply interwoven with the experiences, traditions, and problems of developing nations. The language of instruction will (inevitably) be English, but, through intensive language training prior to the start of regular enrollment, much effort will be taken not to disadvantage women who have not had much exposure to English in their high school education (or who have been badly taught).28 Faculty will be drawn from young Asian and also non-Asian scholars all over the world. The project itself is

The curriculum committee as of June 2003 consists of Savitri Goonesekere, former chancellor of the University of Colombo in Sri Lanka and one of the redactors of CEDAW; Ayesha Jalal, a prominent Pakistani historian who writes on the history of India; Fran Volkmann, a former acting president of Smith College; and myself In January 2003, we held a meeting at Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan, West Bengal, India, the university founded by Rabindranath Tagore together with his famous Santiniketan school. Leading female educators from Bangladesh and India were present and advised us on the future of the university. Those especially active (and likely to be involved in future planning) were Jasodhara Bagchi, head of the Women's Commission in the state of West Bengal, and founder of the first program in women's studies in India (at Jadavpur University in Calcutta) and Roop Rekha Verma, former vice-chancellor of the University of Lucknow and chair of philosophy and women's studies at that university. (For some of my own educational ideas, see Nussbaum 1997.)

²⁶ In India there is a huge class gap here: the children of the upper-middle class typically go to "English medium" schools (private, often Roman Catholic), where they gain native-speaker fluency in English. In the regular public schools, instruction is mechanical and does not impart real fluency

Asian in inspiration but also fully international; most of the members of the board of advisors are from Asia, though there are a few outsiders.²⁹

The mission of AUW will inevitably be controversial, especially for its commitment to single-sex education. Many development thinkers are skeptical about encouraging the segregation of women. I myself believe that, in an era of gross inequalities, single-sex institutions perform a very valuable function, helping women to achieve confidence and to overcome collective action problems that exist in their home settings. I also applaud the choice of the liberal arts format, which will promote an education focused on the needs of citizenship and the whole course of life rather than simply on narrow preprofessional learning. This format, too, permits explicit study of the history and problems of women and a focus on their experience in developing countries. Women's studies has proven enormously difficult to integrate into the European model, where students enter university to pursue only a single subject. **O

The problems of educating women in the developing world are enormous, as my data show. And yet, education for women is crucial to women's other opportunities and entitlements, as well as being of great intrinsic value.

Resistance to women's education

If all this is so, why should women's education encounter any resistance at all? Why should not the whole world agree that it is an urgent priority? Of course, at this point we encounter resistance of an obvious sort from entrenched custom and power. I have stressed that women's education is

- The founder and guiding spirit is Kamal Ahmad, originally from Bangladesh, educated at Harvard, currently working for a law firm in London, Asian members of the board of advisors have included Corazon Aquino, Fazle Hasan Abed from the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, Mohammed Yunus of the Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), feminist lawyer Asma Jehangir (Pakustan), and others from India, Indonesia, and Japan. The U.S. members have included Alice Huang of the California Institute of Technology and myself. Mark Malloch Brown from the UN Development Programme has also been involved at various stages, as have Mary Robinson of the UN and Henry Rosovsky of Harvard.
- Hence there is a growing interest in liberal arts education in Europe as well, e.g., there is the European College of Liberal Arts in Berlin and the University for Humanist Studies in Utrecht. But the concept is being discussed all over, from Sweden to Italy. Whether these discussions will inspire real change depends largely on whether faculty will become willing to teach undergraduates in small groups and really pay attention to them. Thus AUW, drawing as it will on Asians educated in the liberal arts system (inter alios and alia), is initially better placed than are the huge European universities, where professors rarely have serious contact with undergraduates.

revolutionary; it is a key to many other sources of power and opportunity. It is therefore not at all surprising that people who resist extending these other sources of power and opportunity to women typically oppose women's education, or at least its extension. Sometimes this opposition takes an extreme form, as it did in Afghanistan under the Taliban. Often, it takes a less extreme form, but it is real enough.³¹

Sometimes this type of opposition is masked by benign neglect. Thus many states that pay lip service to women's education and may at some level really think it important are simply not willing to do much to bring it about. India has been very slow to translate the equality of opportunity that its constitution guaranteed women in 1950 into actual policy aimed at making these opportunities real. Some part of this is sheer mismanagement and inefficiency, aided by widespread corruption in local government. But there can be no doubt that there are many people involved in politics in India who really do not want more educated women, in employment or in politics.

Resistance to female education is increased when its proponents push for real education, by which I mean an overall empowerment of the woman through literacy and numeracy but also the cultivation of the imagination and a mastery of her political and economic situation. Obviously enough, the sort of education I am favoring in this article is far more threatening than mere literacy and numeracy, and to that extent it faces a tougher struggle.

Sometimes, however, resistance comes from sheer economic necessity. Thus, many individual parents who have no objection to educating girls and boys on a basis of equality may be able to afford to educate only one of their children (in the sense that they will need to keep some at home to do the housework or send some out to do unpaid work such as herding or even wage work). In many cultural circumstances, existing employment opportunities dictate that the one educated must be a boy because his overall employment opportunities are greater and education is a necessary passport to these. So the neglect of female education may be a matter

³¹ On the history of this resistance in Bengal, a region marked by early progressive efforts to educate women, see Bagchi 1997. Bagchi describes the way in which the language of purity and nationalism was used to oppose women's literacy.

Interestingly, although thus is the most common situation for poor parents in India, it is not so for the Muslim minority. Muslim men typically have poorer job opportunities than do Hindu men, both because of poverty and because of discrimination. Muslim parents do not press hard for the education of boys where they believe that the boy's job opportunities are in low-paying jobs that do not require education. In this situation, parents frequently continue the education of their daughters and send their sons out to work.

of survival for parents in many parts of the world. This sort of resistance must be addressed, and I shall get to that point in my next section.

So far, however, we have not dealt with anyone who uses a plausible normative argument to oppose female education as a goal. Let us therefore turn to such an argument. For want of a better name, let us call it the Rajeev Gandhi argument. Put a little more elegantly than he put it, this argument says that the world contains many cultures. Many are nonliterate. These nonliterate cultures should not be held in contempt. They, and the artistic and other human achievements they have made, should be respected. But literacy radically transforms such cultures. For example, oral poetry does not survive the advent of widespread literacy. So pushing for universal literacy is tantamount to destroying sources of value.²³

In response to this argument, we must make two points from the outset. First, cultures are not museum pieces to be contemplated; they are lives of human beings to be lived. So it is inappropriate to romanticize any aspect of culture that is either misery and injustice or linked to misery and injustice. Thus, when Frédérique Marglin romanticizes the lives of devadasis, child temple prostitutes, on the grounds that they preserve beautiful traditions of dance, this seems a misplaced nostalgic reaction that objectifies the misery that such girls suffer, taken from their families at a very young age and subjected to sex without consent. H Illiteracy itself may already be such a misery and injustice intrinsically, at least for many women in many places. This is especially likely to be true when not going to school is replaced by long hours of grinding labor, not by any other type of cultivation of mind and imagination, and this is typically the case for women who do not go to school. Oral poets are usually either males or highly educated leisured females. Illiteracy, moreover, is strongly linked, as I have already argued, to other forms of injustice: domestic violence without exit options and unequal political and employment opportunities.

Second, cultures are not monoliths. They do not contain a single set of norms and a single normative tradition. They contain real people, jockeying for power and opportunity. Women are often at odds with the norms that are well known as "the norms" of "the culture." The cultural argument, basing its case on the values enshrined within a culture, should not fail to note these tensions. But then what we have on our hands will probably be much more complicated than a choice between the value

This argument has the general form of arguments about the preservation of traditional cultures in rural India by Prédérique Marglin and Stephen Marglin (1990).

³⁴ See F. A. Marglin 1985. For a different view of devadant, see Omvedt 1983

See Numbeum 2000, chap 1

of educating women and the value of traditional poetry and art: for we must include the resistance of women to tradition as one of the values that is also internal to the culture. In general, these internal tensions and disagreements make it very hard to use existing culture as any source of norms. The appeal to culture is thus in danger of falling into utter incoherence: for what is appealed to is in tension with other elements of itself.

We can add to this point the fact that, very often, powerful groups within a culture who are resisting change attempt to brand the internal demand for change as foreign in order to discredit it. This has been a persistent phenomenon in the history of women's attempts to become educated. Jasodhara Bagchi records that nineteenth-century women's education programs in Bengal, although led by internal reformers, were branded as "English" and "Western" by traditionalists. This happens all the time around the world. Chen quotes a woman in the literacy project run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee as saying, "They [male village leaders] say we will become Christian and English people will take us away. We are ruining the prestige of the village and breaking purdab. If we can get food, we will become Christian." To this already sarcastic characterization of the opponent, this woman adds, "We do not listen to the mullahs any more. They also did not give us even a quarter kilo of rice. Now we get ten maunds of rice [i.e., because the women are earning incomes]" (Chen 1983, 176). We obviously should not be misled by the fact that opponents of a movement for change name it Western. If it is there in the culture, it is in it, no matter whether it is new or old, traditional or antitraditional. We may often be inclined to say that literacy is more a part of the culture of rural women in India and Bangladesh than it is of our own, in the sense that they choose it, fight for it, grab hold of it, where none of us has ever done any such thing.

What about the fact, though, that women themselves sometimes voice a reluctance to become educated? Bagchi records in her 1997 book that one-fourth of the school-age girls she surveyed in West Bengal thought that women should have less education than men. "When we asked them why they felt so, the answers we received all pointed to the fact that from childhood most girls had been conditioned to believe that men were superior to women and boys to girls" (1997, 105). Such views are typical examples of "adaptive preferences," preferences that have simply adjusted to traditional norms and opportunities; it is not clear that public policy should take them into account. These girls know their options and op-

portunities: so, as Jon Elster says, why desire the grapes that are out of reach?²⁶

There are other possibilities when girls express a reluctance to become educated. The girls studied by Bagchi are still living at home, so, even if they have a strong desire for education, they may be unwilling to voice it. A third possibility is that they have a genuine nonadaptive preference for less or no education but that it is not fully informed: they do not know, for example, how much their political and employment opportunities will be limited if they do not become educated. A fourth possibility is that they have a genuine, fully informed preference for little or no education, but that it is a rational response to other inequalities in their lives: they may think, "What point is there in going to school when I am going to be married off at age ten and denied any chance to leave the house thereafter, and when being educated may make my husband and my in-laws more likely to abuse me?" A fifth possibility is that they do not want to go to school because it seems difficult and no fun. Many children have such preferences, although we rarely consider them fully informed. Finally, there may be cases in which an individual girl or woman (more convincingly a woman), surveying all of the possibilities in life, concludes that education is not for her, not a constituent of the life that she would wish to lead.

How should we respond to these different types of resistance on the part of women themselves? It seems to me that, where we are dealing with children, we should not honor such preferences. The debate over compulsory primary and secondary education has been a long and difficult one in the history of most nations, but by now there is an international consensus that education has the status of a fundamental human entitlement and that the only way to secure it for people is to make education compulsory for children of certain ages. This has proven the only way to surmount the resistance of parents and other adults who would like, say, to use these children for labor inside the house or outside it. It has also

³⁶ For discussion of the whole issue of adaptive preferences, and the views of Elster (1985) and Sen, see Nussbaum 2000, chap. 2. Sen discusses this question in many writings; one good example is Sen 1991.

²⁷ For one example of such abuse, see Tagore (1913) 1990 Similarly, Gary Becker argues in Becker 1995 that both women and African Americans "underinvest" in their "human capital" as a rational response to the discrimination that they actually suffer in employment. Women's preference for veiling, where it exists, typically falls in this category: it is often described as a rational response to the way men actually treat them, though it might not be the woman's preference if that bad state of affairs were not in place.

proven the only way to get children themselves to see what the value of an education is for them. And we typically do not think it objectionable to make children go to school when they do not want to. Indeed, we would think ill of either parents or governments that said that there shall be public education only for children who actually want to go to school and only when they have this preference. I see no reason why we should think otherwise about children in other countries. Indeed, it seems quite condescending to say, "Of course we require education of our own Western children, because we think their minds are terrible things to waste, but it is not so big a deal when it is those Indian or Pakistani or Bangladeshi minds." It seems just right that the Indian government has recently made the right to compulsory primary and secondary education a fundamental right of all citizens (see below). **

If compulsory primary and secondary education were ever securely implemented, there would be no question about how to treat illiterate adult women. But, for the foreseeable future, there surely is such a question. Obviously enough, it is wrong to dragoon a woman, working or otherwise, into schooling that she refuses. On the other hand, however, it seems possible to err in the opposite direction, expecting that women will come demanding schooling if they want it, and not taking cognizance of the problems of ill-informed and adaptive preferences, to say nothing of resistance from husbands, the difficulties of a working life with children, and so forth. So it seems right to work hard to design programs for adult women that are compatible with their working day, attractive, and thoughtful about how to deal with the resistance the women may encounter. The most successful literacy programs for rural adult women typically include a large element of social bonding and consciousness raising, because in this way women gain many benefits over and above literacy: emotional solidarity, collective action to overcome shared problems, courage in facing opposition. Successful literacy programs also typically link education to programs of economic empowerment (through credit and labor organization) that are more attractive to husbands than their wives' education may be. Many women who do not initially favor literacy may join a group for the other benefits it offers, or even for education for their daughters, and then come upon the pleasures and advantages of education subsequently.

For such reasons, the most successful programs are always grounded in the local region and sensitive to the local scene. As I have mentioned, the language problem by itself makes this necessary: rural women may

See Mehendale 1998.

not speak any language that literate activist organizers speak. Typically, therefore, the headquarters of an organization is in a major city, for example Patna, Bihar's largest city, but its field offices enjoy considerable autonomy and operate by recruiting successful graduates of the program as new employees. Regular visiting from the center is important to oversee and coordinate activities and also to protect the local leaders from intimidation and help solve any legal and political problems that arise. Activist leaders typically go to bat for their local field organizations with political leaders, courts, and employers. They also attempt to forge good relationships with influential organizations and businesses in the urban center, another strategy through which they exercise influence.

Solving the problem

The worldwide crisis of female education has multiple dimensions. In part, it is a problem of poverty and cannot be stably solved without raising the living standard of the poor in each nation. In part, the data indicate, it is a separate problem, whose solution requires special, focused action. Action aimed at raising the education level of women and girls has, in turn, several distinct elements. Both nations and states within nations must get involved, and rich nations must support the efforts of poorer nations.

To see the importance of intelligent state action, we need only consider the case of Kerala, frequently discussed in the development literature.⁴⁰ A relatively poor state in India, it has nonetheless achieved 99 percent literacy for both boys and girls in adolescent age groups. Several factors play a role here. The history of matrilineal property transmission and matrilocal residence makes female life take on, from the start, a greater worth in the eyes of parents than it seems to have in many parts of the nation. Thus, while the sex ratio in the nation as a whole is plummeting,

Vishaka R Rayasthan (see n. 25 above) arose out of a sexual assault against field-workers working for Vushaka in a rural area. Aduthi is currently dealing with the prosecution of one of its rural leaders, in the very area that I visited, for murder A local landowner, unhappy about the sharecropping women's newfound solidanty and aggressiveness, alleged that his aunt had been fatally poisoned by an Aduthi local field coordinator—on the grounds that the aunt died some time after leaving that woman's house. Although it is perfectly obvious to any unbiased person that this is a preposterous charge, local law enforcement is very corrupt, and the organs of the deceased woman, crucial for the resolution of the case, have been impounded by the pathologist, who refuses to release his report to the defense Literacy activism is full of such perils.

⁴⁰ See Drèze and Sen 1995; in the companion volume of field studies (Drèze and Sen 1997), see the field study of Kerala by V. K. Ramachandran.

as a result of access to sex-selective abortion, and has now reached the alarming figure of 85 women to 100 men (see above), the sex ratio in Kerala is 102 women to 100 men, just what demographers say one should expect if equal nutrition and health care are present. Education for women, moreover, is a tradition with a long history in Kerala. In the seventeenth century, Jesuit missionaries began campaigning for literacy for both boys and girls, and this influence had an important effect.

But these historical factors are only a part of the story. For much of its history since independence, Kerala has had a democratically elected Marxist government that successfully pursued an ambitious plan of land reform, crucial to the empowerment of the poor, and that has pushed hard for both health services and education. Some of the techniques the government has used to increase literacy—besides aggressive campaigning in every region—are the provision of a nutritious school lunch for children, which offsets much of the lost income for parents who depend on child labor, and flexible school hours, which allow working children and children who help their parents in the home to enroll in school.

There is no reason in principle why these excellent ideas cannot be followed elsewhere. (Indeed, a Supreme Court decision late in 2002 has now ordered all states to adopt Kerala's program of providing a nutritious school lunch, and there is evidence that this directive is being implemented.) All too often, what happens is that local officials are corrupt and take the education money without establishing schools or teachers are corrupt and take government money without showing up.

National governments are also a large part of the solution. Sen and Drèze show dramatically how India and China diverged after India's independence. The two nations had similar literacy rates in 1947; fifty-five years later, China has 76.3 percent adult literacy for women and 91.7 percent for men, by contrast to India's 45.4 percent and 68.4 percent. Another useful contrast is Sri Lanka, a nation geographically and ethnically close to India, which by now has achieved adult literacy rates of 89.0 percent for women and 94.4 percent for men. Clearly one of the key failures of Nehru's plan for the new nation was an insufficient emphasis on basic education. This fact is now generally recognized.

Adithi in the past has received much of its funding from the national government, which funds a few programs of its own but also helps NGOs that do so much of the work in rural areas. Recently, however, the Hindu

⁴¹ These are data for 2000, cited in the *Human Development Report*, 2002 (UNDP 2002), 223-24.

right-wing government has taken a most unfortunate turn. Although basic literacy for the poor is a crying need and also a key to the nation's economy, the minister of human resource development, Murli Manohar Joshi, a very ideological Hindu fundamentalist, has focused most of his energy on an expensive attempt to rewrite school textbooks to "Hinduize" them, removing references to bad acts of Hindus in history (such as violence against Muslims), removing the evidence that Hindus ever ate beef, and so forth. In the process he has carried on an aggressive campaign against leading historians (e.g., Romila Thapar, one of the most distinguished living scholars of India's history), charging them with being subversives for simply wanting to write the truth. His new curriculum has been repeatedly challenged in the courts but has not yet been found unconstitutional.⁴² Among the many things that are wrong with Joshi's policy, not the least is the fact that it represents a major diversion of both energy and funds away from the problem of basic literacy. This is very likely no accident, given that raising the fortunes of the poor, a large proportion of whom are either Muslim or lower caste, may not be high on Joshi's personal agenda in any case.

So that is an example of how not to solve the problem at the national level. How to solve it? Struggling against the corruption of state and local governments, funding special programs in areas where state government is not delivering services, funding NGOs like Adithi—all these measures, taken in the past, have a track record of at least some success. Another key issue is the removal of school fees for textbooks, uniforms, and so forth, which often make it impossible for the poor to attend nominally free state-run schools. All these measures must be coupled with more aggressive enforcement (which in some regions just means more than none) of laws against child marriage and dowry and, again, funding of NGOs that do good work on these problems. In other nations, similarly, governments need to figure out what particular factors are blocking girls and women from being educated and then to design policies to address the problem.

Courts can clearly play a role here. In 2002, India placed compulsory primary and secondary education in the Fundamental Rights section of the Constitution, following the Supreme Court case cited in my epigraph, which stated that it was one. Such a decision does not go far in the absence of suitable legislation and implementation, but it can provide a nudge to

For just a few of the recent discussions of this controversy, see Dhavan 2001, M. Hasan 2002; Hindustum Times 2002; Times of India 2002a, 2002b.

policy makers, as it did in this case, giving strong support to the legislative push for a new constitutional amendment.⁴³

The enormous worldwide problem of female education cannot, however, be solved by domestic policies in each nation alone. Adithi's projects in the Sithamarhi district alone have received support from Swiss and Dutch development agencies. In general, women's literacy projects in India receive assistance from a wide range of international development agencies, prominently including those of Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands. International charities such as OXFAM (with its branches in various countries), UNICEF, and others play a role. Because U.S. charitable donors cannot receive a tax deduction for a donation directly to a group such as Adithi, umbrella charities have sprung up in the United States that focus on specialized funding of literacy projects in India. (No doubt the same is true of other nations.)

Well-intentioned donors must be vigilant, for many India-related charities in the United States are fronts that funnel money to Hindu-right organizations that engage in anti-Muslim violence.44 The India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF), which claims to have various attractive purposes, is actually a front organization for the RSS (the paramilitary right-wing organization loosely connected to the governing Bharatiya Janata Party). One of the front organizations on the Indian side, recipient of IDRF money, is actually called Sewa Bharati, a name that is similar to that of SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association, one of the most impressive NGOs working on women's issues. There are many other such cases. United States money is behind the recent genocide of Muslim men and the mass rapes of Muslim women in the state of Gujarat: in evidence presented to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, Najid Hussain, a professor at the University of Delaware, estimated that nine of every ten dollars used to foment religious violence in Gujarat came from the United States. 45 Some such donors know what they are doing: unfortunately, many wealthy Indian Americans are staunch supporters of such causes. But there is reason to believe that much of the money is given in ignorance. Kanwal Rekhi, chair of the IndUS Entrepreneurs (an organization of South Asian businesspeople), wrote in the Wall Street Journal: "Many overseas Indian Hindus, including some in this country,

⁴³ Comparable is the U.S. history of education of the disabled: court cases in the early 1970s led to the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1972 and the Individuals with Disabilines Education Act in 1997.

⁴⁴ For discussion of this problem, with references, see Nussbaum 2003b.

⁴⁸ For data, see references in Nusebaum 2003b and also A. K. Sen 2002.

finance religious groups in India in the belief that the funds will be used to build temples and educate and feed the poor of their faith. Many would be appalled to know that some recipients of their money are out to destroy minorities (Christians as well as Muslims) and their places of worship" (Rekhi and Rowen 2002). I recommend either giving directly to some Indian NGO that one knows well (and forfeiting the U.S. charitable deduction) or giving to OXFAM, which does not make India a particular focus but which does good work wherever it operates and does enough in India to make those who care particularly about that nation content.

Today overall, as is the case with world poverty and need generally, the nations of the developed world are doing too little to support the education of the world's women. The United States clearly stands out as one that is doing remarkably less than it can and should. President Clinton showed a surprising level of knowledge and involvement on this particular issue: his visit to India deliberately highlighted the issue of women's literacy, and the groups he chose to visit in Rajasthan and elsewhere were well chosen, in a way that favorably impressed Indian thinkers and activists. But in the absence of a much larger budgetary commitment to "nation building," these efforts will not go far.

Delicate questions arise concerning how far one may promote a political agenda in another nation. Where there is no democratically accountable government in place, it seems reasonable enough to suppose that "nation building" may take the overall empowerment of the people as its focus, a goal toward which the education of women is an extremely central strategy. Where, as in the case of India, there is a democratically accountable government in place, the nations of the developed world have different choices. They may simply give to the national government on the theory that this is the democratically elected surrogate for the people and it should not be bypassed. But in the case of India today that would both be a rather inefficient way of promoting women's literacy (given that the national government does little of the educating in rural areas) and, at present, insofar as such money would ever support education in the first place (nuclear bombs are a project dearer to the heart of the leaders of the nation), it would be a way of lending support to Joshi's policies, which it is not too bold to call blatantly racist, as well as violative of the free speech of historians.40 By contrast, Clinton's attempt to highlight the good work of

⁴⁴ The authors suggest that Indian President Atal Bihan Vajpayee should label such causes terrorist and thus strike a blow against this covert funding of violence.

⁴⁷ His attempt to glorify and whitewash the Hindu past is part and parcel of the most sinister attempts to foment violence against Muslims

NGOs working with women seems to me perfectly acceptable, posing no delicate issue of paternalism, since the cause is so widely supported and so urgent. Funding by the U.S. government for these same NGOs, which already receive funds from many world governments through their official development agencies, seems to me also perfectly acceptable. The development agencies of nations that devote a substantial portion of their budget to these ends are constantly in the business of making value judgments, like any grant-giving agency; they review proposals, and inevitably they have some goals (in this case, women's literacy) that they want to support and others (the Hinduization of textbooks) that they might not want to support. Although it seems to me that it would be wrong to send troops to India or even to impose economic sanctions on India for its violations of free speech in education, giving money to NGOs for women's education rather than to the national government for nuclear bombs and the Hinduization of textbooks seems to me perfectly reasonable, and a way of supporting women and the rural poor against national forces that do not fully represent their aspirations. 48 Although I believe that we should make a rather strong distinction between the justification of a political value and its implementation outside our national borders, refusing actively to implement much of what we think that we can morally justify out of respect for national sovereignty, women's literacy is a value with enormously strong popular support (and indeed, the national government itself strongly backs it, though its ways of doing so are extremely odd), so there seems to be no reason why we should not judge that certain NGOs pursue that goal more effectively and acceptably than the national government.49

The primary point to be made is that the nations of the developed world, and their individual citizens, are doing much, much too little to address this problem. So, too, we must now add, are the multinational corporations that increasingly determine the course of policy in the developing countries where they do business. To such corporations, we may make two arguments in favor of devoting substantial resources to education, and particularly female education, in the regions where they operate. First, we may make an efficiency argument. Money invested in education, we say, is money well spent. An educated workforce is a more productive and stable workforce. Women who are educated contribute to

⁴⁶ See my discussion of some of these matters in Nussbaum 2001

On justification and implementation, see Nussbaum 2003c

the economic development and the political stability of the entire region.⁵⁰ Kerala, for example, does not have the interreligious violence that is now sweeping over Gujarat, a state that has promoted economic growth while largely neglecting education and other areas of "human development."⁵¹

We may also, let us hope, link to this efficiency argument a moral argument. Using part of one's profits to educate the next generation is the decent thing to do. This is not an idea utterly alien to the American rich, as the history of U.S. colleges and universities shows. Is it too much to hope that we may prevail on the rich, who are rich because of the work of people in developing nations, to make a similar commitment to the well-being of the children of their workers?

The issue of women's education is both urgent and complex. But it has long been the neglected poor relation of the international development world, ignored by many of the most powerful thinkers and actors in this field in favor of the single goal of economic growth, which by itself delivers little to the poor of developing nations.⁵² Even when politicians and activists are sensitive to the predicament of the poor, they have often neglected this issue in their own way, preferring to focus on issues such as health and democratization, which appear less culturally controversial. I have argued that women's education is extremely urgent, indeed a key to women's empowerment. There are no good arguments against making it a top priority for development in this century. Theoretical analysis and

³⁰ Buch's (2000) study shows that women's presence in *pancheyets* has increased expenditure on health, especially child health, and other aspects of the welfare of the poor, as contrasted with other goals that might contribute less to the long-term security and well-being of the region

I do not mean in any way to blame the Gujarat genocide on the local poor, since it is clearly formented at the state level, with assistance from the national government But I do believe that a more highly educated local population might possibly have mounted more effective resistance earlier against the genocidal measures and might also, well before that, have selected a state government that would focus more on the welfare of the poor and less on Hinduization. There is also an indirect point: any government that would make female education a top priority (as in Kerala) is unlikely to be the sort of government that would also make genocide and mass rape top priorities. It is no surprise that the current chief of police in the state of Gujarat—called out of retirement in the Punjab to "restore law and order"—is none other than K. P. S. Gill, the defendant in the landmark sexual harassment case described in Nussbaum forthcoming b. Having put many innocent Sikhs to death in the Punjab and having made a second career as a champion of sexual harassment, he now presides over murder and rape

so See the analysis in Drèze and Sen 1995.

good normative models have a valuable role to play in establishing these facts in the corridors of power.

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Appendix

The Central Human Capabilities (Nussbaum 2000)

- 1. Life.—Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
- 2. Bodily health.—Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
- 3. Bodily integrity.—Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
- 4. Sense, imagination, and thought.—Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason—and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid nonbeneficial pain.
- 5. Emotions.—Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)
- 6. Practical reason.—Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)

7. Affiliation.

- A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)
- B. Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, and national origin.

- 8. Other species.—Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
 - 9. Play.—Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
 - 10. Control over one's environment.
- A. Political.—Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.
- B. Material.—Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

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Nego-Feminism: Theorizing, Practicing, and Pruning Africa's Way

Displace and undo that killing opposition between the text narrowly conceived as verbal text and activism narrowly conceived as some sort of mindless engagement.

-Gayatri C. Spivak 1990, 120-21

African scholars, and especially women, must bring their knowledge to bear on presenting an African perspective on prospects and problems for women in local societies. Scholars and persons engaged in development-research planning and implementation should pay attention to development priorities as local communities see them.

-Achola A. Pala 1977, 13

n 1999, I was invited to speak at an international conference organized by the "Women Waging Peace Project" at Harvard University's Kennedy School that attracted participants from some of the conflict zones of our troubled planet—Northern Ireland, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Bosnia, the Middle East, Burundi, Angola, and so forth. One of those invited to address the gathering was Martha Nussbaum, a philosopher who has assumed high visibility and substantial recognition in development studies through her articulation of the "human capabilities approach," pioneered in development economics by Amartya Sen, a Nobel Laureate in economics.¹

After a brief presentation of the human capabilities approach, Nussbaum had barely sat down when she was verbally attacked. The attack

Dedicated to Prançoise Lionnet for many years of collegiality and collaboration

¹ According to Nussbaum, the human capabilities approach focuses on "what people are actually able to do and to be . . . the capabilities in question should be pursued for each and every person, treating each as an end and none as a mere tool of the ends of others; thus I adopt a principle of each person's capability, based on a principle of each person as end" (2000, 5).

was unexpected in its swiftness, visceral in its content, and vociferous in its articulation. The first to speak was an African-American woman who lives in the Harvard neighborhood. In a moving speech she complained bitterly, first, about not having been aware that an event with a high representation of Africa-based sisters was taking place in her neighborhood and, second, about the difficulties she encountered making her way into the conference hall. When she arrived at the Kennedy Center, virtually all the entrance doors were locked. As she tugged at one of the locked doors, she was accosted by a policeman who asked her what "[she] was doing there." The next "plaintiff" was an Africa-based African participant who spoke with a "communal voice," stating that she preferred to be told/ shown what has to be done to ameliorate the situation in her part of the world rather than be bombarded with irrelevant discourses and empty theorizing. Obviously, the theorizing is "empty" precisely because of its inability to connect with or refer to the realities and environments with which the plaintiffs identify. In the midst of the heated argument, Nussbaum perched silently on her chair and issued no response. I stood up not to defend Nussbaum (she's very capable of defending herself) but to issue a cautionary note to the women of color (especially those living and working in Africa) while assuring them that I understood and identified with their frustration and anger at having to sit through interminable "discourses," while the immediacy, messiness, and raw brutality of their conflict-ridden homelands were weighing heavily on their minds.

I was struck, however, by the lack of engagement with the substance of Nussbaum's presentation. She was dismissed for offering irrelevant theorizing instead of a clear road map for action. Although I am sympathetic to the centrality of practice in development work, I am wary of a stance that is so staunchly antitheory that it leaves no room for any engagement with theory. Theory plays a central role in helping to scrutinize, decipher, and name the everyday, even as the practice of everyday informs theory making. One can argue about the use/abuse and the politics of theory, as I will argue in the next section, but to dismiss theory as always irrelevant is not helpful. On the contrary, most Africans with whom I have worked inside and outside the continent argue not for the death of theory but against its use and abuse; particularly, they interrogate the ways in which theory, as a site of political struggle, raises concerns about "invention," appropriateness, and applicability. This leads me to

² Many African participants concurred with interjections of "go on, my sister," "I agree with you one hundred percent," "speak for us, my dear," "tell her that's not what we came here to do," etc.

believe, then, that the objection to Nussbaum's presentation was probably not against theory per se but against the failure of the presenter to anchor her theorizing in reality in any relevant or significant way for the "plaintiffs." Nussbaum's fame and privileged social location are epistemically salient in the sense that they authorize her views and writings, but they could also be discursively dangerous in terms of the impact of her views/writings in shaping the lives of women on whose behalf she intervenes. I cautioned my women-of-color sisters not to dismiss Nussbaum for the simple reason that the individuals and foreign/international institutions responsible for making policies that affect the lives of women of color in the so-called third world read Nussbaum and model some of their policies on her views, conclusions, and writings. The best way to engage Nussbaum is to read her writings on gender and development, expose contested terrains (which are many), and offer alternative arguments and paths.

The above incident at Harvard exposes the evolving double apartheid of social and epistemological exclusions that is at the heart of Arjun Appadurai's exposé of the disjunctures festering among diverse constituencies within and between nations in a globalizing world. Globalization, with its incessant shifts and turns, has produced anxieties not only in the academy where disciplinary certitudes are disrupted but also outside the academy where different worries abound:

What does globalization mean for labor markets and fair wages? How will it affect chances for real jobs and reliable rewards? What does it mean for the ability of nations to determine the economic futures of their populations? What is the hidden dowry of globalization? Christianity? Cyberproletarianization? New forms of structural adjustment? Americanization disguised as human rights or as MTV?
. . . Among the poor and their advocates the anxieties are even more specific: What are the great global agencies of aid and development up to? Is the World Bank really committed to incorporating social and cultural values into its developmental agenda? Does Northern aid really allow local communities to set their own agendas? . . . Can the media ever be turned to the interests of the poor? In the public spheres of many societies there is concern that policy debates occurring around world trade, copyright, environment, science, and technology set the stage for life-and-death decisions for

For discussion of epistemic salience, see Alcoff 1995

ordinary farmers, vendors, slum-dwellers, merchants, and urban populations. (2000, 1-2)

The increasing divorce between the parochial debates "about such issues as representation, recognition, the 'end' of history, the specters of capital, etc." (Appadurai 2000, 2) in the academy on the one hand and the vernacular discourses and realities of constituencies outside the academy on the other hand demands new and imaginative ways to view and conduct research, one of which is to globalize research from below with the force of an element usually identified with creative writing and the arts-imagination. My extensive work in the past decade with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and grassroots constituencies in Africa ranging from literature, health, and human rights in Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, and Madagascar to ethnicity, peace, and conflict resolution in Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo—has led me to rethink the place and role of theory, research, and scholarship and to recognize the potency and utility of the force of imagination mentioned above. My work with constituencies beyond the academy illuminates and makes pertinent my work in the academy. This article reflects what I have learned from the men and women I have worked with in the robust, dynamic space where the academy meets what lies beyond it. This juncture where worlds meet is what I call the "third space of engagement" (engagement, in the Sartrean sense of the word). The third space is not the either/or location of stability; it is the both/and space where borderless territory and free movement authorize the capacity to simultaneously theorize practice, practice theory, and allow the mediation of policy. The third space, which allows for the coexistence, interconnection, and interaction of thought, dialogue, planning, and action, constitutes the arena where I have witnessed the unfolding of feminisms in Africa.

In this article I will explore, among other issues, the intertwining of the colonial moment, the politics of fieldwork, and the politics of representation in feminist scholarship and development studies by revisiting the processes of theory making and knowledge construction in an environment of unequal power relations and cultural difference. I will use the different features and methods of feminist engagement in Africa to propose what I call nego-feminism (the feminism of negotiation; no ego fem-

⁴ This is not an exclusivist strategy that shifts power and focus from the privileged to the subaltern. Rather, it should be an engagement in which privilege is diffused to allow for an interactive, multilateral flow of voices (from above and below simultaneously).

inism) as a term that names African feminisms.⁵ Aware of a practice (feminism in Africa) that is as diverse as the continent itself, I propose nego-feminism not to occlude the diversity but to argue, as I do in the discussion of "building on the indigenous" in the last section of this article, that a recurrent feature in many African cultures can be used to name the practice. The diversity of the African continent notwithstanding, there are shared values that can be used as organizing principles in discussions about Africa, as Daniel Etounga-Manguelle aptly notes: "The diversity—the vast number of subcultures [in Africa]—is undeniable. But there is a foundation of shared values, attitudes, and institutions that binds together the nations south of the Sahara, and in many respects those of the north as well" (Etounga-Manguelle 2000, 67).

Through a brief discussion of the inception of a women's studies program in Africa, I will address issues of disciplinary boundaries, pedagogy, and institution building in an atmosphere of intense NGO activities bound and structured by donor interests, conditionalities, and politics. Ultimately, I will plead for the interrogation and repositioning of two crucial issues in feminist studies—positionality and intersectionality. This process will entail a constant interrogation of one's positionality at all levels—from the social and personal to the intellectual and political—25 an active subject location of shifting reciprocity where meaning is made and not an essentialized location where meaning is discovered. Finally, it will also envisage a modulated shift in focus of the intersectionality of race, gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, culture, national origin, and so forth from ontological considerations (being there) to functional imperatives (doing what there) and speak to the important issues of equality and reciprocity in the intersecting and border crossing.6 I argue for going beyond a historicization of the intersection that limits us to questions of origins, genealogy, and provenance to focus more on the history of now, the moment of action that captures both being and becoming, both ontology and evolution. The discussion will proceed in three movements: the second section will address the use/abuse of theory and the marginalization of African women in the

Discussing feminism in Africa in an earlier work, I noted that "it will be more accurate to argue not in the context of a monolith (African feminism) but rather in the context of a pluralism (African feminism) that captures the fluidity and dynamism of the different cultural imperatives, historical forces, and localized realities conditioning women's activism/movements in Africa . . . the inscription of feminisms . . . underscores the heterogeneity of African feminist thinking and engagement as manifested in strategies and approaches that are sometimes complementary and supportive, and sometimes competing and adversarial" (Nnaemeka 1998a, 5).

For a good discussion of intersectionality, see Crenshaw 1991.

process; the third section will examine the importance of culture and difference in debates about theory and development; the fourth section will argue for the necessity and prudence of "building on the indigenous" in the construction of African feminist theory.

Dwelling/duelling on possibilities: Debating theory, knowledge, and engagement

In African studies, as in other branches of humanistic and social research, the subordination of human and social problems to disciplinary trends has pronounced negative effects that undermine the integrity and social utility of scholarship.

-Richard Sklar 1995, 20

Theory makers and their methods and concepts constitute a community of people and shared meanings. . . . Why do we engage in this activity and what effect do we think it ought to have? As Helen Longino has asked: "Is 'doing theory' just a bonding nitual for academic or educationally privileged feminist women?" Again, whom does our theory making serve?

—María C. Lugones and Elizabeth V. Spelman 1986, 28

A rapprochement between theory and engagement requires clearing the ground to dwell/duel not only on what theory is but, more importantly, on what theory does, can and cannot do, and should and should not do. The disciplines in which my work is situated—African studies, women's studies, literary studies, cultural studies, and development studies are affected by or implicated in these processes. Theorizing in a cross-cultural context is fraught with intellectual, political, and ethical questions: the question of provenance (where is the theory coming from?); the question of subjectivity (who authorizes?); the question of positionality (which specific locations and standing [social, political, and intellectual] does it legitimize?). The imperial nature of theory formation must be interrogated to allow for a democratic process that will create room for the intervention, legitimation, and validation of theories formulated "elsewhere." In other words, theory making should not permanently be a unidirectional enterprise-always emanating from a specific location and applicable to every location—in effect allowing a localized construct to impose a universal validity and application. I argue instead for the possibilities, desirability, and pertinence of a space clearing that allows a multiplicity of different but related frameworks from different locations to touch, intersect, and feed off of each other in a way that accommodates different realities and histories. Nussbaum's concern about the applicability of a single universal framework is equally pertinent here: "And we also need to ask whether the framework we propose, if a single universal one, is sufficiently flexible to enable us to do justice to the human variety we find" (2000, 40). Above all, theory should be used to elucidate, not to obfuscate and intimidate.

Like other so-called marginal discourses, feminist discourse raises crucial questions about knowledge not only as being but as becoming, not only as a construct but as a construction, not only as a product but as a process. In other words, knowledge as a process is a crucial part of knowledge as a product. By injecting issues of subjectivity and location into epistemological debates, feminist scholarship seeks, as it were, to put a human face on what is called a body of knowledge and in the process unmasks this presumably faceless body. By focusing on methodology (and sometimes intent), feminist scholarship brings up for scrutiny the human agency implicated in knowledge formation and information management. We cannot assume critical thinking without asking crucial questions about what is being thought critically and who is thinking it critically. But Western feminism is also caught up in its ambivalence: fighting for inclusion, it installs exclusions; advocating change, it resists change; laying claims to movement, it resists moving.

Some decades ago when littérature engagée was in vogue (in France, at least), writing was linked to social engagement. But in poststructuralist contexts, writers and intellectuals erect discursive walls that insulate them from the social action (engagement) needed to promote social change. The emergence of poststructuralist theory as "theory" and the role it has come to play in shaping not only feminist intellectual life but also the investigative paths of literary and cultural critics and other intellectuals of the Left has implications for social action/change. Poststructuralism is "a dead end for progressive thought," as Barbara Epstein (1995) argues in her quarrel with "poststructuralism-as-radicalism" and its theoretical claims that have little to do with progressive politics: "I am also dismayed by the subculture that developed around feminist poststructuralism and the intellectual world with which it intersects. In this arena, the pursuit of status and the worship of celebrity have become pervasive, probably more so than anywhere else in academia. Intellectual discourse has come to be governed by rapidly shifting fashions. Work is judged more by its sophistication than by the contribution it might make toward social change. Sophistication is understood to mean agility within a complex intellectual structure, the ability to engage in theoretical pyrotechnics, to intimidate others by a display of erudition" (1995, 85–86).

Poststructuralism's "nominalism," denial of the subject's ability to reflect on social discourse and challenge its determination, thesis of undecidability, and assertion of the "negative function" of political struggles led Linda Alcoff to pose crucial and pertinent questions about poststructuralism's potential threat to feminism itself:7 "Adopting nominalism creates significant problems for feminism. How can we seriously adopt Kristeva's plan for only negative struggle? As the Left should by now have learned, you cannot mobilize a movement that is only and always against; you must have a positive alternative, a vision of a better future that can motivate people to sacrifice their time and energy toward its realization. How can we ground a feminist politics that deconstructs the female subjectivity? Nominalism threatens to wipe out feminism itself" (1988, 418-19). Poststructuralism's focus on discourse and aesthetics instead of social action encourages the egocentricity and individualism that undermine collective action. The atomization of the intellectual community and the isolation in intellectual work allow, at best, the emergence of "stars" but produce, at worst, a dysfunctional and ineffective family that is not fully equipped to meet the challenges of societal transformation. African studies and women's studies are not immune to these disciplinary trends. African studies' focus on the idea of Africa rather than the reality of Africa mimics women's studies' foregrounding of the notion of the African woman rather than the humanity of African women. In feminist scholarship, theorists of different persuasions are mired in the theorizing and intellectual navel gazing that insulate them from social action and undermine relevance. African feminisms bring up for scrutiny the relationship with and resistance to the endemic feminist politics and theorizing that inaugurate social irrelevance and forestall true engagement—from feminist social and epistemological exclusions to feminist scholarship's disconnection from social utility.

Indeed, with my professional-cum-intellectual trajectory redefining and realigning itself in recent years, I tend to be less charmed and intimidated and more alienated and dismissive of the intellectual gymnastics and empty theorizing in feminist scholarship, as evidenced by my incessant etching of "so what?" as marginal notes in my rereading of feminist texts that awed and humbled me as a graduate student and as a junior faculty mem-

⁷ See Alcoff 1988 for a discussion of what she calls poststructuralism's "nominalism"; also Jacques Derrida's thesis of undecidability (1978) and Julia Kristeva's "negative function" (1981, 166)

ber. More importantly, as a teacher I worry about the implications of this state of affairs for upcoming generations of feminist scholars and teachers—our graduate students—who know less about the substance of required texts and more about trendy jargons, with the result that they produce similarly framed responses to different and unrelated questions. Specifically, I worry about my graduate student advisee and her seasonal obsessions with "post" (poststructuralist, postcolonial, postmodernist) jargons. At some point, it was "simulacrum" that she saw everywhere. That lasted for a few months. Then came one that refused to go away—"cleavage." This ubiquitous monster was imbued with meanings that metamorphosed perpetually—from the sacred to the profane. Frustrated by the rapidity with which her dissertation was increasingly "marked" by this monster, I issued a stern warning: "If I see this 'cleavage' on another page of this dissertation, I'll take you off my list of advisees." Cleavage bowed to the threat, sanity reigned, and the dissertation moved ahead.

Even more pertinent to the situation of African women regarding theory making is the urgent need to open up a conversation not about the challenge to the impossibility of a theory (one) but the benefit of exploring the possibilities of theory (many). As Judith Butler aptly notes, "it may be time to entertain a radical critique that seeks to free feminist theory from the necessity of having to construct a single or abiding ground which is invariably contested by those identity positions or anti-identity positions that it invariably excludes" (1990, 5). When Barbara Christian spoke up over a decade ago against the "race for theory," she brought up for scrutiny the link between identity positions and feminist theory by insisting that people of color have always theorized but differently: "I am inclined to say that our theorizing (and I intentionally use the verb rather than the noun) is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in the riddles and proverbs, in the play with language, since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking" (1995, 457). At issue here is the personalization of theory formation in the West (Cartesian, for example) as opposed to the anonymity of a communal voice that articulates knowledge claims in African narrative forms and proverbs (which in Igboland are often preceded by "ndi banyi si/our people said"). As colonial subjects, one of the difficulties we encountered in our absorption into the colonial world of knowledge acquisition was our being required in the colonial schools to memorize and correctly identify the ubiquitous quotes and

⁸ I am not alone in this. Not too long ago, a longtime feminist scholar/activist informed me that she had terminated her subscription to a top women's studies journal because of "its philosophizing that has lost touch with reality"

ensuing four-part questions that tortured us at examination time—who said, to whom, when, and where? (identify the voice that authorizes, the passivity that legitimates it, the temporality that marks it, and the location of the one-way traffic of a "transaction"). We forget such inanities at the peril of our educational advancement. No one bothered to ask us how we view knowledge, its formation and articulation; no one bothered to find out if we draw frames for knowledge (framework); no one cared to find out if our journey with and into knowledge is an ever-evolving, boundless love affair that sweeps us along with our neighbors, our ancestors, and those we have neither met nor "read" ("ndi banyi si/our people said" not "ndi banyi delu/our people wrote").

The location of African women (as knowledge producers and as subjects/objects for knowledge production) in feminist epistemological quarrels is both specific and complex. African women's critique of prevalent feminist theories goes beyond the issues of relevance, adequacy, and appropriateness to include crucial questions about representation and task-allocation/sharing. In their review of three edited volumes on gender and international human rights, J. Oloka-Onyango and Sylvia Tamale (1995) laud the volumes' attempts to incorporate diverse voices from the so-called third world in opposition to earlier international collections that at best marginalize and at worst silence "third-world" voices. 10

But a further probing of these three laudable volumes reveals their complicity (some are more culpable than the others) in the endemic pattern of quarantining "third-world" voices to specific sections that are marked by predetermined notions of the intellectual and epistemological boundaries of "third-world" knowing subjects. So-called international volumes usually exclude from the "theory section" the voices and presence of "third-world" women (absent as producers of knowledge and makers of theory but sometimes present to "rematerialize" or concretize the abstraction of theoretical positions). These publications tend to banish "third-world" women to case-study and country-specific sections, implying, of course, that these women can speak only to the issues pertaining to the specific countries from whence they come and do not have the capacity to dabble in the intricacies of theory as an intellectual, scientific abstraction that requires brain power to fashion and comprehend. Hidden

Those whose epistemological journeys are guided by orality (nds banyi si) not writing (nds banyi dela) are bound to theorize differently

¹⁰ The books they review are Center for Women's Global Leadership 1994; Cook 1994; and Peters and Wolper 1995.

¹¹ See Smith 1989, 44-46.

in the inner workings of this assumption or reasoning are the unspoken issues of race and social location. Furthermore, this allocating of tasks to research subjects and their positioning as objects is colonial both in intent and execution. In the same way that Africa produced the raw materials that the *métropole* transformed into manufactured products, African women (as researchers/scholars and as the researched) are instrumentalized: as researchers/scholars they are the instruments for collecting the raw data with which foreign scholars manufacture knowledge; as the researched they are the instruments through which scholarship is produced and careers built. Often in genuinely collaborative work, Western researchers do not include Africans as collaborators or coauthors (at best, they are recognized and thanked as "informants").

The past couple of decades have seen the rise of African NGOs supported and financed primarily by foreign NGOs and international institutions and foundations. As Aili Mari Tripp notes in her study of new political activism in Africa, women's increased participation in civil society and governance is due to the intervention of "donors [who] have supported women's efforts to participate in civic education, constitutional and legislative reform, and leadership training, and [have] funded programs for female parliamentarians" (2001, 144). However, NGO activities in Africa raise serious questions about information gathering and knowledge construction. With the impoverishment and collapse of the higher education system in many African countries and the increasing practice of foreign donors and NGOs to fund local NGOs (not individuals) for projects, there is an increased pressure on African academicians and scholars to form or join NGOs in order to receive funding for research projects. Aside from the usual (and legitimate) charge that research focus is often donor driven (witness the explosion of the number of African NGOs working on the hot-button issue of the 1990s-so-called female genital mutilation), there are more worrisome questions regarding the nature, reporting, and archiving of "research" and the broader issue of accountability. The lack of reciprocity between Northern NGOs and their Southern counterparts is predicated on unequal relationships where the former demand transparency and accountability from the latter while maintaining secrecy and no accountability in return, a state of affairs that prompted Tandon Yash to caution Africans about being vigilant and demanding from their Northern partners an "alliance" (not one-sided "solidarity"):

The fact that western NGOs provide money for "development". . . gives them an easy access to African NGOs. Periodically, the western

NGOs demand that their "partners" open up their books and hearts to explain what they have been doing with "their money." This is called "evaluation." . . . African NGOs have no such privileged access to the hearts and minds (and accounts) of the western NGOs from which they receive money. There is an unwritten law that says that where monies are spent they must be "accounted for," but where information is supplied (as African NGOs do to western NGOs) there need not be any accountability on how that information is used. The doctrine of financial accountability is legitimate; the doctrine of informational accountability is not. (1991, 74)

This lopsided model of accountability has enormous implications on intellectual and epistemological levels. Often, the information gathered by Southern NGOs comes in the form of raw data crammed into reports whose aim is to show expenditures and justify the use of funds. In all this, little or no effort is made to encourage the Southern NGOs to transform their findings and data into an intellectual enterprise. Claiming total ownership of the findings and reports, the Northern NGOs (as funders) exercise the proprietary rights to use (even abuse) and dispose of the materials delivered to them while requiring the Southern NGOs (the producers of the data) to seek and obtain their permission before using the findings for other purposes. But how and by whom the data are used is of great significance. The restrictive NGO parameters notwithstanding, a small number of enterprising African NGO-affiliated academicians and scholars have succeeded in producing reports to satisfy funding conditionalities and at the same time use the findings imaginatively to produce knowledge that is disseminated through scholarly outlets—journals, edited volumes, and so forth. In order to participate fully in the shaping of knowledge about Africa, African NGOs should not hesitate to bite the finger that feeds them. Specifically, they should be prepared to challenge donor institutions and demand accountability and responsibility from them, when necessary, even as they seek financial support from them. The NGOs should walk the fine line between benefiting from corporations and being incorporated.

In their essay on the cultural imperialism and exclusions of feminist theory, María Lugones and Elizabeth Spelman also raise the question of accountability on the part of feminist theorists: "When we speak, write, and publish our theories, to whom do we think we are accountable? Are the concerns we have in being accountable to 'the profession' at odds with the concerns we have in being accountable to those about whom we theorize? . . . Why and how do we think theorizing about others

provides understanding of them?" (1986, 28; emphasis in original). Shouldn't Spelman and Lugones's concerns about accountability and ways of seeing/knowing be part of feminist theorizing? An African colleague once told me that African literature, because of its deconstructive and subversive nature and its position on subjectivity, voice, and representation, can only be conceptualized and theorized in the context of postmodernism: "Only postmodernist theory can tame and explain this 500 pound gorilla," he opined with his inimitable laughter scattered all around me. My response was, if this gorilla is truly African, there must be some "gorilla-like" indigenous contexts and formulations that can lead us to a better and more understandable conceptualization and theorizing: "How about 'nmanwu theory' or even more specifically an 'atakata theory'?" I responded, collecting and redirecting my colleague's scattered laughter back to him. In Igboland (southeastern Nigeria), nmanwn (masquerade) and iti nmanwu (masquerading) are both spiritual and mundane. Nmanwu, in its indeterminacy (spirit in human form), walks like a duck, quacks like a duck, but it ain't a duck. Nmanwu is a spirit that assumes a human form through an artistic expression that blurs the boundary between "high" and "low" art. Through its complex incorporation and weaving of prose, poetry, and "noise," the nmanwu crosses genre boundaries with facility. Its pastiche of a narrative runs counter to a grand narrative. Indeterminate and ambiguous in its conceptualization (spirit in human form), playful in its attitude, simultaneous in its enactment of different genres, deconstructive in its movements, multiperspectivist in its workings, this bricolage of an art form (nmanwa) arcs toward a "postmodernist" formulation (but let us not forget that masquerading in Igboland predates the emergence of postmodernism in the last century). The akataka, with its energy and agility, is the most disruptive, "fragmenting," and subversive of masquerades. In its conceptualization, construction, inner/outer workings, and appearance on the scene the akataka "deconstructs" and decenters everything, sending subjectivities, multivocality, and representation flying in all possible directions. The Igbo say "adiro akwu ofuebe snene nmawu/one cannot stand at a spot to watch a masquerade"—a proverb that raises profoundly the issues of perspective and subjectivity.

While my colleague argues for using theoretical musings and abstractions of postmodernism to rematerialize or give form to African literature, I plead for "building on the indigenous" (see the fourth section) by arguing that, in effect, African worldviews and thought are capable of providing the theoretical rack on which to hang African literature. Can the akataka theory be more useful to the producers of African (Igbo, specifically) literature to understand and explain the literature to them-

selves and the rest of the world? Can postmodernism understand and explain itself to itself and to the rest of the world through akataka theory? Can institutional and disciplinary requirements, the politics of publishing, and professional survival allow the intrusion of akataka theory in the crossfertilization of theory making? In short, why should a medley of voices not rise to formulate theory in the context of a cross-fertilization of ideas, concepts, and concerns? Culture (as a negative force) remains a central issue in colonial, developmental, and (Western) feminist discourses about the "other." Can the "other" culture be viewed otherwise? Are its concepts translatable to mainstream theorizing?

Culture, development, and (Western) feminism

The development discourse is part of an imperial process whereby other peoples are appropriated and turned into objects. It is an essential part of the process whereby the "developed" countries manage, control and even create the Third World economically, politically, sociologically and culturally. It is a process whereby the lives of some peoples, their plans, their hopes, their imaginations, are shaped by others who frequently share neither their lifestyles, nor their hopes nor their values.

-Vincent Tucker 1999, 1

The true development of human beings involves much more than mere economic growth. At its heart there must be a sense of empowerment and inner fulfillment. This alone will ensure that human and cultural values remain paramount. . . . When this is achieved, culture and development will naturally coalesce to create an environment in which all are valued, and every kind of human potential can be realized.

-Aung San Suu Kyi 1995, 18

As processes of unequal power relations, colonialism, development, and even current so-called globalization focus more on the material and less on the human. Colonialism's focus on natural resources, institutions, and frameworks is matched by development's focus on economics, institutions, and processes. The same goes for "the world in motion" in this age of globalization where resources, capital, and skills are more "in motion" than certain categories of humans—mostly poor, unskilled, people of color from the so-called third world (immigration policies of many Western nations are designed to regulate and manage the flow). I find the French word for globalization (la mondialisation) more pertinent to the issue I wish to raise here about humanity and materiality.

La mondialisation, derived from le monde with its double meaning of the physical world (materiality) and people (humanity), captures both the materiality and humanity of globalization. The humanity that is at best minimized and at worst ignored in the discourse and practice of globalization in general takes center stage in discourses and practices that I see evolving in Africa.

From colonialism to development and globalization, the West has mounted persistent (and sometimes wrongheaded) insurgencies against the "weird regimes" that make up the "unacceptable" cultures in many parts of the so-called third world. Using the "weird regimes" as justification for demoting the practitioners of the cultures below human level, the West argues that to exorcise these subhumans of their "weird regimes" will rehumanize them and lead them to the gates of civilization. Arrogating to themselves the moral responsibility to intervene to rescue women victims from the "weird regimes," Western feminists have brought to the fore intense debates about the conception of good, social justice, and moral responsibility from which, unfortunately, the humanity of those to be rescued is relegated to the background. Susan Moller Okin's (1999) essay on polygamy among African immigrants in France is instructive. Okin's essay speaks eloquently to the conflicts among liberalism, multiculturalism, and feminism. She argues for a liberal democracy's obligation to intervene in resolving these conflicts, particularly in the so-called minority cultures that are not responsive to women's rights. However, speaking for universalist intervention, the essay rests primarily on the following assertion by Okin: "In the late 1980s, for example, a sharp public controversy erupted in France about whether Magrébin girls could attend school wearing the traditional Muslim head scarves regarded as proper attire for postpubescent young women. . . . At the very same time, however, the public was virtually silent about a problem of vastly greater importance to many French Arab and African immigrant women: polygamy" (1999, 9; my emphasis). But those of us who have worked on/with African immigrant communities in France know full well that for them, the problems of "vastly greater importance" are le racisme (racism) and le chômage (unemployment). La polygamie (polygamy) comes a distant third or even further down the line. Okin blames polygamy for the conjugal conflicts debilitating African immigrant families huddled in inadequate living space.12 We must not forget that numerous monogamous African immigrant families are also faced with the same problem of inadequacy of

¹² If adequate living space is the key to harmonious marriages, the divorce rate in Beverly Hills (with its numerous mansions) would be one of the lowest in the world!

living space. Because families always want the best for themselves, one can argue that African immigrant families (monogamous and polygamous) share inadequate living space because that is what they can afford. It seems to me that one should be making an economic argument in this instance. But Okin's essay jumps from Muslim scarves to polygamy (so-called symbols of religious and cultural oppression for which the West is not responsible), bypassing racism (in which the West is implicated) in order to clear the terrain for debates about African and Muslim cultures, cultural relativism, multiculturalism, universalism, and moral responsibility on the one hand and endless assertions about "minority cultures" (read non-Western cultures) and "majority cultures" (read Western cultures) on the other hand. Many top scholars joined the debate to produce a book of the same title without any serious attempt made to interrogate the fundamental assertion on which Okin's essay rests. When wrongheaded immigration policies and practices join forces with racism to produce an underclass of poor, unemployed immigrant families, we blame their culture (polygamy) instead of their socioeconomic predicament!¹³ Should not the moral outrage of the universalist interventionists be equally directed at what ails the immigrants—racism and unemployment?

But when do certain acts become "culture"? Spousal murders (by shooting, stabbing, lethal injection, running over by car, etc.) are rampant in the United States and are often described by Americans as "crimes of passion." More women are raped in the United States than in most African countries, but Americans describe the problem as "violence against women," not "culture." As of March 2003, 171 countries (about 90 percent of the members of the United Nations) are party to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the United States is one of the few countries that has not ratified the convention. One wonders why attendees at UN conferences (from Nairobi to Beijing) had not been mobilized to help American women address the U.S. nonratification of CEDAW at the same time they are mobilized to discuss polygamy, child marriage, and so forth. Do "third-world" women have the moral responsibility to intervene on behalf of oppressed females of the United States? Can "thirdworld" women be enlisted or be allowed to invite themselves to exercise

¹⁸ The situation of African immigrants in France is much more complex than the cultural explanation that is advanced here. Using the "my culture made me do it" mantra to frame and explain the predicament of "third-world" peoples is no longer tenable. Not surprisingly, one of the essays in the volume carries this mantra as its title.

this moral obligation? Women in many parts of the "third world" object to the idea of a unidirectional intervention. Interventions should be allowed to cross and recross borders in the spirit of true "global feminism."

Often, the interventions (moral and otherwise) are not aimed at saving the "victims" but rather at transforming them in the image of the interventionists, as Mark Beach's narrative of the "impossibility" of taking an "individual" photograph in a village (Piela) in Burkina Faso demonstrates. Beach, an American photographer from Pennsylvania, traveled to Burkina Faso to take "individual" pictures for a photographic project titled *Dreams of Our Neighbors*, commissioned by the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in 1995. However, things did not quite work out when the time came for him to take "individual" photographs of Sibdou Ouada, a pediatric nurse and the wife of a local pastor, who was never asked if she liked posing for "individual" photographs:

When the moment to photograph finally arrived I asked Sibdou to stand where the natural, ambient light was particularly attractive. Sibdou agreed; then promptly called her four children, the twins and an older son and daughter, to surround her. As I wanted only Sibdou in the photo, I was faced with a problem. As a compromise I made several images of the family, and a few with children in the background as I plotted the next location where I might succeed in making the individual portrait. Sibdou agreed to stand in the doorway of her porch for the next series of images. I asked that only she be in the photo. She smiled and promptly called for her children to stand around her. In a foolish effort to isolate Sibdou in the frame, I moved my camera slightly, hoping I could crop the children out when I printed the photograph in the darkroom. As the camera moved, Sibdou and the children all moved in tandem. First one way, then back the other. Sibdou finally placed the twins in front of her. I was defeated. Perhaps it was the dry heat of Burkina Faso, or the long days making photographs and interviewing, but I finally understood that a photograph of Sibdou meant a photograph of her family. There was no distinction. Sibdou knew this. She was only waiting for me to understand it as well. When I finally did make two images of Sibdou alone, they were lonely images. Sibdou stood uncomfortably in front of the camera. (Beach 1995, 1-2)

Two pertinent issues arise in this encounter between Mark Beach (the

center) and a woman in a far-flung village in Africa, Sibdou Ouada (the marginal). First, in collision are, on the one hand, Sibdou's notion of self, identity, and place in the scheme of things, and on the other hand Beach's desire to remake Sibdou according to his perception of being individual, standing alone, having a personal space. Second, the reporting of the event claims that Beach learned about individualism while photographing a nurse in West Africa. But that is not what this story taught Beach. He was the one teaching Sibdou individualism, and Sibdou in turn taught him community, alliance, connectedness. To say that Beach learned individualism is to confirm what we know already—that imperialists and colonialists never learn from the colonized: they teach them. They do not ask questions; they manufacture answers in search of questions. Border crossing has its dangers, its seduction, its unpredictability, its humbling moments, but it also has its enriching rewards. Border crossing entails learning about the "other," but more importantly, it should also entail learning from the other. Learning about is a gesture that is often tinged with arrogance and an air of superiority; learning from requires a high dose of humility tinged with civility. Learning about often produces arrogant interrogators; learning from requires humble listeners.

Culture, as an arena of political and ideological struggle, needs constant and close scrutiny to separate reality from invention or trace invention's transformation into reality. Culture is dynamic in the sense that it derives its meanings, evolution, and reformulation from people's encounter with and negotiations in it in the context of historical imperatives. The validity of clear lines drawn between cultures is seriously tested, particularly in this age of globalization. Christopher Miller's observation that "cultures, nations, and spheres like 'the West' do not exist in isolation" (1993, 216) but in constant contact with other spheres for millennia is supported by James Clifford's eloquent articulation of how "cultural poesis and politics" participate in the "constant reconstitution of selves and others through specific exclusions, conventions, and discursive practices" (1986, 24). In writing about cultures, ethnographers also write cultures; by revealing, explaining, and ascribing meaning to cultures, ethnographers create cultures: "As a professional discourse that elaborates on the meaning of culture in order to account for, explain, and understand cultural difference, anthropology ends up also constructing, producing, and maintaining difference. Anthropological discourse helps give cultural difference (and the separation between groups of people that it implies) the air of the self-evident" (Abu-Lughod 1993,

12). Lila Abu-Lughod proposes that a mitigated reification of culture could be accomplished through "writing against culture" that focuses on the interconnections between the positionality of the researcher and the researched and a move away from collective subjects to the "ethnographies of the particular." Development discourse and practice stand to gain from the development of the particular. Until development assumes an individual, human face instead of the anonymity of the collective (the poor, the needy), it will remain an unrealizable goal in the "third world."

The goal will be accomplished through an honest effort to humanize development processes and not assume that economic growth guarantees development. The truth of the matter is that people in need are complex beings like most other people are—they eat, work, love, shop, dance, laugh, cry, go for walks, hug their children, and so forth. To strip them of their complexity is to deny them their humanity. Propelled by humanistic considerations, philanthropic organizations and development agencies, well intentioned for the most part, dehumanize in their attempt to humanize. As I have argued elsewhere (Nnaemeka 1997), culture should not be dismissed as a negative or neutral factor in development; rather, attempts should be made to find out in what ways culture is a positive force that can serve development well. As Aung San Suu Kyi forcefully argues, man should not be an economic tool for development: "When economics is regarded as the most important key to every lock of every door it is only natural that the worth of man should come to be decided largely, even wholly, by his effectiveness as an economic tool. This is at variance with the vision of a world where economic, political, and social institutions work to serve man instead of the other way round; where culture and development coalesce to create an environment in which human potential can be realized to the full" (1995, 13). In the past few decades, the development process in Africa has been marred by the blind spots in its conceptualization and the shortcomings in its articulation and implementation. The development process, as it is engineered from the outside and "above," has dragged Africans along while leaving behind African ideals of humanity, responsibility, compromise, and true partnership at the heart of democratic values that would have smoothed the rough edges of the so-called development in theory and practice. It is to the question of building on the indigenous in development processes that I now turn.

¹⁴ See Abu-Lughod 1991, 149-57

African medi(t)ations: Nego-feminism, building on the indigenous, and (re)claiming the third space

When something stands, something stands beside it.

—Igbo proverb

A person is a person because of other peoplel
—Sotho proverb

One head cannot go into counsel.

—Ashanti proverb

The sky is vast enough for all birds to fly without colliding.

—Yoruba proverb

Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. . . . In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper."

—Michel de Certeau 1984, 117

In documenting the features of African feminism, I noted elsewhere that "to meaningfully explain the phenomenon called African feminism, it is not to Western feminism but rather to the African environment that one must refer. African feminism is not reactive; it is proactive. It has a life of its own that is rooted in the African environment. Its uniqueness emanates from the cultural and philosophical specificity of its provenance" (Nnaemeka 1998a, 9). Armed with the knowledge of the African worldview as inscribed in proverbs (see above) and enriched by many years of collaboration with Africa-based scholars and activists in development processes and social movements, I will attempt here to use the African scholars/activists' practices to formulate and name a framework that describes their engagement as it is rooted in the indigenous. I argue that African feminist theory should be built on the indigenous in the same way that Claude Ake argues that for development to make some progress in Africa, greater attention must be paid to "building on the indigenous":

We cannot significantly advance the development of Africa unless we take African societies seriously as they are, not as they ought to be or even as they might be; that sustainable development cannot occur unless we build on the indigenous. Now, what is the indigenous and how might we build on it? The indigenous is not the

traditional, there is no fossilized existence of the African past available for us to fall back on, only new totalities however hybrid which change with each passing day. The indigenous refers to whatever the people consider important to their lives, whatever they regard as an authentic expression of themselves. We build on the indigenous by making it determine the form and content of development strategy, by ensuring that developmental change accommodates itself to these things, be they values, interests, aspirations and or social institutions which are important in the life of the people. (1988, 19)

The distinction Ake makes between the traditional and the indigenous is an important one because it frees us from the reified notion of culture as it is evoked by "tradition" to clear the space for the functioning of the now and then, and the here and there—a dynamic, evolving hybrid of different histories and geographies. Building on the indigenous creates the feeling of ownership that opens the door to a participative, democratic process where stakeholders' imagination, values, and worldviews are taken into account while mitigating stakeholders' alienation, which could result from the invalidation of their worldviews and values.

In my view, the work of women in Africa is located at the boundary where the academy meets what lies beyond it, a third space where the immediacy of lived experience gives form to theory, allows the simultaneous gesture of theorizing practice and practicing theory, and anticipates the mediation of policy, thereby disrupting the notion of the academy and activism as stable sites. My choice of space over place or location in mapping what I call the third space is informed by the distinction Achille Mbembe makes between place and territory in his essay on boundaries, territoriality, and sovereignty in Africa. In mapping his arguments, Mbembe acknowledges Michel de Certeau's work on spaciality, L'invention du quotidien (The Practice of Everyday Life): "A place, as Michel de Certeau points out, is an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies a stability. As for a territory, it is fundamentally an intersection of moving bodies. It is defined essentially by the set of movements that take place within it. Seen in this way, it is a set of possibilities that historically situated actors constantly resist or realize" (Mbembe 2000, 261). In my view space presents an expansive notion of terrain that allows for the interplay of resistances and realizations at the heart of the border and critical engagement I call nego-feminismthe brand of feminism that I see unfolding in Africa.

But what is nego-feminism? First, nego-feminism is the feminism of negotiation; second, nego-feminism stands for "no ego" feminism. In the foundation of shared values in many African cultures are the principles of

negotiation, give and take, compromise, and balance. Here, negotiation has the double meaning of "give and take/exchange" and "cope with successfully/go around." African feminism (or feminism as I have seen it practiced in Africa) challenges through negotiations and compromise. It knows when, where, and how to detonate patriarchal land mines; it also knows when, where, and how to go around patriarchal land mines. In other words, it knows when, where, and how to negotiate with or negotiate around patriarchy in different contexts. For African women, feminism is an act that evokes the dynamism and shifts of a process as opposed to the stability and reification of a construct, a framework. My use of space—the third space provides the terrain for the unfolding of the dynamic process. Furthermore, nego-feminism is structured by cultural imperatives and modulated by evershifting local and global exigencies. The theology of nearness grounded in the indigenous installs feminism in Africa as a performance and an altruistic act. 15 African women do feminism; feminism is what they do for themselves and for others.16 The rest of this section will examine how African women have negotiated disciplinary and pedagogical spaces and also address issues in gender, language, and practice.

The women's studies classroom in the West (in the United States, specifically) functions in a feminized (all/almost-all-female) environment as opposed to the gendered (a healthy mix of women and men) context operative in women's studies classrooms and conferences in Africa.¹⁷ A homogeneous (in terms of sex, at least) classroom that is anesthetized by the comfort of the familiar/"home" needs the "foreignness" that challenges and promotes self-examination; it needs the different, the out of the ordinary, that defamiliarizes as it promotes the multiple perspectives and challenges rooted in heterogeneity.

¹⁸ Take, e.g., the Igbo proverb, *ifs kwala*, *ifs akwadebis*/when something stands, something stands beside it. Sibdou Ouda's action during the "photo-ahoot" (i.e., beckoning her children to stand beside her) is a vivid enactment of this proverb.

¹⁶ See Nmaemeka 1998a, 5. Also see n 2 above where one of the African participants interjected "tell her [Nussbaum] that's not what we came here to da." An African participant made a similar remark when the fight for supremacy erupted among feminists, womanists, and Africana womanists at the first Women in Africa and the African Diaspora (WAAD) conference (see Nnaemeka 1998a, 31, n. 3)

¹⁷ At the first international WAAD conference I organized in Naukka, Nigena, in 1992, about 30 percent of the participants were male. About the same percentage attended the third WAAD conference in Madagascar. The Women's World conference held in Kampala, Uganda, in 2002 also attracted many male participants/presenters. At the first WAAD conference, some foreign participants complained about the presence of men (see Ninsemeka 1998b, 363–64). I heard the same complaint from the same constituency at the Kampala conference in 2002

An examination of the difference between the development of women's studies as a discipline in Africa and in the West (the United States, for example) is useful in addressing the issues of negotiation and social utility of scholarship I raised above. An example will suffice. The inauguration and development of the Women's Studies Department at Makerere University, Uganda, are due to a combination of internal and external forces on the one hand, the global women's movement and the international development community and, on the other hand, the individual and collective efforts of Ugandan academics and activists as well as local NGOs such as the Action for Development (ACFODE) and the Ugandan Association of University Women (UAUW). Sensitive to diverse (national, regional, and international) perspectives on women's issues, the Makerere University committee charged with drawing up the curriculum for the program invited the participation of experts from Zambia, Zimbabwe, and the United States. From its inception in 1990—with five faculty members and thirteen master's degree students—to 1995, the department had enrolled in the M.A. program fifty-four students, six of whom were male. The program of study includes four semesters of course work followed by field research and submission of a thesis (Mwaka 1996).

The program at Makerere is initiated and sustained by a strong sense of the social utility of scholarship and the need for inclusion (particularly in terms of gender), and these considerations account for the differences between this program and programs in the United States. More importantly, women's studies programs in the United States do not begin as graduate programs; usually, they start as non-degree-awarding interdisciplinary programs before acquiring the "department" status that allows them to award a bachelor's degree and subsequently graduate degrees. The Women's Studies Department at Makerere started with an M.A. program due to its mission of linking academic work to policy, advocacy, and other development enterprises. Sensitive to the social utility of academic work, the program sought to produce personnel who would sensitize the society about gender issues, support the work of NGOs, and staff the Ministry of Gender and Community Development. In all this, gender exclusion was not thrown in as a wedge to dam meaningful collaboration between women and men. Although not all women's studies programs in Africa are modeled on the Ugandan example, they usually arc toward gender inclusiveness and social relevance.

The negotiations that are made at the level of gender and language are rooted in the indigenous as well: "African patterns of feminism can be seen as having developed within a context that views human life from a total, rather than a dichotomous and exclusive, perspective. For women,

the male is not 'the other' but part of the human same. Each gender constitutes the critical half that makes the human whole. Neither sex is totally complete in itself. Each has and needs a complement, despite the possession of unique features of its own" (Steady 1987, 8). African women's willingness and readiness to negotiate with and around men even in difficult circumstances is quite pervasive. As the Cameroonian writer, Calixthe Beyala, puts it at the beginning of her book, Lettre d'une Africaine à ses soeurs occidentales (1995), "Soyons clairs: tous les hommes ne sont pas des salauds" (Let's face it, all men are not bastards; 1995, 7). I take that to mean that some men are bastards! But let us stick with Beyala's more benevolent phrasing of the issue. Another example is also by a Francophone African woman writer, Mariama Bå of Senegal, who dedicated her fine novel, Une si longue lettre (1980), to many constituencies including "aux hommes de bonne volonté" (to men of goodwill). This, of course, excludes the bastards among them! By not casting a pall over men as a monolith, African women are more inclined to reach out and work with men in achieving set goals. Sexual politics were huge in Western feminism about two decades ago, but it would be inaccurate to suggest that the politics no longer exist; they are not passé. In my view, Western feminism has turned down the volume on sexual politics, but the residues are still a driving force. The resistance in institutions across the United States (including mine) against changing women's studies programs to gender studies programs is rooted principally in the argument that women's issues will be relegated to the back burner in a gender studies program.¹⁸ I do not see a similar argument flourishing in Africa.¹⁹ The language of feminist engagement in Africa (collaborate, negotiate, compromise) runs counter to the language of Western feminist scholarship and engagement (challenge, disrupt, deconstruct, blow apart, etc.) as exemplified in Amy Allen's excellent book on feminist theory, in which the author states that feminists are interested in "criticizing, challenging, subverting, and ultimately overturning the multiple axes of stratification affecting women" (1999, 2). African feminism challenges through negotiation, accommodation, and compromise.

Sibdou Ouada's negotiation with private spaces is indicative of African women's negotiations with everyday practice. African women working for social change build on the indigenous by defining and modulating their feminist struggle in deference to cultural and local imperatives. For ex-

Some institutions have negotiated a compromise—women's/gender studies program.

¹⁹ One of the most prominent centers in Africa (Cape Town, South Africa) for the study of women assumed the name African Gender Institute, without equivocation.

ample, when informed that some state governments had refused to implement the federal government policy of giving a housing allowance to married female public servants, Ifeyinwa Nzeako, the National President of the Nigerian National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS), rather than quarrel about the gender inequality in the allocation of fringe benefits, issued a statement pointing out that the discriminatory policy hurts women by depriving them of the benefits to provide for their children. Knowing how to negotiate cultural spaces, the NCWS leadership shifted the argument from gender equity to family well-being/children's welfare and accomplished its goals. In Burkina Faso, the practice of "je retiens/ I hold back" has helped women raise seed money for business enterprises.²⁰

Conclusion: Border crossing and the chameleon walk

They have disfigured the legacy of the sixties. . . . What I mean by the sixties legacies in traditional political terms are political activism and engagement on behalf of equality, democracy, tolerance.

-Wini Breines 1996, 114

Nego-feminism in Africa is living those legacies in theory, practice, and policy matters. African women's engagement still nurtures the compromise and hopefulness needed to build a harmonious society. As far as theory goes, Barbara Christian (1995) rightly noted that people of color theorize differently. But can feminist theory create the space for the unfolding of "different" theorizing not as an isolated engagement outside of feminist theory but as a force that can have a defamiliarizing power on feminist theory? In other words, seeing feminist theorizing through the eyes of the "other," from the "other" place, through the "other" worldwiew has the capacity to defamiliarize feminist theory as we know it and assist it not only in interrogating, understanding, and explaining the unfamiliar but also in defamiliarizing and refamiliarizing the familiar in more productive and enriching ways. Thus, the focus will be not on what feminist theory can do in terms of explicating other lives and other places but on how feminist theory is and could be constructed. In this instance,

This is a practice whereby women withhold part of their housekeeping money to build enough capital to invest in a business venture that will benefit them and their families. First, they negotiate with/around patriarchy to raise the capital, and second, they negotiate private and public spaces as they put the capital to use. Many of the women invest their money in a klock or a shop in front of their homes that allows them to be homemakers and businesswomen simultaneously.

Westerners are led across borders so that they can cross back enriched and defamiliarized and ready to see the familiar anew. How do we deal with the theorizing emanating from other epistemological centers in the so-called third world? How do we come to terms with the multiplicity of centers bound by coherence and decipherment and not disrupted perpetually by endless differences?

In view of the issues about intervention, border crossing, turfism, intersectionality, compromise, and accommodation raised in this article, I will conclude with a piece of advice from my great-uncle. On the eve of my departure for graduate studies in obodo oyibo (land of the white people), my great-uncle called me into his obi (private quarters) and sounded this note of caution. "My daughter," he said, "when you go to obodo oyibo, walk like the chameleon."21 According to my great-uncle, the chameleon is an interesting animal to watch. As it walks, it keeps its head straight but looks in different directions. It does not deviate from its goal and grows wiser through the knowledge gleaned from the different perspectives it absorbs along the way. If it sees prey, it does not jump on it immediately. First, it throws out its tongue. If nothing happens to its tongue, it moves ahead and grabs the prey. The chameleon is cautious. When the chameleon comes into a new environment, it takes the color of the environment without taking over. The chameleon adapts without imposing itself. Whatever we choose to call our feminism is our prerogative. However, in this journey that is feminist engagement, we need to walk like the chameleon—goal-oriented, cautious, accommodating, adaptable, and open to diverse views. Nego-feminists would heed the advice of my great-uncle.

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²¹ It is important to note that he did not advise me to be like the chameleon but rather to walk like the chameleon. The indeterminacy implicated in being like a chameleon is not lost to my people (Igbo) who denounce chameleonlike behavior in humans—if socks sebs, if so if its (when you see white, you turn white; when you see black, you turn black). By advising me to walk like a chameleon, my great-uncle takes the chameleon metaphor in different directions.

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The Transnationalization of Gender and Reimagining Andean Indigenous Development

n December 2002 the first Indigenous Women's Summit of the Americas was convened at the conjuncture of growing international recognition of Indian rights and the increasing visibility of indigenous female leadership.1 Organized by the Rigoberta Menchú Foundation and the Indigenous Initiative for Peace, the summit debated Indian women's empowerment in the context of globalization. At the summit, indigenous women recognized that the combination of global political economic transformations and neoliberal policies at the state level provided both challenges and opportunities for culturally appropriate development and women's leadership. Implicitly questioning the masculine interpretations of globalization, indigenous women give priority to political engagement by diverse female and male actors at a number of scales. As an Ecuadorian indigenous woman said, "We women must learn to go out into and feel comfortable in local and global spaces equally, in order to represent our peoples" (quoted in Pachamama 2000). Indian women's criticisms of world development problems and racial discrimination were clearly stated at the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, where indigenous women condemned globalization and the "New World Order" as antiwomen, antipoor, and anti-indigenous.

International meetings are an important component of transnational political networks—that is, the flows and practices undertaken by nonstate actors across scales from the local to the national, regional, and international. Transnational networks contributed to indigenous women's political political regional in the second political regional re

We wish to thank all individuals and organizations who assisted our research. In writing this article, we benefited immeasurably from comments from anonymous reviewers, the special issue editors, and the staff at the Department of Geography, Dartmouth College.

¹ Latin American racial-ethnic terminology is complex (see Weismantel 2001). Here we use the terms indigenous and Indian interchangeably.

ical organization as well as the types of development introduced into communities. Indigenous women's confident movement across scales exemplifies transnationalism not in accessing a space that transcends difference but in forging provisional networks constructed around perceived similarities and differences. Scale is thus not natural or given but refers to one or more levels of experience, organization, and representation of geographical events and processes. Key to geographers' understandings of social and spatial difference, scale is produced by power relations and socioeconomic processes, just as it in turn contributes to uneven development and social inequalities (Smith 1992; Marston 2000). As scale is produced by capitalist political economies, the creation of linkages across scales cannot erase local differences but offers the possibility of reworking the politics of scale (Smith 1992). In order to empower themselves or create new sociospatial relations, social actors may contest or challenge the politics of scale as it is played out in global and regional capitalism. Indigenous women continue to face an uphill struggle to make their voices heard in development policy and global arenas. Transnationalism as forged by neoliberal globalization on the one hand has designed new types of development, while on the other hand it has restructured Indian communities and national societies. Neoliberal restructuring and transnationalism thus continue to differentiate between women and men and to increase inequalities between women and men.

This essay primarily offers a critique of Western and masculinist assumptions that work through development paradigms, especially the recent proindigenous development paradigm known as "ethnodevelopment." In the 1990s proindigenous development grew out of a set of global measures to establish indigenous rights to culturally appropriate development, specifically granting Indians rights in the design and implementation of local development. Women's benefits from ethnodevelopment programs are not assured, as this policy intervention assumes a homogeneous group of ethnic subjects as its main beneficiaries. Extending the analysis of the masculinist nature of globalization and development, we critique ethnodevelopment for establishing a particular "modernized patriarchy." Yet we also argue forcefully for a critique of the racial and postcolonial relations embedded in transnational development practice

² Ethnodevelopment policy aims to draw on indigenous groups' cultural and social distinctiveness to create development opportunities that combine income generation and cultural recuperation. An adapted neoliberal social development policy, ethnodevelopment targets poverty alleviation measures at ethnic groups within multicultural constitutional frameworks.

and discourse. Third-world feminists argue that development interventions are largely—if contradictorily and incompletely—premised on North-South postcolonial relations and that white/Western feminists do not speak from a position of neutrality or innocence in these debates (Mohanty 1991; Shohat 1998). To tackle questions of essentialization, we draw on poststructuralist and postcolonial perspectives about gendered people and gender discourses in which people are "en-gendered in the experiencing of race and class, as well as sexual relations, . . . [and are] therefore not unified but rather multiple" (de Lauretis 1987, 2). Indigenous women—like other women of color—are situated at the intersection of several oppressions that inform their political location (Nash and Safa 1980; Bronstein 1982; hooks 1989), a multiplicity that lies at the heart of social movements struggling against class, race, and gender inequality (Shohat 1998). In this context, our essay attempts "to enact politicalintellectual projects across differences" (Mohanty 1998, 486). To present the multiple perspectives of Andean indigenous women, men, and development agency staff, we analyze more than fifty face-to-face semistructured interviews, notes taken at indigenous confederation meetings, diverse village workshops, Indian women's writings, and the "gray literature" produced for internal circulation by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), states, and multilateral agencies.⁸

This essay aims to advance feminist debates around globalization in a number of directions. By means of a transnational perspective that takes gender into the heart of the analysis, the essay challenges the erasure of gender from grand theories of globalization, leaving gender difference as merely a local effect of globalization (Freeman 2001). Following pathbreaking work, we share the feminist view that globalization is inherently gendered and multiply produced by diverse actors in varied times and spaces and that its theorization has often been implicitly masculine. Our definition of transnationalism owes much to feminist work on globalization, which stresses the complex topographies of political-economic-social and cultural transformations at interconnected scales (the body, the national, and international) that comprise "globalization" (Katz 2001; Nagar et al. 2002; Radcliffe, Laurie, and Andolina 2002). Andean de-

³ The gender material represents part of a project utiled "Transnational Indigenous Communities in Ecuador and Bolivia," funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (L214 25 2023). More than two hundred interviews were carried out in Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, the United States, and the United Kingdom with individuals and organizations involved in ethnodevelopment and indigenous politics.

⁴ Marchand and Runyan 2000; Katz 2001; Brah et al. 2002; Nagar et al. 2002.

velopment transnationalism rises to the feminist challenge to move beyond conceptual frameworks that "implicitly construe . . . global as masculine and local as feminine" (Nagar et al. 2002, 1009). Compared with previous globalization analyses that took a decontextualized and institutional focus (see critique in Adam 2002), our essay delves through the national, local, and bodily scales to trace the impacts of new institutional initiatives such as gender mainstreaming and ethnodevelopment.

In contrast to globalization studies, the development literature is relatively attuned to gender (Adam 2002). However, the meanings of gender, the feminist understanding of empowerment, and postcolonial critiques of Western hegemony are by no means fixed in the development field. What "pro-women" frameworks in development might comprise are defined differently by development institutions, gender and development experts, and multiply positioned women and men around the world. Mainstream Western approaches such as gender and development (GAD) provide a framework that challenges masculine privilege and a notion of female empowerment, but they often deploy the category "woman" uncritically without accounting for culture, nation, and race. Tensions exist between a feminist critique of social structures and more utilitarian uses of a "gender" focus in development. In our view, pro-women development frameworks ideally acknowledge women as agents in development, rather than the targets of intervention by others, including women of other classes, races, or nations. Our feminist postcolonial critique thus addresses core concerns about both development and globalization.

Our essay seeks to answer two central questions. In what ways have existing policies to promote women's interests in development interacted with the new policies of proindigenous development? In what ways have the changing priorities of development in the South American republics of Ecuador and Bolivia reinforced or transformed indigenous women's marginalization? As ethnodevelopment owes much to neoliberal social development policy that drew on development experiments in the highland Andean mountainous area, our focus is on Andean Indians, whose situation is distinct to that of the smaller Amazonian and coastal indigenous populations. Transnational ethnodevelopment policy and gender politics are embedded in neoliberal restructuring driven by key global institutions, together with postcolonial and national (Andean) racial hierarchies, which are variously challenged by the politics of indigenous social movements, women's networks, and diverse practices of development that work across—and within—scales. Through the production of scale and development policy, different social actors-defined by their institutional location, gender, race-ethnicity, nationality, and locationmake ethnodevelopment projects work with—or without—gender policy in crosscutting ways, transforming divisions between women and men, and among women.

Situating Andean Indigenous women: Gender and ethnicity across scales

Gender ideologies and practices, crosscut by race, class, and sexuality, are constructed at several scales from the local-regional (e.g., the Andes) through the national and international. At each scale, institutions and gender discourses differentiate between women (and between women and men) in varying ways, encompassing what Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan call the "scattered hegemonies of global economic structures, patriarchal nationalism, local structures of domination and legal-juridical oppression on multiple levels" (Grewal and Kaplan 1994, 17). Andean indigenous women thus experience gender ideologies and practices that originate at a number of distinct scales and that radically multiply their experiences and discourses.

Among many Andean indigenous people, male and female roles are cosmologically complementary, expressed in the dyad of the married couple. Yet uneven capitalist development and the marginalization of peasant and indigenous livelihoods contribute to highland indigenous households' reliance on a strategic combination of subsistence and market agriculture, migration, and local labor and product markets to guarantee a minimum income (Bourque and Warren 1981; Phillips 1987). According to Vicenta Chuma, "Women's most specific problem is poverty. They [development experts] talk about our right to health, to mental well-being. But how are we to have this if we're worried about sending our kids to school without lunch? What will I cook? The lack of understanding in the home [between spouses] is our problem too, because there is no shared work and . . . there is violence."

Urban and rural labor markets remain highly segregated by divisions of race-ethnicity and gender, which intersect to exclude indigenous women from work opportunities (Weismantel 2001). Andean village gender divisions of labor tend to allocate women tasks within the agricultural

⁵ International refers here to actions between nation-states and by nation-states' representatives, including multilateral and global organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations

⁶ Personal face-to-face interview, Quito, May 2000. Translations from taped, transcribed interviews are by Sarah Radcliffe

cycle that are undervalued or unacknowledged by other villagers or census categories. Generalizing across geographical areas and ethnic groups, recent Ecuadorian figures suggest that although nine out of ten indigenous women work, and 80 percent are involved in agriculture, only 10 percent have paid work. More than two-thirds of indigenous women receive no payment for their work in family farms, small-scale informal sector activities, or marketing (PRODEPINE 2001). Although feminist research documents rural women's agricultural work (Phillips 1987; CESA 1993; Deere et al. 1999), village leaders, policy makers, and governments do not acknowledge such work. Such family-based and low-status jobs lack social security coverage, union rights, and access to further training. In restructuring national economies, gender divisions of labor shift as men migrate to cities and other countries in pursuit of work. "We women have most contact with the village. Sometimes men migrate [to earn money] but this money doesn't always help the household. Sometimes it's [used] to build a house [or] for men's vices. But women have to have an income [because] then the family is better off."

Although a few women manage to pursue education, the majority of Indian women lack access to literacy and the resulting life course options. Despite the extension of state rural education in the 1970s and 1980s, a combination of parents' disapproval and household poverty prevents girls from pursuing education.8 While a few Andean female leaders are trained as lawyers, teachers, or communication specialists, state budget cuts filtered through communal patriarchies continue to keep more indigenous girls than boys out of school. In Ecuador, more than half of indigenous women are illiterate, a result of extremely low levels of school attendance. Indigenous women in the Ecuadorian highlands receive just 1.4 years of schooling on average, compared with 2.4 years for indigenous men and seven years for Ecuadorian women on average (PRODEPINE 2001). Criticizing the structural adjustment cutbacks, Ecuadorian activist Josefina Lema explained, "Education is the main thing we need in our communities. We're fighting to keep the state working in education, health. We women follow [state restructuring] with anxiety [because] if these things go [into the] private [sector], we're going to be seriously screwed up."9 Consequently, Andean indigenous women are less likely than men to be

⁷ Interview, Vicenta Chuma, ECUARUNARI leader, Quito, May 2000. The "Awakening of Ecuador's Indrana" federation, ECUARUNARI, is the main Ecuadorian highland indigenous confederation, representing Quichua-speaking peoples.

Interview, Vicenta Chuma, Quito, May 2000

Interview, Josefina Lema, Quito, May 2000.

fluent in Spanish, the predominant language. In the Ecuadorian Andes, 16 percent of indigenous women are monolingual Quichua speakers (compared with 3 percent of men; PRODEPINE 2001).

Political and development arenas also remain off-limits to many indigenous women, who—unlike the handful of women who have made it to the top leadership of organizations—lack the resources of education, selfesteem, and social support networks. The majority of Andean women are silenced in village decision making by machismo and the muting of their concerns (Bourque and Warren 1981). Other women face considerable resistance from husbands when they attempt to make careers in peasant confederations, indigenous social movements, or party politics (Choque 2000, 29; Radcliffe 2002). The pattern of women's local organization to pursue development varies greatly over the Andean region, as does the insertion of a gender/feminist perspective. Whereas in some areas of Bolivia men and women organize separate federations, in Chimborazo, Ecuador, male migration has permitted women to transform their identity and organize numerous local associations. 10 In Cotocachi, Ecuador, the Committee for Local Development is one-third women yet remains resistant to gender themes.

Andean social reproduction rests crucially on women's input in raising children and maintaining values, language, and cultural identities. In the words of one female activist, "It's important to educate a woman—you educate a society, a nation." However, Andean nationalism advocates the progressive assimilation of Indians into European norms, and hence indigenous women's role as mothers and cultural guardians is perceived as problematic (Radcliffe 1996; Weismantel 2001). Domestic violence within indigenous groups generates tensions between indigenous women who resist feminist attempts to view everything in terms of gender and groups of younger Indian women who wish to deal with the issue. Stateled initiatives to provide institutional and legal support to all women experiencing violence often fail to reach rural, indigenous areas, although such initiatives arguably persuade some men that domestic violence is unacceptable. Domestic violence remains one of the most contentious

On Bolivia, interview, Genoveva Villea, leader of the Bolivian indigenous women's organization Bartolina Sua, La Paz, November 1999; on Ecuador, interview, Maria Arboleda and Gloria Camacho, Quito, May 2000.

¹¹ Interview with the FENOCIN women's team, Elena Ypaz and Vilma Suarez, Quito, May 2000 A major Ecuadorian rural organization, FENOCIN is the National Federation of Peasant, Indigenous, and Black Organizations.

¹² Interviews with indigenous female leaders and feminist activists with experience of indigenous workshops on domestic violence, Ecuador, January–May 2000

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issues for indigenous gender politics and is also coincidentally one of the themes where indigenous women draw on international initiatives to clarify their own perspective. Ecuador's FENOCIN women's team argued that, for them, the most important international agreements and laws were initiatives against violence against women taken by the United Nations and the 1995 Beijing women's meeting.¹⁸

Ethnodevelopment is an arena where Indian women contribute to women-aware critiques of globalization and was welcomed as an opportunity for indigenous decision making over development priorities and practices. However, the interests and identities of Andean indigenous women vis-à-vis development and globalization are by no means homogeneous. Interpreting the intersection of gendered and racial discourses and practices at diverse scales focuses attention on the transnational networks that promote, design, and implement proindigenous development and the ways in which these networks are gendered. We argue that gender is transnationalized as ethnodevelopment policy becomes established in the Andes through the practices and ideologies that work across scales to inform gender relationships, construct femininities and masculinities, and embody gender in the development policy field. Gender is transformed in three major ways as it goes through these processes of transnationalization. First, as policy frameworks to "mainstream" gender equity are applied globally, policy makers' views of indigenous masculinities and femininities are infused with normative expectations of gender roles, which are often at odds with Andean realities. Second, indigenous debates about gender and public-private relations "jump scale" to national and international spheres, thereby reconstituting the gender politics in indigenous politics and communities. And third, hierarchical gender relations are reproduced in development institutions at a number of scales, affecting the ways in which international agencies view and deal with indigenous masculinities and femininities.

indigenous social movements and the politics of gender

Andean social movements articulate an anticolonial ethnic identity embedded in moralities and imaginative geographies that demarcate female and male roles and places. Andean indigenous movements have successfully mobilized for collective rights and self-administered development over the past decade, a process that is crosscut by a specific gender politics. In national-level indigenous confederations—and through them in trans-

¹⁸ Interview, FENOCIN women's team, Quito, May 2000

national networks with bilateral and multilateral development agencies, NGOs, and advocacy networks—gender and ethnic discourses and practices are articulated in new directions. Before exploring international policy frameworks and ethnodevelopment projects, this section addresses the ways in which gender discourses and subjects engage in the politics of ethnic-cultural recuperation.

In searching for a modern collective identity, indigenous intellectuals highlight the distinctive ethnic characteristics of Andean women, focusing on clothing, use and transmission of languages, and residence in rural indigenous communities. As one male activist explained, "The highland women are those who most have their identity, most have their vision."14 Women, in turn, provide a cornerstone for social movements' projects to recuperate cultural identity. In ideologically diverse indigenous and rural organizations (including FENOCIN; ECUARUNARI; and the Aymara Women's Council, CDIMA, in Bolivia), women are offered a political role as leaders and cultural guardians. For example, ECUARUNARI trains female leaders to strengthen the Quichua cultural-linguistic group, since indigenous women are perceived as a "natural leadership." The federation's training school, the Escuela de Formación de Mujeres "Dolores Cacuango," trains women to "recognize their history, origin and identity" through recuperation of indigenous knowledge, community identity, and women's value (Pachamama 2000, 6). When the first students enrolled in 1998, women specialized in development administration, political organization, or identity and culture.16 By late 2001, more than three hundred women were being encouraged to tackle profound gender, ethnic, cultural, and intergenerational inequalities (ECUARUNARI 2000, 2001). Indigenous women generally welcomed leadership training and a position in ethnocultural projects.

Policy frameworks, discourses, and practices move across scales and international borders, with implications for how female and male indigenous subjects view themselves and view indigenous gender relations. Funding flows facilitate the South-South and North-South exchange of

¹⁴ Interview with indigenous staff members of Ecuador's Indigenous Council, Quito, April 2000.

¹⁸ In 1979–80, ECUARUNARI became the first Ecuadorian indigenous organization to establish a women's organization (Rodas Morales 2002).

¹⁶ Personal interviews with women leaders of ECUARUNARI, Quito, May 2000; documents including ECUARUNARI 1998, 1999. The FENOCIN program has a similar structure (interview FENOCIN women's team, Quito, May 2000). In Bolivia, the Aymara women's center CDIMA carried out training of women from the early 1990s (CDIMA 1993–94).

feminist/gender ideas and the creation of networks of nonstate actors and development practices. Until 2000, the Norwegian Development Agency funded ECUARUNARI's training school, while the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provided additional funds. ¹⁷ At a later stage, the Danish nongovernmental agency IBIS stepped in to fund female leadership training and ethnic reconstitution. Northern European bilateral agencies—for example, those of Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands—have historically advocated gender frameworks based on notions of empowerment, with strands of multicultural feminism. ¹⁸ South-South exchanges can also influence ideas about gender. On an exchange program in Bolivia, five Ecuadorian Indian women and men talked constantly about women's role, to the surprise of their hosts and transnational donors. ¹⁹

By multiplying the number of gender ideologies and practices, transnational circuits permit varied engagements in the "gender question." In some situations, indigenous women stress anticolonialism, regarding gender inequality as a Western cultural imposition (Seminario de Mujeres Indígenas 1992). According to a ECUARUNARI leader, "gender is something that is imposed [by the West]. . . . For us, men and women together we have done a lot, carried out our Uprisings."20 Similar viewpoints are sometimes found among state functionaries (cf. Laurie and Calla forthcoming). A senior Bolivian civil servant with responsibility for gender and ethnic affairs said, "In theory, the themes of gender and indigenous issues have [a lot] in common, I would say, being the result of a structure of domination."21 In this vein, some Andeans are highly skeptical of international efforts on behalf of indigenous women. "We haven't got a specific plan for indigenous women. Look at Beijing +5, [government] reports for 1995-2000. . . . But in practice we indigenous women have nothing."22

¹⁷ Interview with ECUARUNARI female leader, Quito, May 2000; also IBIS-ECU-ARUNARI 1999 and Pachamama 2000.

¹⁸ Interviews, Gloria Davila, senior Dutch cooperation staffer, and Maria Arboleda and Gloria Camacho, gender consultants, Quito, May 2000.

¹⁹ Interview, Oxfam America staff, Lima, 1999.

²⁶ Interview, Vicenta Chuma, ECUARUNARI leader, Quito, May 2000. Uprisings refer to nationwide protests against neoliberal reforms and political corruption over the past decade.

²¹ Interview, Luz Maria Calvo, former subsecretary to the Bolivian Subsecretariat of Ethnic, Gender, and Generational Affairs, La Paz, November 1999.

²² Interview, Vicenta Chuma, ECUARUNARI leader, Quito, May 2000. The phrase *Briting* +5 refers to an international women's meeting held in New York in 2000.

Prioritizing women's leadership skills and training, however, represents a welcome change for many indigenous women. Women stress the diversity of opinion and experience gained if an organization includes more women. As one ECUARUNARI school graduate notes, the aim of indigenous women is to strengthen Indian organizations and to motivate women to engage politically (Pachamama 2000). Crucially, indigenous women view training programs as an opportunity to express their development priorities and ensure project implementation. Andean women criticize projects that ignore women or that assign them small-scale activities within a "generic" project. Men have been able to get projects by claiming that they work with women. Men, not women, have known how to administer these projects. And because of this, many of these projects have failed."

Andean social movements' projects for cultural strengthening and development express a highly gendered discourse and practice in which women play a key role. Practices to promote women's participation combine Western policies to advocate women's empowerment and Andean notions of women's cultural role. Transnational networks and flows intersecting with Indian movements create heterogeneous gender discourses in the heart of ethnic-racial movements (Shohat 1998). Andean—public and private—gender relations are thus not made solely at the village level but also by actors, funds, and ideas crossing scales (cf. Hyndman 2001). However, whereas Andean society and development build on clear female and male activities and identities, indigenous movements during the last years of the twentieth century spent more time discussing female leadership than different types of masculinity in Andean society.

Gender and neoliberal development: From the international to the local?

At the international scale, policy frameworks for the design and implementation of gender- and ethnic-aware development contribute to the transnationalization of gender. The "globalization" of (Western/Northern) gender policy thinking is not new, but the policies making the most impact on recent proindigenous development include new paradigms of gender main-

²³ Interview, FENOCIN women's team, Quito, May 2000.

²⁴ Interview, Gloria Davila, staff, Dutch cooperation agency, Quito, May 2000

²⁶ Interview, Vicenta Chuma, ECUARUNARI leader, Quito, May 2000.

streaming and social capital.²⁶ These two approaches currently dominate gender policy adopted by multilateral agencies and NGOs, including agencies introducing ethnodevelopment. Using feminist and critical development approaches, this section analyzes the discourses and actions of development agencies in order to examine the institutional gender practices and ideologies that in turn inform ethnodevelopment.

Adopted as official UN policy within a year of the Beijing conference mandate, gender mainstreaming has gone global, often bypassing its feminist origins. Mainstreaming gender has become established institutionally through national bodies that, in neoliberal times, attempt to provide guidelines on women's incorporation into the market and new forms of citizenship, thus establishing a basis for "adjustment with a human face." For the UN Development Program, a gender mainstreaming policy means "taking account of gender concerns in policy, programs, administrative and financial activities and organizational procedures" (Kimmel 2000). Gender mainstreaming attempts to ensure that gender issues are considered across all sectors of the state and NGOs, although men tend to remain "unmarked," so gender is reduced to "women" and in turn is unmarked by ethnicity, race, or nation. During the past decade, more than one hundred countries worldwide established state-level bureaucracies to mainstream gender issues in public policy, providing an exception to the neoliberal "rollback" of the state (Radcliffe 1999; True and Mintrom 2001). Compared with other Latin American countries, Ecuador and Bolivia saw low-level gender mainstreaming mechanisms established (True and Mintrom 2001, 32). Gender mainstreaming was also widely endorsed by bilateral and multilateral agencies, as Swedish, Dutch, and Norwegian funds built up gender mainstreaming activities in the World Bank (Siddarth 1995). Certain national-level actors thereby shape the "international" scale. In the Dutch development agency, all staff have to attend training on gender mainstreaming and empowerment. Northern nation-states also influence gender policy at local-regional scales by funding Southern NGOs and civil society organizations such as indigenous federations, although here institutions are more variable in their take-up of gender mainstreaming. For example, Swedish and Dutch agencies worked alongside some but not all—Ecuadorian indigenous and peasant federations. At the in-

²⁶ Little has been written on these approaches, but we build on the important work done by True and Mintrom 2001 and Molyneux 2002. For feminist critiques of neoliberal approaches, see Kabeer 1994 and Parpart 1995; on the transmational mobility of gender and development theory, see a preliminary discussion in Moghadam 2000.

ternational scale, gender mainstreaming is expected to be compatible with other policy priorities such as poverty alleviation or ethnodevelopment.²⁷

In neoliberal social development, male-female difference—gender—is inserted transversally into policy, making project managers and beneficiaries aware of gender's significance alongside other aspects of social difference. Development beneficiaries are theoretically seen in terms of their gender, ethnic, and generational characteristics, in order to move away from essentialized "women in development." Institutionally, gender and indigenous affairs offices are often separate, hampering transversal practice. The World Bank in Washington allocates separate offices to gender issues-including gender/ethnicity-and the ethnodevelopment group. International frameworks, moreover, do not easily move across scales into the national context. In the Andes, dynamic and multicultural gender relations are reduced into rigid "social types." Bolivia attempted a transversal gender policy, adopting the model of the German Development Agency in its Secretariat for Ethnic, Gender, and Generational Affairs. Despite the best efforts of committed feminists, the secretariat reduced its target beneficiaries to two separate categories of "Indians" and "women." By combining national racial stereotypes with international frameworks for targeting beneficiaries, the Bolivian secretariat pursued race-blind gender awareness and a nonfeminist ethnic policy (Paulson and Calla 2000a, 2000b).29 Gender is transnationalized by the global application of gender mainstreaming that replicates a dualistic, race-blind view of gender relations; we discuss this point below in relation to Ecuador's ethnodevelopment policy, after considering the social capital approach that also informs ethnodevelopment (Radcliffe, Laurie, and Andolina forthcoming).

Although it does not deal explicitly with gender, the social capital framework "encodes normative assumptions about women" (Molyneux 2002, 177). In social capital thinking, women are central to forms of social capital that are mobilized for development, but communities are idealized with a conservative focus on the family, presuming that women's productive and reproductive work is "traditionally" available (Molyneux 2002). In ethnodevelopment, where social capital frameworks are widely used, tradition and a normative gender division of labor feature strongly. While men are largely unmarked, indigenous women are viewed in terms

²⁷ Interviews with World Bank staff, Washington, D.C., March 2000.

Despite the significance of income differentials and class, transversal approaches tend not to incorporate class variables, cf. Nash and Safa 1980.

Interview, Luz Maria Calvo, La Paz, November 1999.

of domestic and reproductive tasks. According to a multilateral report, "like women in the rest of the world, indigenous women tend to give more attention and priority to the daily needs of the family" (Enclada, García, and Ivarsdotter 1999, 8), while a private German foundation views Indian women as mothers (Fundación Hanns Seidel 1997). Moreover, ethnodevelopment attributes women's residence in rural areas to "Andean culture," not to female productive activities, and Indian women's work in urban labor and product markets is unacknowledged. While many Andeans are strongly committed to these activities, such policy tends to regard women as unchanging and "traditional."30 Although not falling into the trap of seeing culture as the reason for women's oppression, social capital models tend to view gender relations in terms of a tradition/ modernity duality.31 Associating indigenous women with tradition reproduces a problematic equivalence between third-world women and "tradition" in the gender and development literature, long critiqued by postcolonial writers (Mohanty 1991). Andean women argue for a political, market-oriented, and identity-based set of activities in their vision of an integrated sustainable development. Social capital approaches, moreover, perpetuate the analytical exclusion of men's role in social-reproduction of indigenous social capital and cultural forms and practices. We now analyze these aspects in the context of Andean ethnodevelopment, focusing particularly on Ecuador's ethnodevelopment project.

Ethnodevelopment policy and the transnationalization of gender

Analyzing how gender issues are brought into ethnodevelopment, in this section we argue that feminist accounts of global restructuring need to be attuned to the multiscalar production of "global" policy frameworks and "local" projects, and the ways in which action across scales can further pro-women action in a number of institutional settings. Gender analysis is incorporated into ethnodevelopment policy in a number of ways, depending on the actors and institutions involved. Some agencies perceive women as one of the target groups for proindigenous policy. In its general policy statements, the Inter-American Development Bank designates indigenous women as one of the groups to be engaged in participatory mechanisms, along with youth and elders (Deruyttere 1997, 15). Among

Interview with senior staff at Oxfam America, Lima, 2000; Enclada, García, and Ivarsdotter 1999, 8.

³¹ On the relationship between culture, development, and women's position, see Nussbaum and Glover 1995 and Chua, Bhavnani, and Foran 2000.

thirteen grassroots ethnodevelopment experiments from across Latin America, women are mentioned rarely and then solely as producers, sporadic leaders, illiterates, and for their clothing (Atkins and Rey-Maqueira 1996; Carrasco, Iturralde, and Uquillas 1999). In practice, the majority of Latin American ethnodevelopment projects started up without a gender policy framework, and they did not view gender as a significant social division, thereby postponing pro-women policies in favor of proindigenous policies. Women as a specific beneficiary group were "added in" to existing ethnodevelopment projects only after multiscalar action by indigenous women, agency staff, and certain state actors.

The World Bank added gender into preexisting indigenous policy despite clear institutional guidelines that theoretically would have required attention to gender issues at the initial planning stage. Ethnodevelopment policy makers tend to adopt a masculinist perspective that gender is "additional" to antipoverty measures for indigenous people. According to a male ethnodevelopment expert, "it's not easy to incorporate gender into indigenous organizations as it's outside their area of concern; it's more important in the Western world." In Central America and Mexico, projects were designed without the bank's current policy on gender relations and inequalities in development. 38 During the 1990s, local activists, development agencies, monitoring organizations, and feminist staff (male and female) demanded a gender perspective on ethnodevelopment. The bank subsequently appointed a half-time post in gender and indigenous issues to deal with issues falling outside "mainstream projects" in which indigenous women are among the beneficiaries of education or land-titling projects. After this appointment, ethnodevelopment projects attempted to insert gender concerns at the planning stage. To reverse previous policy in Central America, participatory planning aimed to capture indigenous women's concerns and establish a clear gender policy.34

In practice, gender elements in ethnodevelopment have been constituted at the level of local projects—experiences that are then fed back to central multilateral offices. That is, there are no clear "global-to-local" command lines or North-South policy flows, a point illustrated by Ecuador's Development Project for Indigenous and Black Peoples (Proyecto de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros de Ecuador, or PRO-DEPINE), where gender policy and practice were constituted at a number

²² Interview, World Bank ethnodevelopment specialist, Washington, D.C., March 2000.

²³ Personal communication, Washington, D.C., March 2000

³⁴ Interview, World Bank employee on gender and indigenous usines, Latin America and Caribbean region, Washington, D.C., March 2000.

of different scales. 55 The PRODEPINE officially operates a transversal gender policy.²⁶ Neither the multilateral donors nor the Ecuadorian government considered gender to be a significant theme in the project's initial formulation. Despite the bank's official commitment to gender mainstreaming, the ethnodevelopment project fell through the net. At the nation-state level, the project's overseeing body and the national women's council failed to establish a gender policy, although for very different reasons. The Development Council for Ecuador's Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples (CODENPE) admitted in 1999 that it did not have a clear definition of gender and no strong idea of its importance for indigenous development.*7 The CODENPE tends to view PRODEPINE as the technical unit that implements its own policies (PRODEPINE 2001). The National Women's Council (Consejo Nacional de Mujeres, or CON-AMU) plays a key role in defining gender and development policy and acts as interlocutor for GAD project design, yet it created no specific programs for indigenous women. 55 Staffed largely with urban women with backgrounds in feminism, CONAMU is remote from indigenous society. Moreover, CONAMU is beleaguered by a neoliberal, masculinist state (Lind forthcoming). In order to move to a framework for indigenous women's development, Indian women called for direct representation in CONAMU (Chuma 1999).

Eventually, pressure from above and below established a gender component within PRODEPINE as indigenous women, feminist agency staff, and institutional reviews together forced a gender policy into the project. Acknowledging its marginalization of gender, PRODEPINE prepared a "reflexive response" to the issue.³⁹ The World Bank indirectly placed expectations on indigenous bodies, implying that it was hypocritical for them to exclude gender disparities from their human rights agenda.⁴⁰ An Ecu-

In its first phase (1998–2002), PRODEPINE received the majority of its \$50 million funding from the World Bank. A second phase of the project was being discussed with Lucio Gutierrer's new government as we went to press.

May 2000. Interview, Galo Ramón, director, PRODEPINE, Quito, May 2000.

²⁷ A state institution, CODENPE is staffed by indigenous professionals and representatives who oversee development projects and guide proindigenous legislation through Congress.

The organization CONAMU is supported by the Inter-American Development Bank (for work on antiracism), UNIFEM (for indigenous women's training), and the World Bank (for transversal gender policy). World Bank staff personal communication and interview with local gender team, Quito, May 2000.

[&]quot; Interviews, PRODEPINE staff, Quito, January-May 2000.

⁴ Interviews, Ecuador, 2000.

adorian team working on behalf of the World Bank assessed the project and recommended mainstreaming gender into all components (PRO-DEPINE 2001). A gender specialist was appointed, and local development projects were systematically reviewed for gender inequalities, while CO-DENPE was encouraged to improve its gender balance. An experienced female political activist was appointed gender specialist, and the World Bank provided technical support, training, assistance in gender planning, and gender and generation indicators.

On the ground, PRODEPINE found it difficult to offer indigenous women a sustained role in development planning, leadership, and economic activities. It did not tackle the communal patriarchies that exclude women from village decision making. According to PRODEPINE'S gender specialist, "the local development projects are not as participatory as one thinks. Women who participated in the projects . . . did not have a voice when defining the project's implementation."41 In the future, women are to be trained as local and regional leaders, but no specific programs are yet in place. By contrast, where the project disbursed central funds, women made gains in the allocation of study grants and microcredit schemes. Several hundred women received educational grants for diverse courses, while more than 540 credit unions benefited approximately fourteen thousand women (Uquillas 2002), although the budgets were considerably less than those for grassroots productive projects.42 In PRO-DEPINE-funded local projects, indigenous women and development agents had neither guidelines nor support networks for challenging communal patriarchies to permit women's greater access to resources for production. The project's gender specialist argued that "in the future, the local projects have to define spaces for women to have effective participation in decisionmaking."

Despite international guidelines on transversal development policy, national-level institutions for gender mainstreaming, and indigenous policies for female participation, ethnodevelopment has not grappled with gender difference within indigenous populations and hence has had only patchy benefits for indigenous women. While PRODEPINE designated women as beneficiaries of microcredit and education, the wider complex of gender relations (such as communal patriarchies, agencies' normative expectations

⁴¹ Interview, Cecilia Velasque, Quito, September 2000.

⁴³ Six hundred and forty-eight local development projects received more than US\$10 million. Regarding study grants, a private German foundation gave thirty-five scholarships to women out of a total of 107 scholarships during 1997 (Fundación Hanns Seidel 1997). Interviews, PRODEPINE staff, Quito, January-May 2000.

of gender divisions of labor, and the regional variations in gendered opportunities for women and men) have not been systematically addressed. It remains to be seen how transnational political networks might transform this, taking into account indigenous women's concerns. In relation to feminist theories of globalization, ethnodevelopment suggests that development practice is not the result of clear North-South, global-to-local lines of command concerning transversal gender policy or mainstreaming. Gender policy has been made post hoc via practice in local contexts. As PRODEPINE demonstrates, gender policy guidelines are insufficient in themselves, requiring further political action to make them operational.

Indigenous women reimagine development

How do indigenous women view ethnodevelopment? This section examines how, by means of articulating a critique of globalization, neoliberal development, and specific proindigenous measures, women reimagine development. Far from being restricted to local community levels, Andean indigenous women speak knowledgeably about national legal frameworks, globalization, and international solidarity networks while finding it hard to make their voices heard in development.

During the 1990s, Andean indigenous women began to establish and build international networks. Three continental meetings of indigenous women took place in the 1990s, the first gathering together two hundred women in Quito, Ecuador (Vinding 1998). Raising themes of cultural values alongside critiques of neocolonialism and geopolitics, 110 indigenous women from twenty-six countries went to the 1995 Beijing women's meeting. The indigenous women's declaration placed gender concerns firmly in the context of racism, poverty, and political disempowerment, criticizing global scenarios—shaped by transnational corporations, a new global geopolitics, and the appropriation of indigenous knowledge-while recognizing women's sociocultural roles and their right to new forms of development (Beijing Declaration 1998). Whereas the UN draft declaration on indigenous peoples stressed women's equal rights and special female needs, the 2000 Americas conference of indigenous women addressed gender inequality. Assessing the UN Decade for Indigenous Peoples, women condemned the combination of ethnic and gender discrimination and demanded female participation in development planning (Olowaili Declaration 2000).

Andean women are engaged in a transnational production of knowledge about gender relations. Female and male participation in externally ori-

ented roles and meetings results in new encounters and gendered practice (Choque 2000). For example, indigenous women are involved in the American Continental Network of Indigenous Women (Vicenta Chuma); in the Ecuadorian Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities (CONAIE), the main Ecuadorian indigenous confederation's external affairs office (Blanca Chancoso); and as Ecuador's foreign affairs minister (Nina Pacari).43 With a deep knowledge of grassroots development problems, female leaders generally demand gender equity (not defined in feminist terms) combined with recognition of indigenous peoples' diversity (Chancoso 2000, 36). As noted by a woman at a local Andean meeting, "If it is difficult for a woman, how much more difficult is it for an indigenous or peasant woman? [However], that doesn't mean that [we indigenous women] have chosen a feminist perspective" (ECUARUNARI 1999; also Chuma 1999).44 Female indigenous leaders acknowledge the importance of new national constitutions' granting of indigenous rights. According to an Ecuadorian leader, "We have collective rights for indigenous people on the one hand . . . but we don't have anything within this collective right for indigenous women."45 Indian women also stress the need to harmonize constitutional rights with indigenous norms. For example, laws to raise female political participation need to acknowledge indigenous women's wish to represent ethnic groups and gender interests.46

Some Andean women believe that indigenous organizations' ethnocultural projects have sidelined their women's organizations. In one Bolivian rural area, Indian organizations expected women to switch from gender concerns to ethnic politics. "[Organization leaders said], 'well, here the women's offices will be closed. We are ethnic peoples now; we have to move together unified." During the 1990s, indigenous women as leaders, professionals, workshop participants, and villagers began to criticize male assumptions in indigenous society and social movements. According to one of the CONAIE senior female leaders, "It's true we haven't been able to think about being women [in the indigenous movement]. Now I'm in a fight—a debate—with [male] colleagues. They accept

⁴⁴ Interviews, Vicenta Chuma, May 2000; Nina Pacari, Quito, May 2000, Blanca Chancoso, Quito, May 2000.

⁴⁴ On Andean women's oppression in class, racial, and gender hierarchies, see Nash and Safa 1980; Bourque and Warren 1981; Bronstein 1982; and Weismantel 2001.

Interview, Victenta Chuma, May 2000.

⁴⁴ Interview, Nina Pacari, indigenous leader and national Congress member, Quito, May 2000.

Interview with community members, Bolivia, November 1999.

[gender issues] but still there's a different behavior." Indigenous women are beginning to analyze indigenous masculinities. According to an Ecuadorian woman, "indigenous representatives—our own male companions—also forget about indigenous women" (Chuma 1999, 184). Indigenous women demand a presence in decision making and participation across sectors, recognizing that access relies on comprehension and support from men (Choque 2000, 29).

Missing men? Taking Andean men into international development

Feminist accounts—and critiques of—globalization need to address the tangled racial hierarchies of masculinities in the context of global restructuring. The transnational development circuits that establish ethnodevelopment in the Andes are founded on gendered (male and female) and racialized relations through which institutions, social movement politics, and local development projects are constituted. A postcolonial feminist analysis of globalization must thus insert an understanding of gendered and racialized masculine subjects and masculine values into the heart of its understanding of the complex geographies and social realities of globalization. 40 According to Blanca Chancoso, CONAIE's external affairs spokeswoman, "When others speak of gender, they mean women, but what I understand is that . . . gender is a whole, what is male and female."50 In this section we further feminist postcolonial analyses of global restructuring by arguing that indigenous masculinities and Western masculine values in development institutions are problematically interrelated. In relation to debates around gender and global restructuring, our approach provides substantive evidence of the ways in which globalization plays on and reconstitutes differences between men and inequalities between women and men (cf. Nagar et al. 2002, 259).

Policy studies indicate that masculine values pervade the institutions and practices of development. Masculinities are paradoxically both invisible in policy and the dominant normative pattern, conferring privilege and dividends by reproducing gender hierarchies materially and ideologically (Kabeer 1994, 34–37; Parpart 1995; Kimmel 2000). Drawing on Robert Connell's work (1995), it has long been argued that hegemonic masculine

⁴⁸ Interview, Blanca Chancoso, CONAIE's external affairs spokesperson, Quito, April 2000

Work on male bias and masculinities in development includes Elson 1991, Hooper 2000b; and Kimmel 2000.

³⁰ Interview, Blanca Chancoso, Quito, April 2000.

values pervade state practices and policy formulation, while at the same time notions of female identities, nondominant masculinities, and gender relations are reworked. Patriarchal masculinities are ubiquitous in development's institutional and social settings (Kabeer 1994; Little and Jones 2000). Masculine values are expressed—depending on context—through rationality, abstraction, technical competence, disembodiment, and exclusionary behavior (Hooper 2000a, 2000b). Such masculinist values are strongly associated with the global North in its development relationships with the South and hence reappear in women in development policy and its assumptions regarding competition, proposed technical solutions of development problems, and assumptions that non-Western countries are predominantly noncapitalist (Chowdhry 1995). Despite masculinities' historical invisibility in development policy, international agencies have recently begun to focus on men. In development's constantly shifting "allocation of visibilities" (Escobar 1995, 172), men appear in violence and health issues. The Dutch development agency focuses on transformations of masculinity in Central American work.⁶¹ Early in the 1990s, the World Bank appointed gender coordinators to each major regional grouping, introducing a men-focused component in its Latin America Gender Unit (Chowdhry 1995; Escobar 1995). Viewing male issues as a "growing concern," advocates of work on and with men in development argue that men pay a high cost for traditional masculinities. 52

Although men and masculinities are increasingly taken into account in development policy, differences among men are rarely considered. While the World Bank argues that low-income men have "difficulties achieving the image and expectations of the 'real' man," awareness of racial differences among men remains limited, and the mutual constitution of masculinities and race-ethnicity is not mentioned. In relation to global ethnodevelopment policy, we argue that racialized, North/Western/white masculine values are embedded in development practice and expectations, crucially shaping the normative expectations—and policy treatment of—indigenous men and women, to the detriment of indigenous empowerment. Moreover, the invisible power of normative Western masculine values in development institutions reinforces the lack of attention toward

⁵¹ Interview, Gloria Dávila, Dutch bilateral agency staff member, Quito, May 2000

Interview, World Bank staff member, Washington, D.C., March 2000, World Bank publicity, April 1999

⁵³ World Bank publicity 1999. Lack of attention to racism is also found among critics of liberal development approaches. Although Naila Kabeer (1994) rightly focuses on the embodiment of gender, she does not extend analysis to the embodiments produced by race relations.

the complex and multifaceted interconnections between men and women as gendered and racial subjects.

Interconnections between racial and gender values are multiscalar, made locally and through international development policy. Locally, indigenous men are feminized in the racial-gender hierarchies that underpin Andean societies. Although in local parlance indigenous men are "whitened" by Spanish fluency, they are feminized in relation to the rest of society (Canessa 2002). While indigenous men may claim a patriarchal position in communities, their masculinity is less secure in encounters with other men, as "real men" are more European/whiter. In Andean small towns, indigenous men find it more difficult to ensure political legitimacy because they are seen as "less than male" (Larrea 1999). Some indigenous women are highly critical of the sexual behavior adopted by indigenous men to make themselves "more masculine."

In local development projects, Northern masculine values such as technical rationality and disembodied competence are established in interventions staffed and funded by national and international NGOs and in development institutions, including the Catholic Church. When gender policy is inserted into these projects, they become bound up in these criteria. In Ecuadorian NGOs, the gender component is often highly "technified" and is only marginally concerned with women or Indian men's empowerment (Martínez Flores 2000). Andean women feel disempowered and alienated by these criteria and competencies for successful development and seek both to challenge these ways of "doing development" and to train themselves in development administration.⁵⁴

The widespread perception of PRODEPINE as a technical implementing body for indigenous development exemplifies these processes. The project deals with impoverished indigenous people, poverty being one indicator of feminization in North-South relations, as poor people are portrayed without agency, "not real men." In identifying its beneficiary population as poor and Indian, ethnodevelopment doubly feminizes indigenous men. Male hierarchies in indigenous society are made relatively invisible as the category of "feminine passive beneficiary" is constructed in opposition to Western hegemonic masculinity. Internally, too, PRODEPINE works with a series of managerial frameworks that owe much to masculine criteria. The project's technical infrastructure—including new data management technologies and development indicators—projects

Interviews, FENOCIN women's team (Quito, May 2000), Vicenta Chuma (Quito, May 2000), Josefina Lema (Quito, May 2000), and Alicia Canavin (LaPaz, December 1999).

Western masculinist criteria for good development, enhanced by its close association with the World Bank's disembodied white masculine subjects (cf. Kondo 1999). A gender perspective was finally incorporated because of efficiency arguments, the "value-added" of this technocratic aspect (PRODEPINE 2001); critics attributed the policy change to bureaucratic and technical—not empowerment—criteria.55 The project staff—predominantly indigenous men with some indigenous women and black menwho endorse these values associate themselves with Western, masculine criteria of development. Indian and black men are thus relatively "disembodied," permitting a more secure legitimacy vis-à-vis the racial hierarchies in Ecuadorian society.66 Moreover, an ethnically unmarked masculine model of development enforces "technocratic" policy frameworks for indigenous society, which fail to question internal gender hierarchies for two reasons. First, technocratic models of development tend not to mesh well with the complex, contingent, and multiply constituted social relations of everyday life, as we discuss above. Second, male project staff tend to identify with unmarked masculinities while retaining gender privilege in indigenous society, thereby reconfiguring local, regional, and global masculinities (Kimmel 2000).57

Ethnodevelopment's inability to systematically include a gender perspective speaks, we argue, to institutionalized gender hierarchies and to the intersection of racialized masculinities. In the transnational development field, values embedded in institutions and policy assumptions continue to make masculinities—and their tangled racial hierarchies—largely invisible despite the selective visibility of men as a development category. Policy gender frameworks fail to disarticulate class-ethnicity-gender sufficiently to permit an analysis of masculinity or the power expressed in its invisibility, despite a gender mainstreaming ethos and monitoring of gender at a number of scales by bilateral and international agencies.

Interviews, Ecuadorian gender consultants, Quito, May 2000, and a Northern European bilateral development worker, Quito, May 2000.

Nevertheless, the controversy about professional wages for PRODEPINE staff indicates that their rational, professional disembodiment was not totally secure.

⁵⁷ Our material thus challenges recent theory that in such contexts, men adopt cultural fundamentalism in a backlash against a global hegemonic masculinity (Hooper 2000a, 2000b). In the Andes, many indigenous leaders have a hybrid identity blending indigenous knowledge and Andean rationality with a promarket and cosmopolitan vision of social networks.

Conclusions

The transnationalization of gender through the development circuits and social movement networks engaged in ethnodevelopment in the Andes interlinks globalization, racial difference, and gender in multiple ways. First, policy guidelines and institutions attempt to enforce "universal" women's rights but thereby deny the complex positionality of indigenous women vis-à-vis race, class, gender, and location. Gender guidelines claim global applicability, but the scattered hegemonies of Andean tradition, gender hierarchies, and national and NGO institutional frameworks, which operate at diverse-and interconnected-scales, continue to be more immediately relevant for indigenous women. Second, the transnational policy practices behind ethnodevelopment in the Andes have been strongly gendered and implicitly racialized. Social capital models work from fixed and "traditional" gender relations in poverty alleviation strategies, tending to perpetuate Western stereotypes about indigenous women's role. While indigenous participation is increasingly advocated in development and put into practice in community projects, ministerial policy, and multilateral projects, ethnodevelopment tends to view all indigenous people as equivalent, disregarding the possibility of gender differences in development priorities. Multilateral central offices, local NGO projects, and national gender agencies tend to agree about Indian women's social capital and "adding in gender" to projects. However, in contrast to multilateral agency assumptions that transversal gender policies are compatible with indigenous development, our work suggests that only with political will and multiscalar-and often contested-negotiation are prowomen and proindigenous policies integrated. This outcome results from actions—or a failure to act-at a number of scales, from the lack of international enforcement of policy guidelines to a lack of political will and institutional weaknesses at the national level, and from the gendered expectations and practices embedded in local development projects.

The Andean case suggests the utility of a postcolonial feminist transnational perspective on development policy. Substantively, our work suggests that racialized femininities and masculinities are reproduced across a number of scales, bolstered by diverse practices and normative understandings of gendered values, bodies, and attributes. Andean indigenous women are not passive observers of global/Andean restructuring; instead, they take advantage of the interstices of international meetings and communication networks to voice their demands in ever-widening spheres.

By stereotyping indigenous women and making racialized masculinities invisible, ethnodevelopment policy tends to leave in place-racialized masculine hierarchies within and beyond the Andean village. Certain mas-

culine values, associated with Western norms of efficiency and disembodiment, are deeply embedded in the institutions and practices through whose eyes priorities for proindigenous development are negotiated. Furthering feminist accounts of globalization, our examination of racialized masculinities in multiscalar policy frameworks and practice suggests that an understanding of women's experiences of global restructuring rests on an analysis of interconnected racial and gender hierarchies. Andean transnationalism involves indigenous men who are marked as feminine when they "jump scale" into international policy arenas, thereby overturning conceptions of globalization in which local equals feminine and global equals masculine. Social actors in development transnationalism are differently endowed with agency, value, and significance in the ethnodevelopment field, which in turn grounds and shapes institutions' and individuals' gender relations and discourses. Gender's transnationalization entails the engagement of multiple scales, spaces, and subjects, from the body through to the global. With a postcolonial feminist perspective that advocates making racialized masculinities visible, this article engages with the complex politics of revaluing Andean culture in the transnational development field.

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Developmental Democracy and Its Inclusions: Globalization and the Transformation of Participation

n an introduction to their influential collection Feminist Geneuologies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures, M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty suggest as a crucial feminist task the elaboration of "a working definition of feminist democracy which is anti-capitalist and centered on the project of decolonialization" (1997, xxx). Feminist theorists, they argue, must "take on the state and its exclusions" (1997, xxx). A focus on ways that women have been excluded from democratic institutions and processes has been a central mode of critique for feminists, and generating increased participation has been a primary goal. In this essay, I will argue that, in addition to focusing on exclusion, we must critically examine new forms of democratic inclusion fostered by the interacting (though not necessarily interlocking) processes of development and globalization. Through an analysis of the "New Partnership Initiative" (NPI) core report of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the platform of the India-based National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), I will explore ways in which processes of globalization alter the terms of the contestation between market-centered and more participatory models of democracy. I will suggest that, given the fact that both models propose expanded active involvement by the populace, participation may no longer be the measure by which capitalist and liberatory models of democracy can be distinguished. Rather, these models can be best differentiated by their contrasting visions of the culture underpinning democratic citizenship, namely, USAID's "entrepreneurial" culture that can support a market-centered developmental democracy and NAPM's culture of "responsibility" that can sustain a people-centered develop-

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mental democracy.¹ I will highlight aspects of NPI's framework of democratic culture that ensure its compatibility with globalized capitalism and features of NAPM's model that can potentially challenge global capitalist modernity in the way that Alexander and Mohanty would hope for. That the paradigmatic democratic citizen in both of these models is a woman indicates that a realignment of democracy's racial and sexual contracts is at stake as well. Focusing on India, I will explore the ways that these contracts are renegotiated to be compatible with the demands of globalized capitalism in initiatives such as NPI and challenged by what I will call the "resistant convergence" of contemporary movements such as NAPM.

Participation and Macpherson's "equilibrium democracy"

Contrasting opposing models of democracy is a central mode of argumentation in democratic theory. In this tradition, many theorists pit market-centered forms of democracy against more participatory forms of democracy and argue that the latter are more conducive to human flourishing.² In an influential articulation of that argument, C. B. Macpherson in *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* distinguishes between the "equilibrium democracy" of class-divided Western societies of today and a "participatory democracy" of a more just future. In the equilibrium model the polity is seen as a market in which voters are competing consumers interested in maximizing their self-interests and politicians are entrepreneurs responding to the voters' demands. This model "presents the democratic process as a system which maintains an equilibrium between the demand and supply of political goods" (Macpherson 1977, 77).

The equilibrium produced within this kind of democracy, Macpherson argues, is an "equilibrium in inequality" (1977, 86). Such a model structures both the demand and supply of political goods to maintain class inequities. In this model effective demands have the backing of money and energy; present-day wealth imbalances and hierarchies of educational and occupational opportunity make unequal the extent to which people

¹ In democratic theory the term developmental democracy is often used to connote those models of democracy that "stress the intrinsic value of political participation for the development of citizens as human beings" (Held 1996, 44). While this is true of both the USAID model and the NAPM model of developmental democracy (albelt in very different ways for each), in this essay I am primarily using the term developmental to mark these models of democracy as linked to either the elaboration or the contestation of processes and discourses of development

² See Pateman 1970; Macpherson 1977, Cohen and Rogers 1983, Barber 1984

can make effective claims (Macpherson 1977, 89). Further, the supply of political demands is limited because the political market is oligopolistic: "There are only a few sellers, a few suppliers . . . only a few political parties. . . . Where there are so few sellers, they need not and do not respond to the buyers' demands as they must do in a fully competitive system. They can set the range of goods that will be offered" (1977, 89). These limits to effective political involvement cause Macpherson to understand this model as "aligned against democratic participation" because the system ensures that those with a disadvantaged socioeconomic status will have little power to set, or force politicians to be responsive to, their political agendas (1977, 89). Indeed, Macpherson writes that such a "system of competing elites with a low level of citizen participation is required in an unequal society" (1977, 92; emphasis in original). Increasing participation will help destabilize class divisions, he argues, because "low participation and social inequity are so bound up with each other" (1977, 92).

In the following section, I will argue that the supposition that increased participation will disrupt the capitalist democratic political order that favors elites does not hold under new conditions of global capitalism. Instead, these conditions are compatible with a model of democracy that is at once market-centered and participatory. I will examine USAID's New Partnerships Initiative to show how this model introduces increased participation without disrupting the inequitable social order necessary for globalized capitalist profits.

USAID's New Partnerships Initiative

The United States Agency for International Development was founded in 1961 with the aim of fostering economic and social development in poor countries. Although from its inception the agency linked development to democracy in its rhetoric, it was not until the 1980s that "strengthening democratic institutions" (in regard to its Latin and Central America programs) became an explicit goal of the organization. In the 1990s, the agency introduced democratic governance programs in Asia and Africa as well and made "building sustainable democracy" one of its five agencywide strategic objectives. The NPI, first initiated in March 1995, was pivotal in defining USAID's approach to its democracy-building programming. Drawing on input from academic and technical specialists, the initiative advocates programs that will generate participation in local democratic institutions and in development projects. Its authors recommend that USAID build such participation by helping local government

officials, nongovernmental organization (NGO) leaders, and business people "acquire the skills, institutions, and material resources that will allow them to practice self-governance" (USAID 1995a, 5). The proponents of this initiative strive to strengthen NGOs, small businesses, and local government institutions themselves by building links between them in order to promote "the art and habit of strategic partnering at the community level" (USAID 1995b, 1). Although the initiative's architects acknowledge that this approach represents a departure from "government-to-government" aid projects, they imagine that such support to local groups will work to complement state power by extending the reach of its influence (USAID 1995a, 5).

While the NPI's emphasis on expanded participation would seem to position this project as one in support of Macpherson's "participatory democracy," the NPI approach depends on the same analogy between the market and society that Macpherson highlights as constitutive of an equilibrium democracy. The project's core report postulates that sustainable development requires building a marketlike civil society: "In the process of sustainable development, an effective and efficient civil society is as important as effective and efficient markets. Civil society organizes political participation just as markets organize economic participation in the society. Like markets, civil society conditions social behavior and helps allocate resources. In short, civil society plays the same sort of functional role in sustainable development that markets do" (USAID 1995d, 2). Given this analogy, the model of democracy outlined in NPI can be characterized as a participatory market-centered democracy. Curiously, this is the very model that Macpherson argued would be unstable because it would disrupt the class divisions that the logic of the market would require it to sustain. Attention to the changing conditions of globalized production reveals, however, that the mode of participation envisioned in NPI is not antithetical to the maintenance of capitalism. In fact, this participatory market-centered democracy incorporates a mode of participation that actually sustains the growth and extension of capitalist practices.

The NPI, project authors explain, was developed in response to new political and economic conditions in which "nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), small businesses, and local governments are attempting to fill the gaps created by economic liberalization, downsized national administrations, [and] privatization" as well as to the "'reengineering' of the way USAID does business to ensure that progress toward sustainable, measurable results is realized in the most cost effective and timely manner possible" in the face of political pressure to reduce the bureaucracy within the agency (USAID 1995a, 1). For NPI authors, the "gaps" created by

global capitalist economic and political policies in the target countries represent an opportunity in which citizens can "be empowered to take advantage of their new environment," and people themselves represent a resource that can be mobilized to participate in development projects in a way that increases the efficiency and the sustainability of donor interventions. As David Mosse notes in his analysis of the rhetoric of participatory rural development: "'Participation' no longer has the radical connotation it once had (e.g., in the radical popular movements of the 1960s). More prominent in present-day discourse are such pragmatic policy interests as 'greater productivity at lower cost,' efficient mechanisms for service delivery, or reduced recurrent and maintenance costs" (2001, 17).

As participatory approaches to development become more entrenched in USAID, the World Bank, and other donor agency interventions, it is important to understand such rhetoric not simply as a strategy to justify new ways of doing things to a skeptical audience (which might include those who prefer more traditional top-down approaches to development) but also as a shift toward new patterns of political regulation.8 In The Condition of Postmodernity, David Harvey urges us to understand changes such as these as indicative of a "transition in the regime of accumulation" to an era of flexible accumulation, one that "rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption" (1990, 121). This new mode of accumulation requires a new mode of social and political regulation, one that is itself more flexible. Harvey explains that "if labour control is fundamental to the production of profits and becomes a broader issue for the mode of regulation, so technological and organizational innovation in the regulatory system (such as the state apparatus, political systems of incorporation and representation, etc.) becomes crucial to the perpetuation of capitalism" (1990, 180). Characteristic of the new mode of political regulation is an emphasis on entrepreneurialism, an emphasis that is now prevalent "not only [in] business

³ See the collection of essays Perticipation: The New Tyranny? (Cooke and Kothari 2001) for a critical analysis of the discourses, techniques, and practices of participatory development across a number of different development agencies and projects. As several of the essays to note, it is important to distinguish critiques that are concerned with ways that the participation engendered by these practices might serve to reify existing power relations from those critiques of participation that hold that "generally experts and the state do know better, that managers of organizations and projects need freedom to act quickly to achieve results, and that people are more interested in short-term substantive livelihood improvement than participation" (Taylor 2001, 138). It is not the value of participation inself but rather the terms and conditions of such participation that is at usue in progressive appraisals of contemporary development approaches.

action but [also in] realms of life as diverse as urban governance, the growth of urban sector production [and] labour market organization" (Harvey 1990, 171).

The centrality of entrepreneurialism in NPI can be seen in its goal of engendering "initiative, innovation, entrepreneurship, rapid technology transfer, and adaptability to the development process" in local participation (USAID 1995d, 1). In this vision of democratic citizenship, the model citizen is no longer a consumer; rather, she is an entrepreneur whose active participation in political life facilitates community problem solving. The advantages of this kind of participation are measured in cost benefit terms; for example, the project authors argue that local actors can be more effective entrepreneurs than those farther away as they possess "stronger incentives for a solution, more accurate information, and lower costs in marshalling resources" (USAID 1995c, 1).

Further, as the targeted programs reveal, the citizens imagined are not just metaphorically entrepreneurial—that is, approaching political problems as they would problems of the market—they are literally entrepreneurs, small-business people whose participation in local governance helps create the "enabling environment" for success (USAID 1995e, 1). The NPI approach works to create such entrepreneurs by integrating individuals from diverse communities into the world market at the most local level. It does so by encouraging the channeling of funds to projects such as micro-credit lending and privatization schemes, projects that foster habits and goals well suited to a global market economy.

The importance of fostering entrepreneurial habits and goals in women in particular is emphasized in NPI. Its authors give top priority to allocating funds to NGOs that support women's income-generating projects and earmark resources for the establishment of a "Women's Business Network" in each country in which USAID is present. The network would be created "first on a country level, with the goal of creating future regional and global links" (USAID 1995e, 6). In this way, NPI authors envision, USAID's democracy-building projects can serve to deepen the "involvement of a broad range of stakeholders, particularly women" in market-centered development (USAID 1995f, 7). This emphasis on women is in part a reflection of the work feminists both within and outside of international aid organizations have done to put women on the development agenda. Among other concerns, however, feminists must be attentive to the ways that the representation of third-world women as potential political entrepreneurs in this document might signal a realign-

ment of the sexual and racial contracts on which democratic theory has rested.⁴ It is to this possibility that I now turn.

Reworking democracy's radial and sexual contracts

Contract is an important principle of legitimation in political theory. Theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau have argued that legitimate political sovereignty is rooted in an agreement among equals—a social contract—in which citizens exchange their natural freedom for the order and protection of the state. In their books The Sexual Contract (Paternan 1988) and The Racial Contract (Mills 1997), Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills, however, argue that not all members of the polity have been signatories to that contract; in fact, the social contract was founded on and has perpetuated the exclusion of women and people of color. According to Pateman, although the social contract disrupted the patriarchal rule of the father in political life in Western political theory, it reaffirmed the rule of their sons—the brothers—over women and thus heralded a new specifically fraternal patriarchal order (1988). Serving to ensure and organize access by men to women's bodies and labor, the sexual contract was enabled by the separation of the private and the public spheres in political theory—with women's lives firmly embedded in the private sphere—and an understanding of politics as a particularly masculine domain. Mills underscores that the fraternity that Pateman discusses is racialized participation in the public sphere has been restricted to whites through the racial contract (1997). In the racial contract, a notion of "subpersonhood" that renders people of color unfit for self-rule was elaborated to facilitate the appropriation of people of color's land and the exploitation of their labor.

Critical contract theories such as Pateman's The Sexual Contract and Mills's The Racial Contract retell contract stories in order to uncover the operative power relations in the polity and the values that justify them. As Jane Flax urges us to remember in The American Dream in Black and White, however, the terms and conditions of democracy's contracts are not static, and "a contract is a continuous process" (1998, 12). The

⁴ See the collection Feminist Pest-development Thought (Saunders 2002), e.g., for a wide-ranging and critical discussion of the historical development, the potential for efficacy, and the discursive effects of what Kriemild Saunders calls "the deepening integration and increasing legitimacy" of the focus on women in bilateral and multilateral development agency agendss (2002, 1).

incorporation of participatory approaches in capitalist democratic development practices, I believe, represents an important renegotiation of the sexual and racial contracts of liberal democracy, one in which access to women's and people of color's labor is facilitated by their inclusion in, rather than their exclusion from, capitalist democractic development processes. In order to mark this shift, I will take India as a focus and examine the intertwined trajectory of the sexual and racial contracts in modern Indian history.

Mills writes that the "colonial contract" is a crucial subsidiary of the racial contract; instead of justifying colonial expansion by force, by status, or by divine right, European colonialists justified their rule by positing tacit agreement from those in the colonies. It is the notion of a colonial contract, Mills argues, that legitimated "rule over the nations in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific" and that established the modern world as a "racial polity, globally dominated by the Europeans" (1997, 27). In the Indian context, the colonial contract envisioned by British imperialists rested on a notion of British civilizational superiority: under the terms of the contract, Britain would exchange civilizational tutelage for Indian resource extraction and political subordination. Given the centrality of gender to the establishment of colonial relations of rule, however, what Mills calls the colonial contract should more aptly be named the "colonial sexual contract." Indeed, the Indian treatment of women was taken to be a crucial marker of difference between the colonizer and the colonized, and, in the view of the imperialists, relations between the sexes was a sphere in which the colony was most in need of civilizational guidance. For example, in his History of British India ([1820] 1990), the utilitarian philosopher and historian James Mill set out to "ascertain the true state of the Hindus in the scale of civilization" with the status of women as the primary marker of civilizational progress. According to Mill, India fared quite badly on this scale; he claimed "nothing can exceed the habitual contempt which the Hindus entertain for their women," and furthermore, "a state of dependence more strict and humiliating than that which is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindus cannot easily be conceived" ([1820] 1990, 280). "Saving" women in the empire was seen to be a crucial part of the colonialists' self-perceived "white man's burden": the supposedly abject position of Hindu women, according to Uma Chakravarti, was taken to be justification for "the 'protection' and 'intervention' of the colonial state" (1989, 34).

Colonialist representations of British salvation of Indian womanhood, however, were contradictory and bounded by the exclusionary terms of the sexual and racial contracts. Indeed, when women in the colonies began

pressing for the right to vote, the limits of British concern for Indian women were exposed. In 1919, for example, Indian women's groups petitioned the Southborough Commission, the investigative body set up to consider the question of franchise in India, to extend the vote to women. The commission refused to concede to their demands, arguing in its report that to extend the franchise to women "would be out of harmony with the conservative feeling of the country . . . we are satisfied that the social conditions of India make it premature to extend the franchise to Indian women at this juncture." The report infuriated women's groups when it was published. In a collection of feminist-nationalist essays of the time, the authors argued that, in the report, the British at once sought to portray "Indian conditions [as] behind the times [and] Indian women [as] lagging behind all other women, while ensuring through legislation that women and India will remain behind the times" (Chattopadhyahya 1939, 62). British resistance to female franchise rendered their claims of women's "protection" hollow; the fact that the colonial administrators would refuse to enfranchise women exposed the contradiction at the heart of the colonial contract: colonial rule depended on, even while decrying, the subordination of women.

Attention to the ways that imperialist discourses of Indian women's salvation served as justification for the colonial contract raises concerns about the geopolitical stakes of the figuration of women as central to USAID's democracy and governance programming. What new configurations of democracy's racial and sexual contracts are enabled or enhanced if women are included as crucial "stakeholders in development" in the way that is envisioned in the NPI framework of democratic governance? If the power relations underpinning the colonial sexual contract were exposed in efforts to enfranchise women, what are the challenges that might serve to clarify the power relations at stake in regard to USAID's model of participatory market-centered democracy?

In his *Encountering Development*, Arturo Escobar situates the discursive focus on women as part of the trajectory of development as an apparatus of contemporary capitalism: "The inclusion of the peasantry was the first

Interestingly, opponents of women's suffrage in Britain used similar tactics to dissuade women in England from campaigning for the vote. For example, feminist and nationalist activist Muthulakshmi Reddi recalled in a speech that "those who worked for women's suffrage in Britain were constantly being confronted with the argument that if women were given votes in the Mother of Parliaments [Great Britain], the 'Great Dependency' [India], would lose respect for her authority" (n.d., 4). That such rhetoric was employed in order to try to persuade British women to not agitate for the vote exposes some of the racial stakes of the sexual contract within the impenalist state

instance in which a new client group was created en masse for the apparatus, in which the economizing and technologizing gaze of the apparatus was turned on a new subject. From the late 70s until today, another client group of even larger proportions has been brought into the space of visibility of development: women" (1995, 155). In Escobar's analysis, including women as development clients serves to expand the reach and depth of capitalist processes into places such as the household. In Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale, Maria Mies suggests that, by explicitly incorporating women into the international division of labor, approaches such as these help to resolve capitalism's "global crisis" because "women, not men are the optimal labour force for the capitalist accumulation process on a world scale . . . [their labour] can be bought at a much cheaper price than male labour" (1998, 116). In the NPI framework, however, women are not envisioned simply as aid recipients or as cheap manufacturers of goods for the global market—as clients, that is, or as producers—rather, they are positioned as partners in a globalized entrepreneurial culture in which they are primary stakeholders.

By mobilizing women and other marginalized groups as entrepreneurial citizens in processes of globalization and by including them rather than excluding them from processes of governance, approaches such as NPI work to ensure their compliance with, and thus the sustainability of, the democratic capitalist order. In doing so, NPI authors hope to build a capitalist democratic order that eventually can be maintained without direct U.S. intervention. The long-range goal of NPI is to "accelerate graduation from U.S. assistance." A successful "graduation," in the framework of NPI, is one in which "global partnerships are in place and working effectively . . . and where there appears to be sustainable progress toward democracy and free-enterprise" (USAID 1995f, 5). "Graduation" in this sense envisions a world of "mature" market-oriented democratic societies.

In the first major policy speech on foreign aid given by a president since the 1960s, George W. Bush called for "a new compact on development" in a 2002 speech. According to Bush, this compact would "marry good policies to greater aid" and would strive to include "every African, every Asian, every Latin American, every Muslim, in an expanding circle of development" (2002, 2). The goal of the compact is to "provide poor and developing nations the tools they need to seize the opportunities of the global economies" (2002, 4). The compact, however, comes with a significant proviso, for, he continues, "in return we expect nations to adopt the reforms and policies that make development effective and long-lasting" (2002, 4). If under the colonial contract, "civilization" was offered in exchange for political subordination, according to the terms of Bush's new

compact, "development" is offered in return for policy obedience. Indeed, by dramatically increasing the amount of aid available (\$5 billion above and beyond current aid allocations) and by more closely linking the receipt of that aid to adherence to so-called good policies that are in line with U.S. specifications, Bush's new compact marks an extension of the scope and an intensification of the project of capitalist democratic development.

In The End of Capitalism, the collaborative writing team J. K. Gibson-Graham writes that it is important to avoid representations of global capitalism as an all-powerful penetrating entity that dominates all economic, social, and political relations it comes into contact with in order to avoid inadvertently "establishing the dominance of global economic structuring over local social and cultural life . . . [and] participating in consolidating a new phase of capitalist hegemony" (1996, vii-ix). Instead, they suggest we pay close attention to the contradictions, problems, and complicating moments of local encounters with processes of globalized capitalism. One such complication inherent in the NPI framework is that its authors point to grassroots groups as particularly desirable groups to work with, urging USAID missions "to identify existing membership-based associations and social movements and discern their potential and willingness to become more involved in activities related to national development programs" (USAID 1995d, 8). Ironically, however, the very groups that USAID hopes to work with are the groups that are often most resistant to the development culture of democratic entrepreneurialism that NPI authors advocate. In the next section, I will examine the ways that one such group in India, the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), strives to foster a participatory culture of democratic responsibility that works against the logic of capitalist democracy.

National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM)

Although initiatives such as USAID's NPI have extensive economic backing, alliances such as NAPM reveal that their position is far from hegemonic. The NAPM was established in 1992 in order "to work for the unfulfilled promise of a democratic, egalitarian, and independent India" (NAPM 1996, 2). Linking tribal, women's, dalit, 6 minority, workers', and agriculturalist organizations, the groups came together in reaction to the Indian government's "New Economic Policy," which set the Indian economy on a course of globalization, liberalization, and privatization, and in

Dulit means "oppressed group" and is the term many from the lowest caste groups or "scheduled" castes prefer to be called.

response to the growing politics of communalism. In 1996 the alliance held a national convention in which one hundred organizations worked together to clarify their common ground and set some common goals in a working platform. They explained that the document they produced in the convention is "neither a manifesto nor a charter of demands. It clarifies our ideological position . . . and can be a basis for strengthening the unity among people's organizations of a wide range and also for evolving a programme" (1996, 3). Central to this document is a call for "the development of a people's democracy based on people's control over resources" (1996, 4). In the following section, I will examine the contrasting visions of democratic citizenship underlying both NAPM's platform and the NPI project. Next, I will read NAPM's model of liberatory democracy against Macpherson's model of participatory democracy and argue that, although the two share much in common, NAPM's model challenges Macpherson's notion that only economies of abundance can sustain a participatory democracy.

NAPM and NPI: Divergent approaches to development

Like NPI, the NAPM platform emphasizes the need for increased participation in democracy and a decentralization of power to local actors. The NAPM platform authors, for example, call for a "fully participatory democracy which will ensure maximum economic political power to rest with the people and the role of the State reduced to a minimum" (NAPM 1996, 7). The two documents differ profoundly, however, in terms of their understanding of the benefits of such participation. While for NPI increased participation serves to harness energy for a development that would extend the market economy to the most local levels, for NAPM it serves to mobilize support for an alternative development that is resistant to the extension of global capitalism. This divergent understanding of development is the pivot by which these models of democracy can be distinguished. Although NAPM and NPI share a commitment to partnership building and to civil society, NAPM's alternate vision of development leads its authors to envision both a different set of partners and a different kind of partnership.

Whereas NPI strives to bring formerly excluded people into the development process as potential beneficiaries, NAPM seeks to bring together those who have suffered from "post-independence development models, programmes, and projects" such as "villagers in different parts of India [who] are trying to save their common natural resources like forests and pastures from privatization and exploitation for short-term profits

adivasis and other rural people [who] are struggling to save their lands from submergence by dams or from being ravaged by large industrial projects . . . [and] traditional artisans whose livelihood has been undermined by the mechanized mass production of the modern economy" (NAPM 1996, 2). The NAPM platform focuses not only on the poor but also on the ways that elites have been negatively affected by their inclusion in capitalist democracy. The platform suggests, for example, that middle-class city dwellers have using incomes but lowered standards of living due to the "tension-filled, automated lives" that modern capitalism produces. Similarly, even the rich are not immune to the environmental degradation of capitalist development and thus are considered as potential partners in the struggle for "a development that empowers people against the hegemonic, exploitative culture associated with the terms 'privatization' and 'liberalization'" (1996, 2).

In contrast to the NPI's authors' focus on the need to build "strategic partnerships" for effective developmental problem solving, NAPM activists hope to foster the kind of partnership that goes beyond "mere networking for specific issues" (NAPM 1996, 2). Instead, they propose a partnership that will enable groups to "emerge with a definite ideological commonality and common strategy. . . [and] can give rise to a strong social [and] political force," while allowing each to retain its "autonomous identity" (1996, 2). This model of partnership represents what I call a "resistant convergence" in that it is marked by the linkage of the groups' analyses of economic, political, cultural, and gender subordination such that the success of each group's struggle is understood as crucially hinged to the success of the other groups' struggles. As a result, the groups participate in each others' campaigns in critical, mutually reinforcing ways. For example, in 2003 NAPM embarked on an India-wide tour "against globalization and communalism" in which members visited and worked in coalition with various local groups and campaigns in order to link them to each other and to "struggles all over the country" (NAPM 2003, 1).

If the NPI and NAPM's models of partnership diverge, so, too, do their conceptions of the political actor underpinning such partnerships. Indeed, NPI's model of partnership, that of a short-termed interest-based coalition, is one that is compatible with an understanding of the political actor as an entrepreneur who must join with others in order to maximize his or her own self-interest. The partnership envisioned by NAPM, however, requires a different person, one who, in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's words, is "inserted into responsibility" and part of a culture in which people are, whether they choose to recognize it or not, "responsible for the suffering of others" (1992a, 7). Acknowledging one's insertion into

responsibility, Spivak argues, is profoundly disruptive of capitalism, a system that depends on the rejection of that acknowledgment "in order to be able to justify itself to the passive members of society" (1992a, 8). The NAPM urges people to acknowledge this responsibility, especially youth and students, whom they call on to "come away from a life rooted in career and consumerism and give time, energy and contribute to the NAPM goal of equity, justice, and sustainability" (NAPM 1996, 15).

As in the NPI model, women are singled out as central to NAPM's vision of democracy. Whereas NPI focuses on ways to include women in processes of global capitalist democracy, NAPM focuses on the causes of subordination. Instead of a primary focus on women's economic activities, NAPM promotes a broad vision of women's empowerment, one that seeks to better all aspects of women's lives:

We oppose gender inequality, which is fundamentally based on patriarchy, in every form; and strive towards providing all basic human rights for women irrespective of caste and religion, and gender. We work towards fully gender-just civil laws which shall govern marriage, divorce, property right, inheritance, adoption, maintenance, free from discrimination on ground of religion. We support the equitable valuation of women's labor and recognize the significance of women's contribution in sustaining community and culture. We value women's empowerment and participation in all fields equal with men in all decisions, policy-making, and implementation in social, economic and political aspects. (NAPM 1996, 7)

Women themselves are already central players in the organizations that form NAPM. For example, NAPM convener Medha Patkar explains that, in the Narmada Bachao Andolan's (the Movement to Save the Narmada, a key organizational player within the NAPM) struggle against the Narmada Dam, women are a "major force" (1995, 163). The image of woman here, then, is not woman as a potential (with the help of aid agencies) entrepreneurial businesswoman but woman as presently engaged community leader and responsible (in Spivak's sense) movement activist.

If the contradictions of the colonial sexual contract were exposed in part by moves to challenge democratic exclusions, the contradictions of capitalist democratic development frameworks are revealed in part by struggles to contest the terms and conditions of inclusion in a global capitalist democratic order. Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, for example, recount how Urmila Patel, the wife of the chairperson of the company contracted to supervise the Narmada Dam construction project,

organized thousands of villagers for a pro-dam rally. Esteva and Prakash note that "the official strategy of popular participation involves bringing many of the losers to fight on the winning side, by mobilizing people in the way that grassroots groups have traditionally done . . . the confusion that such changes in the nature of the confrontation cause . . . is exactribated by the fact that both lobbies speak the same economic language of sustainable development and the same moral language of social justice and equality" (1992, 48). It is when popular participation moves against the dictates of globalized capital, however, that the bounds of "acceptable" participation are highlighted. For example, Patkar recalls the reaction by officials to a peaceful march protesting the dam staged by the Narmada Bachao Andolan:

During the march, both the government and the World Bank were challenged as well as appealed to. Thousands of people coming out for a thirty-six day struggle was obviously an indication of their commitment, and it was incredible what they faced on the border of Gujarat with the deployment of thousands of police along the border and repression—including caning the marchers and arresting them and tearing the clothes of women activists—all this when groups from the march were silently trying to cross the border, with their hands folded and tied in front as a gesture of their peaceful commitment. (1997, 166)

That women are at the forefront of such protests indicates that they will not be easily co-opted by the official strategies of popular participation that Esteva and Prakash describe.

For the NAPM authors, a critical space for the formation of democratic politics can be created outside the realm of conventional political institutions by developing a progressive political culture. In their introduction to the anthology Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures, Sonia Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar suggest a perspective on citizenship that "would view democratic struggles as encompassing a redefinition not only of the political system but also of economic, social, and cultural practices that might engender a democratic ordering for society as a whole" (1998, 2). For NAPM activists, the nonelectoral sphere is a crucial site for building a new democratic political culture. According to their platform, "people should now take the initiative, dictate and control through a national endeavour outside of narrow electoral politics. Nonelectoral politics will have a . . . strong position and role to play in empowering, mobilizing the people, stirring the conscience of the nation

and bringing to the central stage, people's agenda. It will be people's politics" (NAPM 1996, 7).

Although NAPM stresses the potential of nonelectoral politics and people-based movements as spaces for the building of democratic culture and is itself a nonpartisan organization, NAPM also urges people and people's organizations to "effectively and meaningfully intervene in electoral politics" (1998a, 1). For example, during the 1998 national elections in India, NAPM-affiliated organizations in several cities and villages across the country invited candidates to Lok Manch (People's Forums) to answer questions and "confront issues regarding the [rights of] Dalits, Muslims, Women, fisherpeople, peasants, tribals, and the onslaught of privatization and globalization" (NAPM 1998b, 2). In this way, even elections themselves offer opportunities for elaborating a "people's politics." I will turn to the NAPM platform authors' sketch of this "people's politics" as an alternative model of democratic society in the next section.

NAPM's people-centered developmental democracy

The basic principle of NAPM's people-centered developmental democracy is "that the first claim on the use of resources will be with regard to the satisfaction of basic needs and the protection of livelihood" (NAPM 1996, 4). With this principle, the activists are grounding their model of democracy in an understanding of development that is centered not on economic growth per se but on "people's right to life with dignity" (1996, 4). The institutional structure of such a democracy would be "built up from the local community through the intermediate to the national level, with democratic modes of planning and decisionmaking used to make those decisions" (1996, 4). At its base, the central institution of NAPM's model of democracy is "a revised punchayat," the traditional form of participatory local self-government in India.

In many ways this model of democracy resembles Macpherson's model of a participatory democracy. He, too, recommends a tiered system, one that is based on "direct democracy at the base and delegate democracy at every level above that" (Macpherson 1977, 108). At the local level (which he imagines for industrial Western societies to be either the neighborhood or the factory) face-to-face encounters would be the privileged

⁷ As a result of the Lok Manch held in tribal villages in the Narmada Valley in the Indian state of Maharastra, several villages decided that none of the candidates were acceptable and boycotted the elections so that the "polling booths of Manibeli, Nimgavhan, Danel, and other places were empty on poll date" (NAPM 1998b, 2).

mode of democratic engagement. These groups would then elect delegates who would form a council at the next level. Macpherson is particularly concerned with democratic accountability and stresses that "decision-makers and issue formulators elected from below must be held responsible to those below by being subject to re-election or even recall" (1977, 109). This combination of direct and indirect democracy would ensure that demands are generated from below and are implemented in a way that is accountable to those below.

Although they share a similar institutional vision, these models differ in a crucial respect: their understanding of the economic conditions necessary to move toward participatory democracy. Macpherson argues that the precondition for such a move is the existence of an economy of abundance. As social and economic disadvantages are tied to low participation, increasing abundance will generate the loopholes necessary for the extension of participation. For Macpherson the link between democracies and markets would only be "no longer necessary . . . if we assume that we have now reached a technological level of productivity which makes possible a good life for everybody. . . . That assumption may of course be challenged. But if denied, then there seems no possibility of any new model of democratic society, and no point in discussing such a model" (1977, 22). He acknowledges that an unequal distribution of global wealth among nations generates this abundance. He even points to the reduction of global inequity as a factor that might prevent the success of his model of participatory democracy in Western countries. He writes that, if "the underdeveloped nations were able, by nuclear blackmail or otherwise, to impose a redistribution of income between the rich and poor nations," it would make more difficult the "requisite reduction of class inequality . . . within the affluent nations" (1977, 107-8).

The model put forth by NAPM, however, challenges that assumption. Rather than postulating an economy of abundance, the NAPM platform authors propose an economy of simplicity, based on Sadagi (simple living) and Samata (equality), as the prerequisite for its model of participatory democracy. They explain this economy in the following manner: "A commitment towards Samata and distributive justice necessitates a more judicious use of resources which ensures fulfillment of the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, health, and education for all . . . this can be ensured only when superfluous public spending and wasteful consumption are stopped and not material abundance but creativity and selfless humanity is valued" (NAPM 1996, 7). A substantial portion of NAPM's program deals with strategies to resist the ethic of consumerism. For example, the authors write that consumerism "demeans the dignity of

women, encourages child abuse, thwarts the growth of children into mature human beings, and encourages violence" (1996, 6). Further, in this model increasing levels of consumption are not seen as indicative of a reduction in class inequality. Rather, given the origins and eventual destination of transnational capital (both from and back to the West), such consumption is seen as exhausting "the resources of the nation for the sake of accumulation of profit in the private hands of a minority at the national and international level" (1996, 4). As such, NAPM calls for struggles against multinational corporations with slogans such as "Not Pepsi/Coke—we want water" (1996, 8).

This model of participatory democracy, then, rests on an economy that at once meets people's basic needs and does not require (and indeed must subvert) the inequitable distribution of wealth among nations. In fact, capitalist production-generated economies of abundance are seen as leading to lives of scarcity.

Conclusion

There is a festival in the air on Election Day. . . . People excitedly get in groups and go vote. But they find the appearance of the voting center most suspicious. . . No doubt there will be fighting. Everyone runs for their life. The representatives of the candidates run to catch the voters. The police run to help them. When the police run . . . the government doesn't mean well. In such glory do the Third General Elections come to an end. (Devi 1993, 32)

Mahesweta Devi's fictional account of the Third General elections in India, cited above, speaks to the enticements and the dangers of democratic inclusion. While the villagers in Devi's story are willing to participate, the institutions and processes through which their participation is channeled threaten to solidify the all-too-familiar and dangerous power relations in the village, reinforcing what Spivak calls "the line between those who run and those who give chase" (1992b, 106).

As the line between those who run and those who give chase threatens to become even more entrenched under contemporary processes of globalization, it is particularly important to examine processes of democratic inclusion, given that it is to democracy's ethic and institutions that we often turn in order to critique and contest these power relations. In his *Models of Democracy*, David Held, for example, argues that "we live today at a fundamental point of transition . . . [in which] the progressive con-

centration of power on the basis of multinational capital" could lead to the expanse of "the regulatory capacity of dominant geo-political interests" at the expense of "the efficacy and reach of democracy within the borders of many countries and beyond them" (1996, 353). In order to counter such a scenario, Held asserts the importance of a "cosmopolitan democracy" that would "deepen and extend democracy across nations, regions and global networks" (1996, 353). Toward the development of such a democracy, Held and other cosmopolitan democrats have focused attention primarily on global political and economic institutions such as the World Trade Organization and the United Nations and have argued that these institutions should be reworked so as to be more open to democratic participation (Archibugi 1993; Held 1996; Cabrera forthcoming). While I agree that such a focus on these institutions is urgent, this essay suggests that there needs to be a simultaneous focus on the meaning of participation itself. In this essay, I have emphasized that contemporary processes of globalization have altered the terms of opposition between contesting models of democracy such that both market-centered and non-market-centered models of democracy share the same language of participation while maintaining starkly different visions of what that participation serves. For this reason, participation as a term must be unpacked: the kind of participation that can contest globalization's injustices needs to be further specified. It is modes of participation envisioned in models of democracy such as NAPM's, those that disrupt the connection between democracy and capitalism in ways that do not depend on an inequitable distribution of global power or wealth, that can generate deepening resistance to hierarchies reinforced by globalization.

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Globalizing Subjects

urfing the Web as I was working on a conference presentation on Maryse Condé's novel Windward Heights (1999), the English translation of La migration des coeurs, I dutifully googled both the author's name and the English and French titles of her novel. The results of my searches were both surprising and predictable. My first attempt turned up several Web sites devoted to a golf course in Kentucky named "Windward Heights," several that listed "Scottish realty"—not reality—as a topic, and, closer to home, several indexing syllabi from U.S. college courses in which the novel is taught. I found "Condé" in the Web sites of libraries; bookstores; a special issue of the journal Callaloo devoted to her work; the Dublin International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award; a site that called itself a "postcolonial digest"; Lehman College, CUNY, with a link to Ile en Ile, Guava Girl, and Sistab Space—sites that access information about Caribbean women-and, again, college syllabi for courses in English, French, and comparative literature, in which her books are taught, often in translation. The abundance of links to sites originating in the United States and Britain and the relative paucity of French or francophone sites reminded me of what is all too obvious: that electronic transmission of knowledge and information reproduces and reinforces actually existing political and cultural, including linguistic, economies. A search for "migration des coeurs" accessed sites, some originating in France, devoted to cardiology and—a better fit—immigration and exile. What I did not find.

Parts of this article were first presented at the conference of the Society for the Study of Narrative Literature, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, April 1998, the International Conference on Women, Culture, and Development Practices, American University of Paris, November 1998; and the conference on Writing Diasporas—Transmational Imagination, University of Wales, Swansea, September 2000. I thank Celeste Schenck and Françoise Lionnet for urging me to think about globalization and for supporting my work as (and before) it took shape; Bella Brodzki, Carla Kaplan, and Robert Stein for invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this essay; and Maryse Condé, newfound friend, for her generosity and for the example she sets us. This article is for Ronnie Scharfman, Brooklyn sister, Caribbean daughter, and global citoyenne.

however, and what prompted me to write this article, was a site that promised to elucidate the connection between the two terms of Condé's French title: the connection, that is, between the spatial and temporal coordinates of *migration* and the exigencies and vicissitudes of subjectivity figured in the word *coeur*.

In this article, I explore this connection by examining two kinds of work: theoretical and empirical studies, on the one hand, and literary texts, specifically narratives, on the other. In the first part of the article, I look at how studies of women and globalization frame this topic. These studies, I suggest, explain the macropolitics of gender in the global era, usefully situating gender in an array of conceptual categories, but they do not—and cannot or should not—illuminate women's subjective experiences. In the second part of the article, I turn to narratives that foreground women's subjective experiences of political, economic, and cultural processes of globalization and thereby augment the analyses afforded by theoretical and empirical work. Despite these differences of emphasis, both literary texts and theoretical and empirical studies, in representing women as global subjects, show us that an adequate understanding of globalization must take gender into account.

Globalization theory and practice: Where are the women?

I begin with Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's Empire (2000), perhaps the most compelling and influential work on globalization to appear in the past few years, but one that virtually ignores women as actors on the global stage and gender as a component of global modes of political, social, economic, and cultural organization. In Empire, Hardt and Negri offer both a theory and a history—or, more precisely, a genealogy—of globalization. In this anatomy of the contemporary world that we inhabit, they map what they call "Empire," a "new global form of sovereignty" that comprises a "series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule" (2000, xii). A successor to imperialism that, they argue, extends the "sovereignty of European nation-states beyond their own boundaries," Empire is a "decentered and deterritorialising apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers" and "manages hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges through modulating networks of command."

¹ Hardt and Negri 2000, xii. Compare Appadurai 2000, 3: "Globalization is inextricably linked to the current workings of capital on a global basis; in this regard it extends the earlier logics of empire, trade, and political dominion in many parts of the world."

Throughout, Hardt and Negri show us how new modes of labor have reshaped global political and cultural economies. They argue, for example, that the informatization of production, the fact that information and communication are both the means of production and the commodities produced, involves both the "decentralization and global dispersal of productive processes and sites . . . [and] a corresponding centralization of the control over production" (2000, 297-98). Hardt and Negri's insistence on the inexorability of global modes of organization offers a bracing corrective to the nostalgic mystification of the "local" as antidote and site of resistance to processes of globalization. Eschewing localist strategies that, they claim, rest on a false dichotomy of global and local, they argue that globalization and localization alike should be understood as "regime[s] of the production of identity and difference, or really of homogenization and heterogenization" (45). Published in the waning months of the Clinton administration, Empire emphasizes the hybrid, flexible, and plural; it exudes an almost utopian sense of possibility that seems to belong to a moment no longer quite our own.

Yet women, who comprise a large proportion of workers in the informatized global economy, are all but invisible in the Empire that Hardt and Negri describe, gender is absent from the array of conceptual categories they use to explain the "production" of identity and difference, and feminism makes only a brief appearance in a larger discussion of the "new social movements" of the 1960s and 1970s. (Race is slightly more prominent than gender: while there are no entries in the index for gender or women, race does appear—in the index, at least—in the guise of racism.) Occupying the space left vacant by women and gender is the Foucauldian concept of biopower, which "refers to a situation in which what is directly at stake in power is the production and reproduction of life itself. . . . Power is . . . expressed as a control that extends throughout the depths of consciousnesses and bodies of the population—and at the same time across the entirety of social relations" (2000, 24). Hardt and Negri do not examine the ways that gender inflects—that is, differently marks consciousness, bodies, and social relations more generally.² In glossing over the fact that the logic of rule that Empire charts differently constitutes women and men as its subjects, Hardt and Negri's explanation of Empire is necessarily partial.

² See Stoler 1995, 93, on the absence of gender from Michel Foucault's analysis of biopower and from genealogies of "state racism," and the consequences of this absence for contemporary conceptions of globalization. On gender as a crucial category in the analysis of globalization, see also Appadura 2000, 5.

Recent empirical and theoretical studies by feminist scholars supply what Empire occludes, inserting gender in analyses of transnationalism, social and political movements and institutions including but not limited to explicitly feminist ones, and contemporary—postcolonial—political and cultural economies. These studies explore, as M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1997, xvii) point out, the different "kinds of racialized, gendered selves . . . produced at the conjuncture of the transnational and the postcolonial." Whether the primary emphasis is regional, as in Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century (Springfield 1997), or transnational, as in Global Feminisms since 1945 (Smith 2000), Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State (Kaplan, Alarcón, and Moallem 1999), and Feminist Locations (DeKoven 2001), these studies chart the intersection, reciprocal construction, and uneven development of the regional or local and the global, the national, and the transnational.3 In the process, they treat women as historical actors and expose the ways that gender relations configure the contemporary world stage that Hardt and Negri identify as Empire. Yet in emphasizing collective endeavors and setting transnational political and cultural processes within large conceptual maps, these studies perforce put questions of consciousness and subjectivity-mentalities, more generally—in the background.

Daughters of Caliban takes the regional as its point of departure. The essays in this book situate Caribbean women in the larger world in which the modern and contemporary Caribbean takes shape. To take one ex-

On the articulation of the local and the global, see also Sassen 1998 and Katz 2001 Candi Katz explores the "intersecting effects and material consequences of so-called globalization in a particular place," a village she calls "Howa" in central eastern Sudan. Her study of Howa is part of a larger argument for "topography" as a research method for carrying out "a detailed examination of some part of the material world, defined at any scale from the body to the global, in order to understand its salient features and their mutual and broader relationships" (2001, 1228, my emphasis). Saskia Sassen focuses on "global cities" such as New York, London, Tokyo, and Frankfurt and calls for a "feminist analytics of the global economy," e.g., of the ways that global capital and a new, largely female immigrant workforce, two different instances of transmational categories and actors, find themselves in contestation in particular urban, metropolitan locales (1998, 81). See esp. chaps. 5–6, which explore the ways that women, often immigrants, maintain the infrastructure of the global economic system, e.g., through low-wage work in service industries or as domestic labor that sustains high-income gentrification (87, 90, 122) See also Appadurai 1996, chap. 9.

⁴ See Appadurai's call (2000, 7) for "an architecture for area studies that is based on process geographies and sees significant areas of human organization as precipitates of various kinds of action, interaction, and motion—trade, travel, pilgrimage, warfare, proselytization, colonization, exile, and the like."

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ample, in "Reinventing Higglering across Transnational Zones: Barbardian Women Juggle the Triple Shift," Carla Freeman examines new "creolized expressions of femininity in the context of cultural flows across the Americas" (Springfield 1997, 69; my emphasis). Freeman focuses on "pink-collar workers" in "offshore informatics"; she documents the ways that they balance or as she puts it, juggle-commitments to home and family, home production of fashions like those they discover through "suitcase trading" around the Caribbean, and labor in the data-processing industries of the early 1990s.⁶ Delineating both the constraints on these women's lives imperatives of race and class (1997, 84)—and the ways that women struggle against these constraints, Freeman shows us how her subjects exemplify the "Caribbean's particular place within this new transnational era" (68). A somewhat different version of a globalized Caribbean appears in Cynthia J. Mesh's "Empowering the Mother-Tongue: The Creole Movement in Guadeloupe." Mesh notes that the francophone Caribbean, and especially Martinique and Guadeloupe, French "départements d'outre mer (overseas departments or DOMs)" are too often omitted from discussions of the Caribbean and of French feminist theory alike (1997, 18-19, 26-28). She focuses on the bilingual (French-Creole) culture of Guadeloupe and on the fascinating career of scholar-activist Dany Bébel-Gisler, who explored the relationship between the Creole language and Guadeloupian identity in work both in Guadeloupe and with Antillean and African immigrant women in France. Mesh at once exposes and rectifies an Anglocentric bias prevalent in much of the English-language work on globalization. (An important exception is Empire, coauthored by the Italian Negri.) In the process, she reminds us that the local and the global alike inscribe polyglot languages and cultures as well as heterogeneous histories.6

Three recently published anthologies differ in emphasis but complement the picture of the transnational Caribbean and thus the account of globalization in *Daughters of Caliban*. The chapters in *Global Feminisms since 1945* focus on social and political movements throughout the world. These chapters, a series of case histories, document women's participation in anticolonial national movements, in local community organizing, in nongovernmental organizations, and in feminist movements per se. Taken together, they show how historical trends and events of the past half century—the legacy of the Second World War, national liberation struggles, and decolonization—have affected women in Egypt, Iran, Japan,

⁸ Compare Samen 1998, chap. 8; and Landler 2001 on young Indian women working in Bangalore as customer service representatives for U.S. corporations.

⁶ On the heterogeneous histories of women in the global economy, see Lionnet 2001

Korea, South Africa, Brazil, and Vietnam as well as in the United States and Britain. The use of the plural feminisms in the title conveys the different situations of women in different national or regional locales; thus, the global or the transnational emerges in Global Feminisms mainly through comparisons readers make between one chapter and another. Yet a common pattern runs through many of the chapters, which trace the ways that the gains that women made have subsequently been slowed down, overtaken, or reversed and, thus, point to the challenges still facing women—and feminist politics more generally.

The essays in Feminist Locations and Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State set local, regional, and national narratives within larger conceptual and geographical frames. In "Locational Feminism: Gender, Cultural Geographies, and Geopolitical Literacy" (DeKoven 2001, 13-36), Susan Stanford Friedman calls for a return to "feminism in the singular," which she defines as a relational or, as she puts it, "locational feminism . . . simultaneously situated in a specific locale, global in scope, and constantly in motion through space and time" (14-15). Friedman charts a shift in feminist epistemology from the predominantly temporal rhetoric of second-wave feminism, with its figures of awakening, revelation, and rebirth, to a spatial rhetoric of location, multipositionality, and migration (18). In positing a "polyvocal" geography of identity, Friedman shows how rhetorics from "outside" the United States—especially those produced by diaspora, immigration, and travel—have transformed those "inside" (17). Thus, she identifies travel, nomadism, and diaspora as common concerns of feminism and postcolonial studies and argues convincingly that a rhetoric of multipositionality enables feminism to deal with differences—of race, class, sexuality, religion, and national identity-between women (21-22).7 In "The Many Faces of Activism" (DeKoven 2001, 191-211), Cynthia Saltzman offers an ethnographic account of women's participation in the Yale University clerical workers' strike of 1984-85. Saltzman shows how gender complicated the socioeconomic (class, race) backgrounds of striking women—and conversely, how class and race complicated gender. She traces tensions between "individuals' self-formulations and adherence to multiple identities," on the one hand, and "collective definitions of social movements,"

⁷ For a conception of culture that encompasses both temporal (pre- or post-) and spatial (here-there) registers of thought, see Lionnet's explanation (2000) of the "transcolonial." Lionnet addresses francophone, anglophone, and hispanophone cultural texts and traditions and both transpacific and circumstantic modes of cultural transmission.

on the other (207). Yet perhaps because of the limits of the essay form, I missed in Saltzman's chapter the voices of her ethnographic subjects.

The essays in Between Woman and Nation elaborate Anne McClintock's influential critique (1996, 357-60) of the ways that nations are figured, through domestic and familial iconographies that represent women as embodiments of conservative aspects of nationalism.8 Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcón, and Minoo Moallem explain that their contributors analyze the "naturalization and essentialization of nation and woman in modernity" (1999, 13) and explore "feminist practices that can be seen as part of the transnational circulation of cultures and politics as well as material goods" (15). To take just two examples, in "El Desorden, Nationalism, and Chicana/o Aesthetics" (1999, 19-46), Laura Elisa Perez examines the ways that an "irreverent scavenging aesthetic" of Chicana/o discourse, and especially Chicana feminist and lesbian practices, "disorder" U.S.—Eurocentric, patriarchal—narratives (28), while Elspeth Probyn's "Bloody Metaphors and Other Allegories of the Ordinary" (1999, 47-62) analyzes the inscriptions of sexuality and gender in representations of Ouebec. Setting these representations in relation to Canada and the United States more generally, Probyn rejects "distinctions and hierarchies too often at play within the discussion of the nation, the type of argument that separates out questions of sexual difference from those 'harder' ones of national difference" (60). Rather, she emphasizes the imbrication of polity, sexuality, and gender in cultural representations. Like other contributors to Between Woman and Nation, Probyn unpacks the identification of woman and nation that bolsters both national and patriarchal economies.

Drawing together the insights of the contributors to Between Woman and Nation, Kaplan and Inderpal Grewal call for "transnational feminist studies" that "recognize that practices are always negotiated in both a connected and a specific field of conflict and contradiction" (1999, 358). Transnational feminist studies, then, offer theoretical contexts and interpretive frameworks for the literary and cultural texts that trace both "migrations of the heart" and migration tout court. Conversely, these texts—and especially narratives that foreground subjectivity or consciousness and show us how subjectivity (consciousness) is produced in the global order defined by exile, migration, diaspora, and border crossings of all kinds—

⁶ On the relations between women and nationalism and national identity, see also McClintock, Mufti, and Shohat 1997; the special issues on women and nationalism of Gender and History (Davidoff 1992) and Feminist Review (Whitehall et al. 1993), and Yelin 1998.

amplify our understanding of the ways that women experience social change.9

In the rest of this article, I discuss narratives written by Condé and Jamaica Kincaid, two writers who were born in the Caribbean but now live in the United States. In texts that ask—in the manner of autobiography and autobiographical fiction, autoethnography, and autogenealogy—who am I, how am I placed, and how did I come to be this way? both Condé and Kincaid interrogate the construction of subjectivity (identity production) in Caribbean locales. At the same time, they represent globalization and its concomitants, exile, migration, and nomadism, as givens. Thus, they show us how local identities and subjectivities encompass and refocus larger—global, diasporic—transnational, or, in Françoise Lionnet's term (2000), transcolonial configurations. 10 Although neither Condé nor Kincaid primarily focuses on women as workers in the global economy, both augment the picture of women as subjects and objects of globalization that we get from empirical studies and theoretical accounts. At the same time, in representing, through rhetorics of direct and indirect address, relationships between a regional or national here and an extraregional, transnational there, a colonial then and a post- or neocolonial now, they elaborate dialogic conceptions of identity and subjectivity that extend across national and regional boundaries.

Cannibalizing culture: Giobalization in Maryse Condé's Desirada

In the introduction to a cluster of articles on Condé, Djelal Kadir (1993, 695) identifies the Caribbean as the site of an "uneasy and less than symmetrical hybridity." In *Desirada* (2000a), Condé, who was born in Guadeloupe, has lived in France and Guinea, and now divides her time between New York and Guadeloupe, shows how Caribbean asymmetries and hybridities are transported beyond the Caribbean and translated into new—U.S., European—idioms.¹¹ *Desirada* tells the story of Marie-Noëlle Titane, who, like her author, journeys from Guadeloupe to France and the United States. At once a narrative about Marie-Noëlle's quest for origins—her attempt to answer the question "who am I?" by returning

See Perry and Schenck 2001; this volume includes empirical studies of development and globalization, essays that discuss cultural representations, and a creative piece, Chinyere Grace Okafor's "Beyond Child Abuse" (259–76), written expressly for the volume.

¹⁸ Compare Appadura 2000 on the agenda for area studies.

On Condé as a "world writer" who refuses "compartmentalization" within designations such as Creole, Caribbean, and postcolonial, see Spear 1993, 723

to her birthplace and discovering the identity of her unknown father—and a critique of the very notions of quest and origins, the novel scrambles narratives of departure and return and places them in a world of movement, a world defined by migration, nomadism, and cultural méticage.¹²

Marie-Noëlle's trajectory and the narrative chronology of the novel are complicated by the way that her tale is interwoven with and interrupted by the stories of her mother, Reynalda, and her grandmother, Nina. Abandoned by Reynalda, who escapes to Paris when her daughter is about six months old, Marie-Noëlle is raised by Ranélise, who had rescued Reynalda when, fifteen years old and pregnant, she tried to drown herself. When Marie-Noëlle is ten, Reynalda—prompted, we learn much later, by her husband Ludovic—sends for her daughter. Reynalda lives in a housing project in a grim banliene with Ludovic and their son Garvey. Cold and indifferent, Reynalda is unable to love her daughter as, she explains when she tells Marie-Noëlle the story of her life, her own mother was unable to love her.¹⁸

Many years later, after a bout with tuberculosis, a breakdown, and a curiously sexless marriage to a brilliant musician named Stanley Watts, Marie-Noëlle finds herself in Boston where, under the tutelage of Anthea Jackson, a professor of African-American literature, she goes to college and eventually earns a Ph.D. in French literature. When Ranélise dies, Marie-Noëlle returns to Guadeloupe to attend her funeral. She journeys to La Désirade, the small, barren island off Guadeloupe where her mother Reynalda was born, and seeks out her grandmother Nina, who had returned there many years earlier. Like Reynalda, Nina tells Marie-Noëlle the story of her life: Nina's story contradicts Reynalda's in all significant particulars except for the acknowledgment of the antagonism between them. Forced to weigh her mother's story against her grandmother's, Marie-Noëlle must come to terms with the fact that neither discloses the identity of her unknown father. After another trip to Europe and encounters with Reynalda and Ludovic, now separated from Reynalda and living in Brussels, Marie-Noëlle returns to Boston where she takes up a position teaching French in a public university.

While most of the novel is told by an unidentified, omniscient thirdperson narrator and in the interpolated first-person *récits* of Nina and Ludovic, the last chapter is told in the first person by Marie-Noëlle.¹⁴

¹² See Scharfman 2002; on missings, see Lionnet 1995

¹³ Scharfman comments on the unloved, unloving, and unlovable qualities of the women in *Desirads* (2002, 141).

¹⁴ On the narrative strategies of the novel, see Condé 2000b.

Although Marie-Noëlle says that she will "keep silent until I, too, learn to invent a life," we can interpret her appropriation of the narrative discourse as "the beginning of [her] recovery" (2000a, 260), a token of her finding a position from which to speak, write, and imagine herself into being. Yet the construction of the novel as a series of narratives that modify, contradict, and disrupt one another cautions us against a too easy celebration of "voice," invention, or recovery. If Indeed, Condé urges us to acknowledge the fractured, fragmented, and provisional character of the subjectivity and identity that Marie-Noëlle forges in dialogue with her interlocutors within the novel and with the unknown readers she addresses at the end.

This rather schematic summary does not do justice to the texture of the novel (even in Richard Philcox's fine translation) or the subtle and delicious irony whereby Condé winks at her readers. (An instance of what I call winking is the novel jointly written by Reynalda and her childhood friend, a surrogate sister, and titled Gondal for the land imagined in the juvenilia of Anne and Emily Bronte [2000a, 249].) Nor does it give sufficient emphasis to the pain of loss differently experienced although not shared by Nina, Reynalda, and especially Marie-Noëlle. Condé's depiction of the transmission of indifference and antagonism across three generations of Titane women is unflinchingly unsentimental even as she suggests that the mothers' indifference and antagonism toward their daughters rewrite and reroute their relations with men, and especially the histories of rape that link Nina and Reynalda.

Condé places her saga of mothers and daughters in a contemporary landscape—a transnational locale defined by "less than symmetrical" hybridities of race, class, and gender, to borrow from Kadir—whose geopolitical contours she elegantly delineates. *Desirada*, set in the second half of the twentieth century, is a kind of sequel to *La migration des coeurs*, which spans an earlier, high imperial phase in the history of globalization. This phase culminates in the blowing up of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor, the backdrop for the beginning of the novel. ¹⁶ *Desirada* treats exile and migration and the heteroglot culture they produce as facts of everyday life. As Condé observed to Emily Apter: "My books are concerned less with

¹⁵ For an incurve critique of the idealization of "voice" in feminist criticism, see Kaplan 1996, esp. chap. 1.

¹⁶ On the global dimensions of *La migration des court*, see Yelin in press. In both *Windward Heights* and *Deurada*, in fact throughout her ocuvre, Condé's articulation of the local and the translocal—her placement of Cambbean constructions of race, class, and gender in a global setting—might profitably be read alongside Katz's (2001) notion of topography.

race and much more with the complexities of overlapping cultures, with conditions of diaspora, and with cross-racial, cross-generational encounters." With few exceptions (notably Marie-Noëlle's foster mother Ranélise and her grandmother Nina), the novel's characters are migrants and exiles who traverse the globe.

Ludovic, for example, is born in Cuba, the son of a Haitian father who has also lived in Santo Domingo. Ludovic himself lives in the United States, Canada, Germany, Mali, Mozambique, and Belgium before migrating to France (2000a, 28).18 We first encounter him working in a center for delinquent boys, many of whom are immigrants and children of immigrants, and as the activist-founder of a "religious-cum-political association called Muntu" (31). Inspired by a "West Indian working in Abidjan . . . who ended up as a prophet in Brussels," transplanted to the hostile environment of the Paris suburbs, Muntu promotes "self-respect, forgiveness . . . 'solidarity' as well as love for one's brother—that is, anyone who was black" (213). Yet the absence of solidarity based on collective and especially fixed identity categories-race, class, gender, and kinship—is palpable in the novel. Rather, friendship—a lateral, reciprocal, secular, and suprafamilial relationship that does not respect traditional geographical boundaries or identity categories—is the novel's paradigm of solidarity. Inhibiting solidarity are not just differences of race and class, but the psychic scars left by the histories of discrimination, domination, violence, neglect, and abuse that the novel traces.

Reynalda initially migrates to Paris as an au pair for the bourgeois DuParc family. Once in Paris, she is the target, as we learn only at the very end of the novel, of both class discrimination and racial prejudice (2000a, 248-49). Although we are not told exactly why she left Guadeloupe, we are led to assume that she flees the legacy of rape she has in common with her mother. Eventually, Reynalda publishes a book titled Les jours tirangers. While the title, as Marie-Noëlle reflects, suggests a novel, confession, memoir, or autobiography, the book is actually a study of the "social and family conditions, . . . traumas and—daringly enough—[the] sexual fantasies" of the African and Caribbean immigrant women

¹⁷ See Condé 2001, 93. Kemedjio (2002) comments on Condé's treatment of global, diasporic culture and especially on her sense of the aestheticization of diasporic consciousness. I thank Cilas Kemedjio for letting me read his work in progress.

¹⁸ As Condé told Robert McCormick (2000b, 523), Ludovic "is the image of what the West Indies will become. He is a sort of future projection... of people who don't have a nationality, who don't have a precise homeland or culture, who have a sort of general, global culture, but who often don't have social roles commensurate with their vision."

among whom Reynalda did welfare work (200). ¹⁹ Garvey, the son of Reynalda and Ludovic, is the quintessential black European, yet he is never quite at home. He inhabits a Paris building peopled by "dusky foreigners"—exiles and migrants of all kinds (219). Named, ironically, for the Caribbean-born prophet whose U.S. black nationalism took the form of a back-to-Africa movement, Garvey repudiates the "quest for identity" that motivates Marie-Noëlle and the nostalgia that drives his friend Soglo's desire to return to an African birthplace from which his father fled as a political exile (238 ff.). Yet Garvey himself is marooned in the inability to relate to any other person; he connects only with the Caribbean jazz in the "Soho Club" he frequents in the Reaumur-Sebastopol district of Paris and with other forms of border-crossing music.

If one consequence of the exile and migration that define the political terrain on which *Desirada* unfolds is the unhappiness and alienation that afflict most of the novel's characters, another is the heterogeneous, vibrant culture that is transported and translated from one locale to another. This culture is traced, in the novel, through music that traverses generic as well as geographic boundaries. As a teenager in Paris, for example, Marie-Noëlle is taken by her friend's mother Natasha, a Russian married to a Haitian, to hear Joan Baez sing in front of Notre Dame and to dance to the music of Ike and Tina Turner, who have recently returned from Ghana (2000a, 43). Stanley Watts, the musician to whom Marie-Noëlle is briefly and unhappily married, is born in Trinidad and migrates to London and the south of France before settling, if one can call it that, in Boston, where she follows him. The founder of a group he calls MNA (Music of a New Age), he is attacked at a festival in Santo Domingo because he takes his inspiration not from Bob Marley but from Antonín Dvořák.

The harbinger of a new era that has not yet arrived, Stanley is misunderstood in his own moment. (In fact, he drinks himself to death.) Virtually the only character in the novel who appreciates his genius is Garvey. Stanley's music, the product of improvisation, bricolage, métissage, and "cannibalization," which do not respect traditional taxonomies of culture—high-low, European-American-Caribbean, or jazz-classical—is the novel's model for cultural work of all kinds. As Condé explains, drawing on the "Cannibal Manifesto" of Oswaldo de Andrade (1928), "Can-

¹⁹ In the gimpse of Reynalda as both an immigrant and an observer of immigrants, and especially in the way that Condé connects Reynalda's discussion of her subjects' traumas and fantasies with her own history, *Desirada* complements Bébel-Gisler's work as Mesh (1997) describes it and Sassen's more theoretical "take" (1998) on the place of immigrant women in global cities.

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nibalization is what you do to what you love. You eat what you worship but also make fun of it."²⁰ The transnational, translational character of Stanley's project is recalled in the work and writings of Marie-Noëlle, who labors miserably on a dissertation on Jean Genet before turning her attention to francophone Caribbean writers; her mother Reynalda; and her mentor Anthea, who writes on Jane Austen and African-American authors, then studies letters of an eighteenth-century Brazilian slave that she has discovered in Ghana.

Desirada also offers a thoroughgoing critique of myths of origins, authenticity, and identity. Condé at once sets in motion and destabilizes the narratives of departure and return, loss and recovery, that structure both traditional feminine versions of the family romance and the locus classicus of the Caribbean diaspora, Aimé Césaire's Cahier d'un retour au pays natul (1939).21 Marie-Noëlle's life is constituted by maternal deprivation and loss. The loss of Reynalda, the mother who abandons her, is intensified when she is summoned to Paris and separated from Ranélise, the only mother she has known. Marie-Noëlle tries, unsuccessfully, to find substitutes for the maternal love of which she has been deprived—in Stanley; in Nina; in the search for her unknown father, that is, in a lover-husband; in the grandmother who evokes an idealized matrilineage as a refuge from the here and now; and in the father whose authority would supplant, supersede, or otherwise compensate for the absence left by the mother's departure. Quite incapable of friendship, however, she is unable to seek or find the lost mother in surrogate sisters or friends. Eventually, she realizes, even if painfully, that she must fend for herself. Yet this realization does not signal the liberation of an "individual" from circumstances not of her own making (Freud 1959a, 237). Rather, Marie-Noëlle reluctantly acknowledges that she must "live with the unknown" (2000a, 231)—that is, that she will never know who her father was—and that her own history is inscribed in the stories of others and buried in secrets that will never be revealed.

Marie-Noëlle resembles Hortense in Mike Leigh's film Secrets and Lies (1996), Sally Morgan in the autobiographical My Place (1987), and Molly in Phillip Noyce's Rabbit-Proof Fence (2002). Hortense is the black daugh-

²⁰ Condé remarked on cannibalization at a reading in New York in September 1999, and at a roundtable, titled "Expressions and Documentations of the Route: Literature, a Round Table of Caribbean Writers," at the symposium "Slave Routes: The Long Memory," Columbia University, New York, October 1999.

²¹ Among other Caribbean-diasporae narratives that complicate stories of departure and return are Kincaid (1987) 1988 and Phillips (1985) 1995a, (1986) 1995b On the family romance, see Freud 1959a and Hirsch 1989, 1994

ter of a white mother who gave her up for adoption; she seeks out and questions her birth mother but never discovers the identity of her father. Sally is the daughter of a white Australian father and a mixed-race mother; she questions her maternal grandmother, who refuses to disclose the identity of her maternal grandfather. Molly, too, is the black daughter of an unknown white father. That the patrilineages of Hortense, Sally, Molly, and Marie-Noëlle remain shrouded in "secrets and lies" has a public and political as well as a private and personal dimension. The stories not told, the secrets kept, suggest rape and, in Morgan's case, incest as well, but they also situate the daughter-protagonists in national and transnational or, more precisely, transcolonial histories.

As Hortense evokes the history of Britain's black population and as Molly exemplifies and Sally recalls the history of Australia's "stolen generation," so Marie-Noëlle figures the history of Guadeloupe itself.²² Colonized by France in the seventeenth century (but briefly, between 1759 and 1763, a British colony), in 1946 Guadeloupe became part of France as one of the *départements d'outre mer*. Not exactly a colony, Guadeloupe is not a nation either but, rather, a place whose history, like that of Marie-Noëlle herself, at once occurs and is narrated elsewhere and otherwise. Moreover, the motif of the "Return to the Native Land" that looms large in stories of the Caribbean diaspora is in *Desirada* both feminized and decentered: not the main event, neither the beginning nor the end, "return" is a phase in the larger trajectory of Marie-Noëlle's wanderings, which set the very idea of the "native land" in a global context.

The "elsewhere" and "otherwise" are also rendered in the novel in the structures of address—that is, in the ways that the novel addresses and thereby constructs implied readers unfamiliar with Guadeloupe. Condé sketches, for example, the history and geography of the town of Port Louis where Marie-Noëlle lived with Ranélise: "Before it was devastated by hurricanes and the demise of sugarcane, Port Louis was undoubtedly the prettiest town on Grande-Terre. . . . A row of tall elegant wooden houses . . . belonged to the representatives of the financiers in metropolitan France who had taken over from the white Creoles, the former masters of the sugar plantations" (2000a, 18). La Désirade, similarly, is explained to readers who presumably know little about it but who are drawn in by the narrator's use of the first-person plural: "A land of exile.

²² On the "Stolen Generation," see Gilfeder 2001. Condé notes that her three protagonists, "the grandmother who almost never left Desirada . . . , the mother who left for France and who represents the first form of emigration, and her daughter who ultimately arrives in Boston . . correspond to three ways of being . . . Guadeloupian" (2000b, 520).

Once a penal colony. Once a lazaretto" (150). It features a high plateau where "our historians tell us" that a "colony of maroons set up camp" (162; my emphasis). Later, when Marie-Noëlle herself reflects on her working-class, multiracial Boston students' misperceptions of Guadeloupe as a Caribbean paradise, she makes the novel's readers privy to what she does not tell the students, that Guadeloupe "in fact was a tiny volcanic bone stuck in the throat of the ocean, to which clung a handful of valiant, hardworking men and women, determined to survive at all costs" (198).

Condé has said that the ideal reader she envisages is a Guadeloupian, but at the same time she laments the paucity of actual readers in Guadeloupe with the leisure or inclination to read her books (2000c, 2001). Condé's relations with readers scattered around the world are one manifestation of the transnational, translocal enterprise that is also expressed in her resolute refusal of nostalgia, identity politics, and essentialism of all kinds and in her sense, frequently expressed, of reading and writing as a kind of cannibalization. At the same time, her as yet unfulfilled desire to be read in Guadeloupe suggests that writing alone cannot bring into being the readers she wishes for, that, as the careers of Reynalda and Marie-Noëlle differently suggest, the project of globalization remains unfinished.

Jamaica Kincald: Neocolonial mentalities in the era of globalization

Like Condé, Kincaid situates the "less than symmetrical hybridity" of the Caribbean in a larger—global—scene. Kincaid's Caribbean, sketched in texts across a range of narrative genres, is an imaginative landscape shaped by colonialism and its aftermath. Setting her female narrators and protagonists in this landscape, Kincaid represents the impact of globalization, and especially colonial and neocolonial uneven development, on the diasporic female Caribbean subject. In the interplay of what Moira Ferguson (1994) calls "the land" and "the body," Kincaid at once deploys and undermines the association of woman with the colonial or neocolonial locale, or with the nation, emancipated or otherwise, identified as "a small place" in the text with that title. Similarly, Kincaid's protagonists resist inscription in the family stories evoked in such titles as The Autobiagraphy of My Mother (1996), My Brother (1997), and Mr. Potter (the author's

²³ Condé notes that "half the population of [Guadeloupe and Martinique] lives abroad" (1993, 130).

²⁴ On Kincaid's blurring of the generic boundaries of autobiography, fiction, and memoir, see Gilmore 1998; Schulteis 2001; and Bernard 2002.

father's name [2002]). In grafting the political and the psychological, or superimposing the one on the other, Kincaid elaborates what I want to call a neocolonial family romance. The neocolonial matrix in which family is both metaphor and metonymy of a larger political ensemble engenders in her narrators and protagonists not only the aloneness and aloofness that beset Condé's Marie-Noelle and Reynalda but also a rage that overflows the bounds of the texts and challenges Kincaid's readers.

Kincaid was born Elaine Potter Richardson in Antigua in 1949. She left Antigua in 1966, just as it was gaining partial independence from Britain (Ferguson 1994, 78, 197). Antigua became self-governing in 1981, but self-government did not entail emancipation in any meaningful way, as Kincaid found when she returned to Antigua in the 1980s and again in the 1990s. In A Small Place, at once a travel narrative and a polemical critique of the neocolonial construction of travel as tourism, ²⁶ Kincaid recounts her return to a nation in disarray. Similarly, in My Brother, she describes her brother's battle with and death from AIDS in a place where poverty, corruption, puritanical attitudes toward sexuality, and the willful ignorance of many Antiguans exponentially magnify the effects of HIV. In these texts, then, Kincaid explicitly takes as her topic the contours and consequences of a neocolonial political economy that is reminiscent in its underdevelopment of the colonial culture described in the fiction.

The relationship between mother and daughter, or the figure of the mother, plays a crucial part in Kincaid's writings, as critics have pointed out and Kincaid herself has observed. A source of seemingly boundless rage, mother-daughter relations in the novels are placed in a colonial scene that explains even if it does not justify the actions and feelings of the characters. In *The Autobiography of My Mother*, the status of both mother, Xuela Claudette Desvarieux, and daughter, Xuela Claudette Richardson, are put into question not only by the fact that they have the same given names but also by the rather cryptic title of the text. Autobiography

²⁸ Schulters (2001, 4) and Bernard (2002, 121) comment on the rejection of traditional family and sexual roles by Xucla, the protagonust-narrator of *The Autobiography of My Mother*.

³⁶ See Pratt 1992 and Clifford 1997.

²⁷ See Ferguson 1994, 1–2, passum; Schulteis 2001; and Bernard 2002. Kincaid told Ferguson, "I used to think I was writing about my mother and myself. Later I began to see that I was writing about the relationship between the powerful and the powerless" (quoted in Ferguson 1994, 105). For other critics who examine mothers and daughters in the fiction, see Bernard 2002, n. 2.

Bernard notes that in this text, the daughter has a "monopoly of voice" and that Kincaid draws on elements from her own life and the lives of her mother and grandmother in the depiction of the daughter and mother (2002, 120–21).

of "my mother" suggests that the daughter's predicament resembles that of Condé's Marie-Noëlle, who feels thwarted by the fact that her mother has written the book of her life (Condé 2000a, 200–1, 231). In Kincaid's novel, however, it is the daughter-narrator who writes the book of the mother's life: while Marie-Noëlle just begins to find a voice in the brief first-person narration that ends Desirada, The Autobiography of My Mother is entirely narrated in the first person by Xuela Richardson. If the mother takes possession of the daughter's story, the daughter appropriates the mother's discourse. The mother-daughter relationship involves neither nurturing nor autonomy but a dance of mutual usurpation.

The mother-daughter story is further complicated in Mr. Potter. The scrambled chronology of the novel not only represents the fractured subjectivity of the first-person narrator but also disrupts traditional narratives of female "development" and "generation." In the standard Freudian scheme and feminist variations on it, the precedipal mother-daughter couple precedes the oedipal father-daughter pair; the latter supersedes and as it were triangulates the former.29 Here, the narrator's tales of her father and grandfather precede her stories about her mother. That is, the narrative of paternal deprivation—the abandonment of mothers and children by the narrator's mixed-race father and by her Scottish grandfather—is logically and chronologically prior to the experience of maternal loss and deprivation that shapes the narrators and protagonists of much of Kincaid's work. In making the story of the father and grandfather the antecedent to the mother-daughter story, Kincaid shows how the subjectivities of both mother and daughter are produced by specifically Caribbean articulations of race and gender.

Anger haunts A Small Place and My Brother as well as Kincaid's fiction. In broad strokes, A Small Place portrays the legacy of British rule that leaves in its wake a fury like a daughter's rage at maternal deprivation and abandonment. In My Brother, for example, Kincaid says that her mother could only love someone who is dependent on her (1997, 53). Yet, as in Mr. Potter, the mother's stance is represented (2002, 127–28) as a response to a colonial economy of race, class, and gender in which daughters are especially vulnerable. The colonial or neocolonial race-gender nexus induces inadequate mothering and exacerbates the effects of HIV; the angry daughter, a product of not-good-enough-mothering, becomes the sister who cannot save her brother from the ravages of AIDS and symbolizes the colonized subject or the (neo)colonial location itself.

See Freud 1959b, 1965; and Chodorow 1978.

see Ferguson 1994; and "Girl," the first story in Kincaid's first book (1978, 3-5).

A Small Place draws on the conventions of the detective story and the case history, among other genres. The question posed in A Small Place is not "who am I?" or "how did I come to be this way?" but "why is Antigua the way it is now?" (In The Autobiography of My Mother, Xuela reflects that her heritage includes the "defeated . . . exterminated" Caribs and Africans who were defeated but survived, remarks that in school she spoke both English and French patois, and then asks "who was I?" [1996, 16].) A Small Place, written in the second person, is directed at a tourist, addressed as "you" and implicated, at least rhetorically, in the situation described: appalling poverty and remarkable beauty, a crumbling infrastructure and conspicuous consumption, impoverished citizens, and fat foreigners who exploit the nation's resources and its population alike.

The scathing depiction of the political economy and culture of Antigua after independence from Britain demolishes the mythology of anticolonial political movements, in which a heroic national child struggles for liberation from the oppressive yoke of colonizing or colonialist parents, whether tyrannical father or, as Frantz Fanon would have it (1963, 145), "implacable mother." Here, "independence" is virtually meaningless, a neocolonial repetition of the trauma of colonization and of colonial hierarchies of race, class, and gender. To give just a few illustrations of neocolonial relations: The island no longer "belongs" to the British; now, tawdry local officials steal elections and thrive on extortion and graft. Slavery has long been abolished; now, the mainstay of the economy is tourism, part of a global system that exploits and "underdevelops" most Antiguans, who are descendants of slaves, as Kincaid points out. The Japanese cars on Antigua's roads, sold by Syrian dealers in cahoots with the corrupt government, are visible tokens of the multinational capitalism that drains the nation's cash and pollutes its environment.³¹

Three institutions are especially prominent in the cartography of neocolonialist underdevelopment. The library was damaged in an earth-quake in 1974 and never repaired or rebuilt. Barclays Bank was founded by ex-slave traders after "emancipation" made it illegal to traffic in human flesh. Later, the Barclays reaped profits by "borrowing" the savings of the slaves' descendants and "lending" the money back to them ([1987] 1988, 26). The Mill Reef Club ([1987] 1988, 27) was built by wealthy North American whites who vacation in Antigua; the workers were and are Antiguans (blacks) who until recently were excluded from membership. In a nation in thrall to criminals who install and maintain in power the corrupt, repressive, and inefficient government of Prime Minister Vere C.

³¹ On environmental pollution, see Ferguson 1994, 83, n. 7, 180-81.

Bird, the recycling of tourist dollars takes priority over the rebuilding of the library and other projects that might benefit citizens of Antigua.

In describing the culture in which she grew up, Kincaid notes that she lived on a street named for "war criminals" such as Admiral Horatio Nelson and was schooled in the language of the exploiters. In Mr. Potter, similarly, the narrator's father is named Rodney after the "English maritime criminal George Brydges Rodney" (2002, 64). In A Small Place, Kincaid explains that the colonial subject is forced to use an alien language since her own is lost: "You loved knowledge, and wherever you went you made sure to build a school, a library (yes and in both of these places you distorted or erased my history and glorified your own)" ([1987] 1988, 36). The erased or distorted history is identified in The Autobiography of My Mother with the Carib people who "were no more . . . extinct" and whose language was altogether lost (1996, 197-98).12 Subjected to systematic economic exploitation and its concomitant, cultural impoverishment, Kincaid says in A Small Place, she can neither forgive nor forget the past ([1987] 1988, 26). Her predicament is writ large in that of all the denizens of "a small place" who "cannot see themselves in a larger picture" and are accordingly bombarded by images they cannot make sense of ([1987] 1988, 52).

Unlike many, Kincaid left Antigua. Her account of how she became a writer, fostered by William Shawn at the New Yorker and by the new family she found and made to replace the one she left, or left behind, invites speculation about whether her trajectory associates decolonization with a shift in attention or allegiance from mother to father. 33 Yet the depiction in Mr. Potter of the narrator's illiterate father and grandfather suggests that what is at stake is not just family relations. Kincaid audaciously charts identifications that take her away from the "small place" of her birth and from confinement in the family and that register a refusal to respect differences, or hierarchies, of race, class, and gender. Reading and writing in both Mr. Potter and The Autobiography of My Mother distinguish the narrator-protagonist from fathers and mothers alike.

²² International treaties reserved Dominica, birthplace of the narrator's mother, for the Carib (Rogozinski 1994, 157) The "lost language" of the Carib is symbolically aligned with the lost language of the mother in patriarchal culture

¹³ A Small Place was originally written for William Shawn's New Yorker with its readers in mind. Kincaid has said (1990) that Shawn was the idealized reader for whom she wrote See also My Brother (195–96) and the account Kincaid gives (2001, 3–15) of the origins of her career as a writer and especially of Shawn's role in fostering her writing. In these accounts, Shawn is represented as the enabling father who displaces the mother, much as the "new" or invented family displaces the original, natal one

The neocolonial landscape of A Small Place and My Brother closely resembles the colonial—that is, preindependence—terrain in which The Autobiography of My Mother and Mr. Potter are set. Throughout Kincaid's writings, things are never innocent; rather, they are emphatically presented, diacritically marked, as metonyms of empire and its aftermath. In The Autobiography of My Mother, for example, the members of the congregation at a beautiful church built by "enslaved people" in imitation of a church in England drink "English tea" and "English cocoa," commodities that, the narrator reminds us, are English by virtue of England's imperial extensions elsewhere (1996, 133, 142). The clothing of the narrator's grandfather Nathaniel in Mr. Potter inscribes the entire history of empire: he wears trousers and a shirt made of cotton grown in Antigua, woven into cloth in England, and sent back to Antigua as yard goods that he bought at the local shop and turned into garments, yet he is entirely unaware of the way that his "body was mixed up with the world" (2002, 46-47)—that is, of what Foucault and Hardt and Negri might call biopower.

Nathaniel's ignorance is an extreme case of a pervasive epistemological impoverishment, virtually a given in the Caribbean locale Kincaid portrays. Reflecting on the practice of obeah, Xuela notes that "our experience can't be interpreted by us" (1996, 37). All but one of Nathaniel's daughters have "ordinary names"-Jane, Charlotte, Emily, Rose, Iris, Lily, and Heather—that refer to English writers of whom, illiterate, he is presumably ignorant and to English flowers unknown in Antigua (1996, 120). Nathaniel passes "fields of sugarcane stilled now but with their history of horror unspeakable imprisoned in each stray blade, each stray stalk [of sugar cane]," but he "never thought of all that was before him" (1996, 121). The narrator's father in Mr. Potter notices as little as her grandfather. His incomprehension of what he sees inaugurates the novel: "The sun was in its usual place, . . . but Mr. Potter did not note this" (2002, 3). That he does not progress, or that his progress is insignificant, is conveyed in the repetition, almost verbatim, of the same sentence about halfway through the novel (2002, 117). Even his verbal repertoire is limited: his typical remark is the uncomprehending and incomprehensible "Eh eh!" repeated (without the exclamation point) by the local gravedigger (2002, 26, 51).

Kincaid's narrators, schooled in colonial curricula that ironically enable them to recognize what other characters do not notice, the signs of their own subjection, nevertheless refuse to occupy the subordinate place assigned them in traditional narratives—sexual, familial, and national (Schulteis 2001, 4, 13). Describing Roseau, the capital of Dominica, Xuela tells us that it cannot be called a city because it cannot "embody [the] noble

aspirations" of culture and commerce; rather it is just an "outpost, a way station for people for whom things had gone wrong" (Kincaid 1996, 60–61). As Roseau is not a city, she insists, "I am not a people, I am not a nation." Yet she does express the "wish from time to time to time to make my actions be the actions of a people, to make my actions be the actions of a nation" (216). Later she says, "I refused to belong to a race. I refused to accept a nation. I wanted only, and still do want, to observe the people who do so" (226). Xuela not only resists placement in national and racial narratives, she also rejects conventional sexual and familial scripts, refusing in particular the motherhood ordained for her, as Schulteis points out (2001, 4).

One of the most disturbing aspects of The Autobiography of My Mother is Xuela's aggressive sexual solipsism. Autoerotic pleasure takes priority in this novel not only as ground and source but also as substitute for other kinds of sexual relations, indeed for any interpersonal or intersubjective relations at all. Xuela's insistence that her own pleasure is primary, her hungry demand that men pleasure her as she pleasures and pleasured herself, is not only an expression of self-assertion but also a sign of resistance to the colonial sex-race-gender system and of a refusal to be domesticated by the hierarchy of domination and subordination that structures heterosexual coupling and the heterosexual couple in the world she describes.34 Yet her rejection of traditional identity scripts, like that of Garvey in Desirada, is also a symptom of a troubling alienation and aloneness. In other words, in Xuela's apparently implacable self-absorption, Kincaid asks whether solitude, self-infatuation, and even imprisonment in the self are inevitable consequences of resistance to colonial and neocolonial globalization alike.

The narrator's self-immersion is encoded in the very texture of *The Autobiography of My Mother* and especially *Mr. Potter*, a novel in which there is no dialogue between characters and very little reported speech. The narrator of *Mr. Potter* presents herself as someone who can read and write, like her mother (2002, 131) and unlike her father and grandfather. She frequently reiterates the pride and pleasure she takes in both reading and writing in general, and she particularly revels in the imaginative and discursive power—a power that recalls the capacity to invent a life that Marie-Noëlle envisages only at the end of *Desirada*—that enables her to "make" and "unmake" her father. Mr. Potter, she tells us, cannot write back and is thus "unable to affect the portrait of him I am rendering

Both Schulteis (2001, 1-12) and Bernard (2002, 125-26) comment on this, but they seem to me to underemphasize the significance of Xucla's self-absorption

here" (158). But the narrator is not entirely confined in her own consciousness or discourse. Although she has no interlocutors within the novel, she does address the novel's readers, albeit in the imperative mood: "See the motherless Roderick Nathaniel Potter," she commands. "See him a small boy! . . . See his clothes" (77). And, in the novel's last sentences, she exhorts: "Hear Mr. Potter! See Mr. Potter! Touch Mr. Potter! Mr. Potter was my father, my father's name was Mr. Potter" (195).

If the novel's final words render the narrator's claiming of her patronymic, a patronymic that the author dropped when she adopted the pseudonym Jamaica Kincaid, the penultimate sentence, like the earlier exhortations, makes significant demands on the novel's readers. The use of the imperative not only puts readers in a position like that of the "you" addressed in A Small Place but also commands them to acknowledge or at least approach Mr. Potter and, implicitly, to set aside whatever antipathy they might harbor toward this dislikable man. Thus, the readers are aligned with the narrator who, in claiming kinship with Mr. Potter, overcomes at least for the moment the resentment that everywhere marks her depiction of him. In contrast, the readers addressed in A Small Place are urged to separate themselves from the tourists excoriated by Kincaid. Despite the obvious differences, the rhetoric of direct address in both cases serves similar purposes. In provoking readers' resistance, even anger, the texts and their narrators also ask readers to reject the colonial and neocolonial relations that engender the narrators' resistance and rage. Yet the absence of conversation and the predominance of monologue in Kincaid's narratives suggest the intractability and persistence of colonial mentalities in the era of globalization.

Both Desirada and the Kincaid texts I have been discussing deploy structures of address that draw in readers—actual and implied interlocutors—constructed as potential partners in the project of globalization. While Condé beckons to readers, whether in Guadeloupe or elsewhere, in order to imagine them into being, Kincaid enlists them as resisting subjects of neocolonial modes of relation. Complementing the work of scholars, critics, and activists, the narratives of Condé and Kincaid emphasize the subjectivity of characters placed in a global scene. As these novelists challenge us to join the conversations they launch, they also invite us to participate in the transformations glimpsed or prefigured in their writings and allow us to experience the changes we call globalization alongside or from the very particular perspectives of their narrators and protagonists. Yet, like the persistent inequalities that empirical and theoretical studies of globalization elucidate and call on us to alter, the tenuous resolutions that

end Desirada and Mr. Potter also point to the magnitude of what remains to be achieved.

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Gendered Webs of Development and Resistance: Women, Children, and Flowers in Bogotá

he sun has not yet risen when Marisol wakes at 5:30 A.M. to begin the day's work that lies ahead. She prepares breakfast and lunch for herself, wakes her two children, dresses them, and departs for the home of Paula, the local community mother, where she will leave her children. Only then can she begin her own journey to work on foot, walking briskly down the gravel road in order to catch the bus to the greenhouses.

She arrives to find that her team of workers has been issued a warning about their low productivity rates for last week. Marisol recalls that her contract is up for renewal in three weeks, and if her production team does not work faster, she may not be rehired. Thus she resolves to make the quota of cutting and sorting fifteen hundred carnations per hour (twenty-five per minute), despite the repetitive stress injury she has been trying to recover from lately. Marisol thinks to herself that her Aunt Patricia (a longtime flower cultivator who was hired before the passage of the labor reforms) never had to face such insecurity. Moreover, Marisol has heard rumors about the movement of rose cultivation to Ecuador because the climactic conditions are better and the workers cultivate for even less there. She has managed to keep her job with Dole for nine months now, though the tendons in her hands are weakening, and with them, so are her chances

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¹ Mansol is a composite figure representing the range of experiences I discovered among women laboring in the fresh-cut flower industry during my fieldwork in the greater Bogotá area during the summer of 2000. All names of actual persons in this essay have been replaced with pseudonyms in order to protect confidentiality

for being retained by Dole. At age thirty-four, Marisol, who left domestic work for this job in flowers (which offers some health care benefits and a pension), is beginning to be viewed as unproductive by flower industry standards.

After clocking in, Marisol begins by squatting on her knees and planting the seedlings that the men have unloaded from the cases (sent from the United States) and sprayed with herbicides. She plants rows and rows of carnation seedlings as quickly as she can manage, and when she is finished her hands are sticky and her back, knees, and shoulders ache. It is now time for her to uncoil the hose and do the watering. The hose is heavy, and she must be careful to pull it along so that it does not brush against the rows of carnations and buds that line the greenhouse; the flowers, she is told, must be blemish free, perfectly straight, perfect. Her supervisor advises her, "You know what it is to be a good mother. Treat them as delicately as you would your child."

After she finishes with the watering, Marisol proceeds to the beds of carnations, which are about ready to sprout buds. She spends time going through each stalk, tearing and discarding the offshoots, and next, Marisol places small, thick rubber bands around the tiny buds. This is an important step, as it keeps the flowers from opening prematurely and trains them to open in the most beautiful way. By now it is approaching 11 A.M., and she is able to stop for a twenty-minute lunch and bathroom break. As she and the other women who sit outside the greenhouses on the picnic benches are discouraged by their supervisors from talking with one another, they take advantage of their break by eating, drinking water, and breathing in the open air. Twenty minutes later, the women finish eating, and the men finish their fumigation of the soil, seedlings, and flowers.

Upon her return, Marisol can feel the heat through the plastic tarps, which, combined with the smell of lingering pesticides, makes her dizzy and nauseous and stings her eyes. Her nausea worsens with each passing week, and by now she has trained herself not to rub her eyes when they itch, as the pesticide residue on her hands from clipping the vines only makes matters worse.

With sweat now dripping off her brow, Marisol heads to the strikingly frigid packing room to trim, sort, and package the sticky flowers for their speedy departure to the Bogotá international airport. She aims to cut and bunch twenty-five flowers per minute and packages them in boxes that read "Export Quality Colombian Flowers." Only when she finishes this task is Marisol ready for the bus ride home. It is 3:30 P.M., and if the bus arrives on time, she will be able to pick up her children from Paula's house. She thinks to herself that the walk will feel good and wonders how

her children are doing. Satisfied with her notion that she met the productivity quota today, Marisol feels a tinge of confidence that she will not have to pick up and move her family within the next three weeks.

Many feminists argue that processes of globalization reveal patterns of gendering that distinctly affect women and their experiences of formal and informal work, such as flower production and child care, respectively (Marchand and Runyan 2000; Bergeron 2001), while others have pointed to the growing interdependency of formal and informal labor under neoliberal global restructuring (Vilas 1995; Peterson and Runyan 1999). Feminists also assert that an understanding of women's lived experiences requires the decentering of production as the chief site of political, economic, and cultural analysis (Smith 1999). Colombian flower production for export provides a strategic locus for examining the connections among development, global restructuring, the gendering of such processes, and women's struggles with their shifting social environments. As flower cultivators, women labor under the conditions generated by flexible accumulation, and they respond variously to the gendered environmental politics, health dilemmas, and working conditions they face.

How, then, can we imagine new forms of development that benefit women in the broadest and most desirable ways? My research, which generates an analysis that travels between the greenhouses of Bogotá's savannas where flowers are cultivated and the community homes where children are raised, suggests that a new understanding of development requires a consideration of the importance of gendered webs of development. That is, as we seek to better comprehend women's lived realities—which transcend the bounds of discrete and often microlevel development projects—a notion of gendered webs of development provides a more multidimensional illustration of the ways in which women's lives are multiply imbricated with one another via local development projects. Those projects that target groups of women-either as workers, microentrepreneurs, or mothersalways affect more women than they intend to. Women's livelihoods are bound together in webs that either place them in relations of conflict with one another, as in the case of the often racialized and always classed employer/domestic worker relationship (see Chang 2000), or are characterized by common interests and thus present the possibilities of developing solidarity struggles against the less desirable forms of development that global restructuring produces (see Mohanty 1997).

By pointing to the linkages between women who labor in flowers and women who care for children as community mothers, I map a gendered web of development and therefore a new way of envisioning the possibilities and limitations of development projects for women across ages, ethnicities, occupations, and other social divides. Tracing the different realities of women who cultivate flowers and women who labor in child care, I argue that desirable forms of development facilitate the opening of cultural spaces (see Lind 2000) in which women can act to reshape development. Gita Sen and Caren Grown (1987) have shown that, far too often, development projects for women have been carried out in uncoordinated ways, with too little concern for long-term sustainability. Rather, long-term strategies that enable women to be authors of development hold more promise for improving women's lives. Community mothers and flower cultivators, both of whom face daunting labor conditions as women workers under current development projects, also demonstrate forms of resistance that might be realized in coordination with one another. Envisioning development projects as two threads within the same web can lead to a better understanding of women's collective, interconnected resistances as well.

Flexible flower production as Colombian development: An overview

In 1989, Jorge Sílva and Marta Rodriguez de Sílva produced a documentary titled Love, Women, and Flowers (1989). This film brought attention to the massive employment of Colombian women in flower cultivation by taking the viewer into the greenhouse to witness the production process required for export quality flowers. The film radically centered the voices of women who cultivate flowers, and it prompted me to question whether flower production has been a successful form of development for Colombian women. Alternatively, is there an imaginable scenario in which the cultivation of flowers on women's own terms might constitute a promising form of development?

The fresh-cut export-oriented flower industry is the single largest employer of women in the greater Bogotá region, where 90 percent of Colombian flowers are cultivated. The flower industry in Colombia is second only to that of the Netherlands in export flower production in the world and is the number one producer among Third-World countries. Colombia's flower industry employs approximately eighty thousand workers, about 80 percent of whom are women (Stewart 1997; Farné 1998). Another sixty thousand jobs, mostly involved with the transportation of flowers, are indirectly related to this industry. Women employed in the flower industry typically earn the equivalent of US\$120—\$130 per month, which amounts to an estimated one-third of the cost of living in Colombia. Today, the industry exports more than \$510 million worth of flowers each

year, 80 percent of which land in North America (78 percent to the United States; 2 percent to Canada).

Historically, in Latin America the deterioration of local food production has been associated with the rise of the monocultural farming of agricultural exports as a development strategy. During the same time at which the flower industry blossomed (beginning in 1965), Colombian agriculture began to collapse as a result of the United States's implementation of its food aid program. As U.S. wheat imports increased tenfold between the 1950s and 1971 (a process that occurred with the cooperation of the Colombian state), peasant farmers were displaced, and the trend toward urbanization got underway (see McMichael 2000). In Colombia, flowers have become one among a few key nontraditional agroexports whose production has been encouraged by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a development strategy (Thrupp 1997).2 The flower industry's operations have thus flourished in the last few decades, clustering across the savannas of Bogotá in large agroindustrial greenhouse formations. The year 1998 was particularly emblematic of the consolidation of the Colombian flower industry as the transnational Dole Corporation acquired approximately 20 percent of the entire industry when it purchased fifty enterprises. In response, Colombian floriculture corporations have formed commercial associations with one another in order to be able to compete with Dole. Some have also relocated to Ecuador, where climactic conditions are at least as favorable and labor costs are even lower and thus are also increasingly participating in the transnationalization of cut flower production, a significant shift in flower industry practice due to its historical significance as an avenue for national development in Colombia.

While not a heavily indebted Latin American nation in comparative terms, Colombia has adopted privatization, trade liberalization, and labor deregulation policies to compete more successfully in the global market. Banks, ports, railways, garbage disposal services, telecommunications, and electrical utilities—previously under the control of the state—have been transferred to the domain of the private for-profit sector. In a similar move, a series of labor reform laws were enacted in 1990 and 1991 to allow corporations more flexibility with respect to labor costs. These were part of an overall effort to move away from policies whose tariffs privileged

^a "Traditional" agroexports include coffee, sugar, and bananas and are produced for mass consumption. During the 1980s, falling commodity prices led to diversification of higher value "nontraditional" agroexports such as specialty fruits, vegetables, and fresh-cut flowers (see Thrupp 1997)

local and national production and to "open up" the economy to transnational capital.

Although such labor reform laws often carry an ostensibly gender-neutral tone, they distinctly have an impact on women. For example, in Colombia, an industry guidebook written in collaboration with Colombian banks and geared toward attracting investment, author Brian McBeth discusses the Colombian flower industry's success: "The climactic conditions of the country are ideal with plenty of sunshine, few frosts, and barely any seasonal change in temperatures so that flowers can be produced all year around, without any heating or cooling costs. In addition, there is a ready supply of cheap female labour for sorting and packing the flowers" (1993, 71; my emphasis). While Colombian women laborers are discussed as if they are simply a natural part of the flower-friendly environment, the question remains whether the flower industry provides the "ideal conditions" for the women who labor within it. My interviews in 2000 with floriculture workers and activists indicate that the deregulation of labor laws has had mainly unfavorable effects on workers and particularly on women workers who cultivate roses, carnations, and chrysanthemums chiefly for export to the North American consumer market.

Women work in the Colombian flower industry according to a strict gendered division of labor. They attend to all the activities required in cultivation, such as planting, fertilizing, cutting, classifying, and bunching flowers together, while men are hired to apply the pesticides and herbicides, maintain the greenhouse structures, and transport the flowers to Bogotá's international airport. Rebeca, an employed organizer with Cactus, a leading organization working on behalf of flower cultivators, notes that "nimble fingers" discourses (see Ong 1997; Pearson 1998) continue to be invoked in regard to women and flower production:

The women cut the flowers; the men generally do not do the labor of cutting. The women also do the work of classifying, because it is said that the feminine hand is more delicate, more careful than that of the man, for handling the cut flower. . . . So, this is an option for many women who don't have other work opportunities, and it is work that sacrifices them, no? And they are preferred because they are much more compliant, less demanding, [employers have] many of these sentiments. And because the woman worker is more delicate, which is what the enterprises argue that women have, delicateness. . . . And so the wage levels are always a bit lower, no?

Due to the changes in labor laws, women typically cultivate flowers

without job security in temporary, fixed-term contract situations; each contract is usually of a three-month duration. This deregulation of production is further reflected in subcontracting arrangements where women often move from greenhouse to greenhouse even within the span of a short (three-month) contract as their assignments shift from week to week. As such, women who work in flowers frequently migrate across municipalities from one greenhouse to the next as contract stipulations shift. As casualized cultivators, women face the consequences of such migration, which, although internal, leads to social isolation and insecurity.

Colombian women who cultivate flowers also confront working conditions that are hazardous to their health, as pesticides and herbicides banned by the United States, Japan, and European countries are exported to Colombia from corporations based in these very nations.³ Pesticide exposure is a daily affair for women cultivating flowers for export, and Colombian flower workers exhibit abnormally high rates of cancer, genetic mutations, sterility, and respiratory and circulatory illnesses. The application of pesticides is especially acute in flower production, as the North American, European, and Japanese consumer markets demand "the perfect flower" from Colombian exporters (Stewart 1997).

Additionally, women's health is compromised by repetitive stress injuries and poor postures that result from the rapid pace and awkward movements required by the strenuous demand of maximizing production yields. Women who cultivate flowers also commonly report excessive fatigue. One cultivator describes her typical day as follows:

I get up at 3:00 or 3:30 in the morning. I make breakfast, I eat, and I get lunch made to take with me. At 5:00 [in the morning] I get the children up and ready and we walk to my mother's house, where I leave them with her. Then I go to work at 6:30, and at this time, I am tired, a little bit. . . . We will get thirty minutes to eat lunch, and later five minutes to have coffee. Five minutes! We continue until our work is complete, sometimes until 8:00 at night; sometimes we work twelve, thirteen hours a day.

Rebeca of Cactus also highlights the difficulty of this work as a result of the production demands of the industry:

The cutting and classifying of flowers, they have weariness from the

An estimated forty thousand people die each year in the Third World from pesticide poisoning (Khor 1996). Marilyn Waring has pointed out that more than 30 percent of all pesticides exported by the United States are illegal for use within its borders (1988).

output they must accomplish. A woman flower worker must cut fifteen hundred or two thousand stems of roses in one hour, but to complete this in that amount of time, the worker is forced to work at a pace which puts great stress on her. If she does not produce such a yield, she calls attention to herself. There are some enterprises that take away part of a worker's salary if she produces below the required yield as a punishment.

With respect to conditions, flower cultivation differs significantly from most other forms of agricultural work due to the use of plastics that cover the greenhouse structures. Women in the flower industry do not work in open fields like most agricultural workers who come into contact with high levels of pesticides. Working underneath greenhouse structures causes rapid temperature changes, which also produce harmful effects on workers' health. Rebeca explains:

The problem of the greenhouses are the plastics, and the light from the sun elevates temperatures inside the greenhouses to very high levels from 32–40 degrees [Celsius] by noontime. These high temperatures pose another health risk for the women workers, and there is humidity. And there are abrupt changes in the temperature; it gets suddenly very cold, and these changes cause women to be sick.⁴

Women's webs of resistance: Mapping the cultural spaces of development

Women's work in flowers—export driven, casualized, and deskilled—presents one case of global development that is at once troubling and promising for the future of women's employment in Colombia. Global development invites a discussion of resistance, as it enables the transformation of local and national resistance practices into transnational campaigns, social movements, and cultural struggles. Some scholars discuss the significance of the rise of a global civil society now that market forces, in the form of supranational institutions such as the IMF and the World Trade Organization, are assuming the roles that states once played in international politics (Peterson and Runyan 1999). As such, women occupying all social locations throughout the world have the power to col-

⁴ I experienced nausea firsthand at a greenhouse in the municipality of Sopó. Within twenty minutes the temperature changed drastically, from being quite cool to extremely hot as the sun began to shine directly on us through the plastic tarps

lectively disrupt the international political order by challenging the meanings and practices of masculinity and femininity. The *madres comunitarias* (or "community mothers"), whom I will discuss in the next section, represent one such strand in the web of resistance to neoliberal forms of development being woven by Colombian women workers. Women who cultivate flowers also pose challenges to the very forms of development that have enabled their positions as feminized, casualized yet formal workers in flowers.

Latin American feminists have been participating in the transnationalization of resistance for decades. In fact, the first Latin American feminist Encuentro (encounter) took place in Bogotá in 1981, and feminist scholars have documented the importance of these transnational resistance practices (Safa 1995; Alvarez 2000). Others, in light of global restructuring, have called on middle-class women to launch an international consumer movement that would express solidarity with the women who produce items for export, such as fresh-cut Colombian flowers (Mies 1986). The joint significance of these two possibilities, that is, transnational Latin American feminist organizing linked with a consumer movement in North America, along with the everyday local struggles of workers, may prove beneficial to the women who work in the flower industry.

Cactus is a nongovernmental organization (NGO) of mostly women advocates, legal advisors, and scientists, funded by European and Canadian donor agencies, that organizes on behalf of the human rights of flower workers and around issues of environmental abuse in the flower industry. Its organizers emphasize the far-reaching social importance of the emergence of temporary contracts in the lives of women who cultivate flowers. Short contracts undermine job security, especially for women, promote competition among workers, and hamper the possibilities for collective worker resistance and community organizing among flower cultivators. Together, these conditions operate synergistically to create a cultural space in which a lasting development for women becomes less foresceable: "When women work in temporary [flower industry] jobs . . . the contract is a short contract of about three months, where they are guaranteed work temporarily, and they rotate locations. This eliminates the possibility of union organization among the workers. Therefore, when the work is contracted, and the worker is rotating to different places, the worker cannot really organize a union, because she does not have direct ties to the business" (Sonia, a scientist with Cactus).

Enterprises also foment competition among workers in order to maximize production by dividing workers into teams and measuring each team's productivity levels. In some cases, enterprises subtract part of a

woman's salary if her production yield falls below the daily requirement. While this is illegal, a worker who contests this is unlikely to have her contract renewed once its term is up. Rebeca describes one such strategy of fostering competition employed by the Dole corporation, a vehemently antiunion employer: "There are . . . enterprises that stimulate competition for more [production] by using symbols. For example, one greenhouse uses green smiley faces to mark the better group, and the slower group is marked with a red, sad face. Or a yellow face for the group in the middle; it is not a sad face, but one that is preoccupied. . . . Dole uses these symbols." This practice of placing workers in teams promotes both competition and "teamwork" among flower cultivators, although the rewards most often do not come in the form of bonus wages. Furthermore, this technique of maximizing production through the use of "happy" and "sad" faces is a gendered method of simultaneously disciplining and infantilizing women who cultivate flowers.

Along with the mobility and insecurity of work comes the loss of community among flower cultivators. This is certainly connected to the prospects of organized resistance as workers feel less connected to communities and less able to participate in community organizations: "In the savannas that produce flowers, there is a very high rotation of persons and that does impede the growth of community organizations. [And] neither does it permit workers to commit themselves to improving the conditions in their neighborhoods. It does not pertain to them; there is no feeling of a neighborhood, a municipality, because they live temporarily and must easily change locations" (Rebeca of Cactus). Sonia also expresses a feeling that the current structure of temporary labor in flowers impedes the growth of a healthy culture of resistance to the exploitative aspects of development as it has taken shape in the flower industry: "[The flower industry] as it exists, changes the culture. It is affected a lot because the production is one that does not permit community building. And it does not permit people to pursue more gratifying work."

And yet, as feminist scholars of development often emphasize, women are not passive victims in light of these circumstances (see Freeman 2002 and Collins 2003 for thoughtful analyses that stress Third-World actors' agency; see also Naples and Desai 2002 for a discussion of the abundance of women's activism in response to globalization).⁵ Despite the fact that

⁵ Kum-Kum Bhavnani (1993) has argued that questions of representation are central to feminist research. That is, research that achieves what she terms feminist objectivity is that which resists representing socially subordinate groups (such as Third-World working-class

resistance is made more difficult due to the existence of temporary contracts, the illnesses induced by working in flowers, and women's work responsibilities at home, some women have been engaging in clandestine organizing with Cactus on behalf of flower workers and the environment.⁶ Flower workers—women and men—also visit the various community centers that Cactus has connections with to seek legal advice and support. Although they may not be eager to become underground organizers, this act signals a lack of acceptance of their employment conditions and involves the risk of being associated with Cactus.

Cactus is involved in a transnationally minded labor struggle against the neoliberal forms of global restructuring that affect not only the workers of the flower industry but all workers whose lives are enmeshed in such political-economic changes. With the realization that traditional labor organizing is ineffective in the globalizing context of Colombian floriculture, Cactus is making links locally (albeit discreetly) with Colombian workers, regionally and transnationally with allied NGOs, and finally, with the "citizen-consumers" (Mohanty 1997) of First-World countries who sustain the demand for Colombian flowers.

An interesting theme that surfaced as a result of my contact with Cactus advocates is the multifaceted character of their social change strategies. Cactus is an organization that struggles for labor rights and improved environmental conditions in the Colombian flower industry. Yet organizers also express a transnational vision of social change in the conditions of flower production throughout Latin America, in some parts of Asia (e.g., India and the Philippines), and on the continent of Africa (e.g., Kenya and Zimbabwe). Furthermore, Cactus advocates advise local flower workers and, when necessary, provide legal resources for them in their struggles against illegal firings and other labor violations. Cactus connects with community centers in towns in order to listen to the concerns of workers and provide legal advice.

One example of the local advocacy work Cactus engages in is the brochures that it distributes through the above centers. One such brochure is titled "Pregnant Women: We Have Rights . . ." It outlines "the problems," which include the fact that enterprises give women pregnancy tests

women) in ways that reproduce dominant representations of them. As such, central to my analysis is the finding that—despite such daunting social conditions—flower cultivators and child-care workers persistently resist exploitation in their daily practices

⁶ Angela, a flower cultivator, was astonished when I asked her if her current employer knows that she is associated with the activities of Cactus. She replied with gasping enthusiasm, "IA₃, no?"

before hiring them; enterprises test women days before their contracts are up, and if they are pregnant the contracts will not be renewed; enterprises do not renew the contracts of pregnant women; and if a woman is pregnant, the enterprise will not adjust her work so as to protect her and her fetus, despite her fatigue. The brochure also outlines women's rights during pregnancy (rights granted by the Colombian state), including paid leave for eighty-four days following the birth of the child; lists some advice about what to do if one's rights have been violated; and suggests a visit to one of the three labor offices in the greater Bogotá area. This local advocacy work that Cactus engages in represents one strand in the transnational web of resistance to harmful development practices.

In addition to locally based strategies for improving women's working conditions in the flower industry, Cactus is focused on an international campaign to promote an international code of conduct in flower production. For Cactus, this entails building transnational coalitions to press for a code of conduct not only in Colombia but across Latin America and in all regions where flowers are cultivated. It also requires Cactus organizers to struggle against *Asscolflores*, the Association of Colombian Flower Exporters:

Right now we are working for the adoption of the code of conduct for Colombian floriculture. It is a proposition we are working for with international organizations in Europe and Canadian organizations. . . . The code of conduct is a compromise that makes enterprises meet standards, and it's a compromise that has become visible in a mark that is put on the cases [of flowers], that is put on the flower bouquets. That is the idea. . . . The code recognizes [that international labor and environmental standards have been met] through a stamp placed on the cases of the flowers and placed in the places where flowers are sold . . . on the shelves of the stores that sell flowers. In Germany, there are eight hundred stores that sell flowers from these enterprises, that are [complying with] this code of conduct. . . . Asocolflores rejects the code of conduct; it rejects any international code where there is participation from independent organizations. Because . . . in this code, NGOs and workers' organizations participate in the accomplishment of this agreement. Asscolflores has a national program that is called Florverde. . . . That program is a self-regulated code of . conduct. The same people check, the same people visit the enterprises, the same people say that the enterprises are fine, or the enterprises are bad. They do not permit other organizations, like us, for example,

to say whether or not the enterprises are fulfilling the agreements that they have made. (Rebeca)

In fact, Asscolftores has attacked Cactus for criticizing the flower industry, charging that the findings of Cactus, in relation to the health and environmental effects of the industry, are not "scientifically supported." Asscolftores publishes its newsletter in English and German but not in Spanish.

Given the hostility to independent monitoring that Asocolflores has expressed, and the fact that Asocolflores exerts a powerful influence on the Colombian state, Cactus has employed the tactic of appealing to flower consumers abroad. This specific tactic is a postcard campaign to target Canadian consumers. The front of the postcard shows a women's symbol with flowers growing out of it, and the text reads, "Is it fair that the women who grow the flowers you enjoy are paid less than eighty cents an hour?" The postcard is addressed to the minister of foreign affairs in Ontario. On the left side it reads:

Colombian Flower Workers: work double-time for Valentine's Day, Mother's Day, and Christmas with no guarantee of overtime pay; work without job security and can be fired for being pregnant; are exposed to over 150 pesticides, fungicides, many of which are illegal in Canada and the USA; are prone to suffer fertility problems and birth defects; make \$126.00 US per month; are not protected by independent unions. The flower industry employs devastating environmental practices such as excessive water use and contamination of local water supplies. Support the call for Colombian and Canadian governments to implement an International Code of Conduct that would protect workers and the environment. CANADA IMPORTS 90% OF ITS CUT-FLOWERS FROM COLOMBIA! Tell Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, you care about women, workers and the environment. Say yes to Fairness!

Finally, Cactus has adopted a strategy that challenges the silences that

There example, Rebeca points to the "many overlaps" between Colombian state actors and Asscellarss. She states: "There are Colombian governmental sectors that have connections with flower producers. For example, a very famous person in the government that was minister at one time, has a flower enterprise of his own. The families of some government representatives are also producers of flowers. The Colombian vice minister of exterior commerce was the general head of Asscellarss. The president of Basicol, which is the bank that handles the export processes. . . . was the president of Asscellarss. There are many overlaps. Asscellarss has a lot of power in this country."

surround flower cultivation by proclaiming February 14 "The Day of the Flower Workers" in order to openly acknowledge the labor of the women and men who produce flowers and labor with particular intensity prior to major U.S. holidays. These various strategies focus on appealing to Northern consumers, empowering women at the local level through legal education, and creating a celebratory culture of visibility around flower cultivation.

Women, children, and flowers: Exploring linkages within a gendered web of development

Elucidating the importance of approaching women's lives with an understanding of their complexities, Kum-Kum Bhavnani states that "women's lives are a glorious tangle of production and reproduction, not only impossible, but also undesirable to untangle totally" (Bhavnani in Bhavnani, Foran, and Kurian 2003, 8). Given the importance of such connections between women's "productive" and "reproductive" forms of labor, my study also examines a group of child-care workers, las madres comunitarias, whose labor is intimately woven together with the labor of women working in flowers. Community mothers care for fifteen to twenty children, ages zero to seven, each in their own homes, although a few centers do exist where several madres and numerous children congregate in the same location during daytime hours. The Community Homes Program under which the madres work was established in 1987, after the state rebuffed the community organizing that had advocated for centers for ten years beginning in the 1970s. The program is currently funded by the state's Colombian Institute for Family Welfare and by private entities such as Asscolflores; the World Bank funded it between the years of 1990 and 1997. The Community Homes Program was established during the same time in which labor deregulation policies—which introduced flexibility and eliminated long-term job security—were enacted.

My study, which began in the greenhouses and then found its way into day-care centers, suggests that viewing women-focused development projects as discrete entities that either "succeed" or "fail" does not take into account the interconnectedness of women's social and economic lives. The "glorious tangles" Bhavnani speaks of describe not only women's individually entangled lives but also the social entanglements of produc-

In Spanish, Cactus has named this date "El Dia de las Trabajadoras y las Trabajadoras de Floris" to highlight that the overtime work required before major U.S. holidays like Valentine's Day is disproportionately performed by women.

tion and reproduction in which women's lives are woven together. Expanding on Cynthia Enloe's ([1989] 1990) classic question, "Where are the women?" my research goes further, to ask women who cultivate flowers and the organizers who advocate for them, "Where are the children?" In doing so, I found that embedded in the value of an export-quality flower lives the labor of community mothers.

The Community Homes Program, considered by the state to be a project of community development (Rosado, Tamayo, and López 2000), is targeted toward poor children and, as such, serves many female flower cultivators who leave their children in the care of others during long days spent in the greenhouses. As the flower industry has a largely feminized labor force, its continued existence often relies on the informalized work of women such as the community mothers. Asocolflores has institutionalized this connection by contributing funds to the Community Homes Program, as part of its social responsibility component, since 1995 (Farné 1998). This relationship is an example of the growing interdependency under global restructuring of formal work in flowers and informal childcare work. This interdependency constitutes a new form of "outsourcing": so that women who cultivate flowers may work between eight and thirteen hours per day, floriculture enterprises "subcontract" the child care that flower workers would otherwise be doing at home. While this may appear to be a philanthropic donation from the industry and has been lauded as such, it reproduces the poverty of the madres in the process.9 Greenhouses and community homes are the sites of development projects that have close relationships with one another; the development success of the Colombian flower industry is rooted in the informal labor performed by the madres comunitarias.

The women of MujerCUT and the "culture of work"

MujerCUT is the women's department of the Central Unit of Workers (CUT), the largest labor federation in Colombia. The women of MujerCUT, who receive no funding from the CUT, manage a variety of projects, including a women's work cooperative, Mujercoop, a political education school for women, and the unionization project involving the madres comunitarias. The activities of Mujercoop and of the madres comunitarias reveal the limitations of the employment of women in flowers as a long-term development strategy. Mujercoop provides an example of one of the few income-generating options for older women whose contracts will no

⁹ Sec, e.g , Miller 2003.

longer be renewed in flowers. Women who do labor in flowers (casualized yet still formal) often depend on the informal child-care labor of the *madres comunitarias*. Thus, *Mujercoop* and the *madres comunitarias* provide alternative windows through which to view the social conditions of flower production.

Sylvia, a coordinator of Mujercoop, had been involved with it for three years at the time of our interview. She explains that "the women's cooperative of the CUT began with the need of women looking for economic alternatives in order to be able to subsist because women have been displaced from a variety of enterprises." Among them she mentions former domestic workers and flower cultivators, some of the latter of whom have been fired for political organizing. According to Sylvia, the cooperative "is a strategy to respond to the erosion of opportunities for formal employment in Colombia. . . . There are more people than there are jobs, even professionals work for cheap. So when enterprises can hire men, and young people, older women will not get hired. 'Old' women get left out." As such, most of the women who work for the cooperative are around forty years old and older. 10 Women in the cooperative undertake a variety of jobs; they are working to create a public restaurant, and they labor as caterers and construction workers. Sylvia says, "We are promoting nontraditional forms of employment for women, because in Colombia women do not [normally] have jobs in construction." Sylvia thus emphasizes the importance of women performing construction jobs as a means to make way for the recognition of women's diverse work practices.

Sylvia expresses the desire that her efforts with the cooperative "would make women's lives a little better," though she acknowledges that MujerCUT has not been able to afford pensions or health care for women who participate in the cooperative, and that this is a challenge for the future. The cooperative provides one illustration of how former flower workers who may no longer be rehired to work in the greenhouses at older ages might make a living, given the diminishing formal employment opportunities, especially for older women. Like Sylvia, the women of MujerCUT overall express a commitment to refashioning the culture of work. That is, they want to expand what "women's work" includes and what is recognized as work—including domestic work, artistic work, or, in the words of Sylvia, "everything that happens." Marta of MujerCUT links her desire to reimagine the meanings of work with the conditions produced by global restructuring: "The culture of work, work is perceived as work only if you

Women who work in flowers are generally not renewed much beyond the age of forty; enterprises prefer younger women because youth is equated with enhanced productivity.

get paid for it. They [the male CUT leaders] don't perceive domestic work [or] artistic work as work. Unionism in general has to open up conceptually its idea of work. It is stuck in thinking from fifteen years ago that the idea of unionism is to stop production. But there really is no capacity, now that things have changed so much, of union control of production in this country, so that no one can stop the production." For women flower cultivators, a similar cultural reimagination could signal the dissolution of the strict division of labor in flower production; it could also mean social recognition of the unpaid labor they perform at home.

The women of *MujerCUT*, in their struggles to redefine "work" and their prioritization of the experiences of women workers, have embraced the efforts of the *madres comunitarias* to be recognized as workers in the current neoliberal political environment. A handful of *MujerCUT* women are employed specifically to coordinate and support the efforts of the *madres*. The organizing efforts of the *madres* reflect the precarious positions of women relegated to informal work, and the increasingly informal status of their labor is connected to the feminization of (formal) labor as it has taken place in the flower industry.

Working conditions under global development are increasingly characterized by the feminization of both labor and poverty, whereby informal laborers (the majority of whom are women) come to subsidize the activities of formal laborers, who themselves face deteriorating conditions under flexible work regimes. This gendered linkage between women who cultivate flowers and *madres* who care for children provides one case in point and suggests that new development projects, to be effective for women, must recognize these linkages.

The madres comunitarias are a relatively new category of laborers in Colombia. With the initiation of the Community Homes Program, the state designated madres as "voluntary workers." Carmen, a MujerCUT union coordinator for the madres, states: "The madres comunitarias can have no formal labor contract with the state. They have nothing [she emphasizes]. All madres comunitarias make the same amount, but they don't get paid social security, pensions, salaries. They are classified as 'voluntary workers' by the state." The madres now earn about half the legal minimum wage (US\$60 per month); as they are not considered to be workers, the payment they receive from the state need not comply with the legal minimum for workers. Madres—both married and single—openly express wornies about the precariousness of their economic situations: "I have two children, and I am going to be a grandmother. On Saturdays I clean an apartment as a domestic maid in order to put my children in school. Some madres comunitarias study in grade school, but not me. But many do

other work on Saturdays and Sundays to economically support their families" (Victoria).

Not only are the remunerations of the *madres* equal to an estimated one-sixth of the cost of living in Colombia but their day-to-day workloads are increasing under current transformations. Many supplement their incomes with informal—and thus publicly unaccounted for—domestic labor on the weekends. And even further, the working day of the *madres* themselves has been lengthened, though this extension is also not counted, as *madres* are not entitled to a minimum hourly wage. Of her workday at the center, Victoria states:

Normally, we are here at 7:30, and with another woman I work with children from four to six years old. Liana assumes responsibility over all the children when I go to visit the union. . . . When she is alone, she cares for forty children, and I do it when she goes [to visit the union]. The parents usually come at 4:00 to pick up the children, but sometimes they come late, so we are usually here until at least 5:00. Then we clean the rooms, the bathrooms, and sometimes we are here until up to 7:00. We clean the patio, all around here, and take care of the garden.

Their organizing efforts often require that one madre must be temporarily faced with an unusually heavy workload, and economic privatization has also chronically affected the workloads of the madres in very material, yet subtle, forms. A telling example of this effect is seen in the change in soybean flour as a result of increasing privatization. Whereas the madres used to buy preground and state-manufactured flour for cooking purposes, the manufacturing facilities have been privatized; the flour they now must use is more expensive, and notably, it is delivered in the form of whole soybeans. The madres point out—making the connections between privatization, a cost increase, and a labor increase—that this is just one instance where privatizing trends have an impact on multiple levels. The additional work of grinding beans into flour, an example of a change in women's work practices under ostensibly gender-neutral transformations, is thus rendered invisible. Although the madres see this workload increase clearly, it remains unaccounted for within the structure in which they labor.

Madres comunitarias labor not only in bean grinding but also in bricklaying. Laura discusses the two-story structure a group of madres built to create more space for the children they care for from day to day: "Our husbands won't let us work as bricklayers because it would hurt their egos. But they let us build this house for the children." The women were able to finance the cost of materials through a loan from the state and the World Bank, granted as a part of the Community Homes Program. Laura also comments that the loans have to be paid back from their own personal monies, though they are not sure how that will be possible. Much research has been conducted on the limitations and benefits for women of microcredit development projects (Blumberg 1995; Poster and Salime 2002). Yet this scenario presents a new form of development where madres take out personal loans—but not as microentrepreneurs poised to generate profits on which to build a livelihood. Rather, they have placed themselves into personal debt for the sake of community development. They will reap no profits with which to pay back the loans they have taken out. In this case "community development" rests on the financial indebtedness of these women.

Madres engage in organizing strategies and face accompanying difficulties as union women. Furthermore, these women harness their activities as madres to effect cultural changes in the direction of social equality between girls and boys with an eye toward the future. Aside from representing a struggle for their labor rights as Colombian women, the union efforts of the madres also signify an empowering instance of women coming together as an autonomous collective, not one that is controlled by traditionally male-led labor parties. On this form of empowerment, Victoria remarks that organizing through their women-run union "gives us a degree of power to control our destiny."

In their negotiations with the state, the *madres* have paradoxically won recognition as a union, although they have yet to win recognition as workers. Because for most *madres*, day-to-day work is carried out in their homes, they have adopted a strategy of public visibility as a means of combating the privatizing character of working often separately from one another in individual homes. Victoria says, "So, at this moment, we are fighting for health care and social security. We have not had a response from the state. We are thinking about what methods to use to move ahead. We are having a march next Monday in Bogotá, among *madres comunitarias* from Cali, Bogotá, Medellín, and other cities, and we expect five hundred from Bogotá alone." Keeping in mind that some *madres* must remain behind to care for the children and that travel expenses present an extra challenge, this marks an impressive organizational feat.

Although it is arguably challenging for any group of workers to struggle for labor rights, the *madres* confront additional difficulties in their oppositional activities because of the gendered character of their work and the political climate in Colombia.¹¹ As madres are mostly separated from one another—often working in their homes with fifteen to twenty children each—union organizers such as Carmen and Rocío must go from residence to residence to talk with individual madres about the union. Of the eighty thousand madres comunitarias in Colombia, Rocío reports that more than sixteen thousand are unionized, a striking accomplishment. This method of organizing is unusually expensive—in terms of both human and monetary resources. And yet it appears that madres are less monitored in their work activities than flower cultivators are, a quality that distinctly influences each group's ability to organize.

In addition to the responsibility of repaying loans and organizing for recognition as legitimate workers, *madres* also contest inequalities within their own households:

We participate in demanding things, and the husbands worry that we'll also start demanding things of them. For example, before this union, we ironed, we made the beds, took care of the children all the time, we did all the women's jobs we've learned to do from the time we were young, and now we say, "You can do some of this too." So, the men are taught to always direct the woman, so as soon as the woman questions that, that's when the messes begin. It's a mentality, and we have come to believe that it's a relationship, where we help each other, not for us to submit to them. (Victoria)

Going further, the *madres* also strategize collectively about how to gain the political support of their husbands with regard to gender equality in the home and their union efforts in the public arena. And yet while the *madres* speak some about their struggles with the adult men in their lives, they prefer to discuss their hopes for the future, which they place in the children they care for. Victoria says, "Our hope for the future is that we can work together and teach the children—las niñas y los niños—to respect each other, to care for each other. . . . The hope for the future is that we continue to work with the children and teach them to respect one another as equals." Here, we can see that the *madres* see themselves as agents of cultural change. Amy Lind (2000) has highlighted the importance of women's neighborhood community organizations in both participating in and protesting neoliberal forms of development. Perhaps most

¹¹ The assumations of hundreds of labor union activists by the right-wing paramilitary group United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) place anyone who stands up for workers' rights under the threat of paramilitary attack.

significantly, she has pointed out that such organizations open up new cultural spaces.

The Community Homes Program in which the *madres comunitarias* constitute the central actors embodies the possibilities and contradictions of neoliberal development. As a development project, it denies the *madres* basic rights as laborers and simultaneously opens up an arena in which *madres* can develop their struggles for a living wage, health care, and pensions as they foster practices of gender equality among the children for whom they care. While flower cultivators work for the legal minimum wage and receive a pension and health care benefits, they seem to presently lack the cultural spaces that the *madres* utilize in order to struggle for better forms of development due to the mobility required by flexible flower cultivation.

Conclusions

Let us recall the story of Marisol, detailed in the opening vignette, and add ten years to her age: Marisol is now forty-four years old. Disqualified by her age from working in flowers, she may have the opportunity to work for *Mujercoop* but will not have access to health care during a time when she may need it the most. More likely, Marisol might become a madre comunitaria and similarly lack access to health care and social security. In this scenario, she will earn half the legal minimum wage, about US\$60 per month. In becoming employed as a madre, Marisol will enable a younger Colombian woman to take her place in the flower industry as a temporary worker, while Marisol minds her successor's children. In short, the informal support services of the madres comunitarias enable women to work in flowers as formal workers whose rights as laborers (however shallowly conceived) are officially (if inconsistently) protected.

Saskia Sassen (1998) has pointed to the "eviction" of much of women's work, which sustains the global economy, from the dominant narratives of globalization. The *madres comunitarias* provide a striking example of this. Their labor clearly enables the Colombian flower industry to become the success that it has been declared. If the flower industry is a "globalization success story" for the agents of technomuscular capitalism, then the *madres comunitarias* are surely its intimate other (see Chang and Ling 2000). In this way, these two development projects might be seen as parts of an expansive web that differentially, if subtly, places women in relation to one another. The relations such development projects have produced sustain inequalities among women, and yet this need not be so.

Vandana Shiva has mused that "development is a beautiful word, suggesting evolution from within" through the self-organization of communities (1997, 107). The madres comunitarias are organizing for improved conditions vis-à-vis the state, challenging gender inequalities in their homes, and teaching the children they care for to respect one another as equals. In the face of disenfranchisement, their varied activities represent attempts at self-organization and, as such, constitute equitable practices of development. These forms of community-based self-organization are exceedingly important at the current juncture, as the introduction of temporary work in flowers accelerates the internal migration of women workers across locales. Furthermore, the madres also challenge the gendered meanings that lie beneath the state's designation of their work as voluntary. This ideological challenge also implicitly confronts the gendered meanings the flower industry attaches to flower work as a delicate feminine act of nurturing, compatible with a low rate of pay since it simply draws on women's purportedly preexisting feminine abilities. Female flower cultivators and their advocates in Cactus might be able to draw on common experiences of "women's work" that they share with madres as a means of fostering solidarity and thereby initiating truly constructive forms of development that center the importance of women's relationships to one another.

Delimited sites of development are more elusive than they seem, and feminist development scholars must be ready to embark on what may feel like empirical detours in order to see, for instance, that flowers for export are cultivated not only in greenhouses but also in community homes. This kind of grounded and flexible methodology can lead women to build unexpected alliances, particularly as Third-World women workers (Mohanty 1997) facing the inequities produced by capital accumulation projects that patriarchal states designate as forms of development. Marianne Marchand ([1995] 1999) has pointed toward this methodology in her discussion of the value of testimonies as means by which Third-World women can shape development discourses and thus outcomes. Testimonies reveal the webs of social entanglement among women; women flower cultivators, for example, discuss not only their working day but also where their children go while they labor in the greenhouses. Madres comunitarias discuss not only their days caring for children but also their weekends working as domestics and how union organizing is transforming their lives.

In addition to taking seriously women's testimonies as roadmaps to grasping the vast scope of development experiences, the emergent women, culture, and development paradigm (Chua, Bhavnani, and Foran 2000;

Bhavnani, Foran, and Kurian 2003; see Kabeer 1994 for a good review of earlier development paradigms) offers some insights into furthering this type of research by traversing "flexibly between political economic macrostructures and local discourses and practices" and by centering "the activities and struggles of Third World women, learning from their great variety" as they "play leading parts in the struggle against globalization from above" (Foran in Bhavnani, Foran, and Kurian 2003, 12). This approach, which has guided my research, does not aim to "mainstream" women into gender-sensitive yet top-down development projects but instead seeks to come to terms with the gendered social and economic webs woven by global development projects. Most significantly, such a methodology, by sketching the social and economic interdependencies that women share—for example, as flower cultivators and community mothers—can lead to new imaginings of development that equitably link women's common interests and struggles together.

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Dismantling Assumptions: Interrogating "Lesbian" Struggles for Identity and Survival in India and South Africa

Geeta and I were frustrated after watching *Fire*. We had heard about all the fuss it created in the cities, and it was so hard to watch it in our village . . . But when we finally did, we said, "OK, here are two Indian women in love." But there was nothing in it that spoke to our experiences, or even our love . . . Delhi is not that far from Chitrakoot, but as far as we were concerned, those two women could be living in America!¹

-Manju, interviewed by Richa Nagar, April 24, 1999, Chitrakoot District

In 1999, the International Gay and Lesbian Association (ILGA), a federation of more than three hundred lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights groups from seventy countries, held its annual meetings in Johannesburg, South Africa. The theme was "Building Partnerships for Equity," yet racial and class tensions emerged as a fistfight broke out between delegates and Sowetan lesbians volunteering at the conference to gain access to it. At issue was the election of paid members of ILGA leadership, a process from which vol-

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¹ Deepa Mehta's now famous and controversial film, Fws, revolves around a relationship between two sisters-in-law living in Delhi.

unteers were excluded because of their class status, despite organizational efforts to act in their interests.2

-From Amanda Swarr's journal, 1999

hese accounts from India and South Africa demonstrate that contemporary politics of intimacy and survival cannot be approached through frameworks that create a simple binary between the proverbial First and Third Worlds. At the same time, they foreground the limitations of feminist theories emerging from Northern academic institutions.2 Can our existing frameworks adequately represent the struggles of women in samesex relationships who are located in the most socioeconomically peripheralized areas of the world? Can we analyze the politics of sexuality and intimacy in their lives without diminishing the centrality of neocolonial histories and geographies and their everyday struggles over access to material resources? How, if at all, can we integrate insights from critical development studies and lesbian studies to address these contradictions and questions?

Development theorists often view homosexuality as an identity of the privileged, to be experienced and explored by those who have the luxury of not facing immediate struggles for day-to-day survival. Feminist theories of sexuality, however, often prioritize desire over needs, isolating homosexuality from struggles around resources, livelihoods, and sociopolitical empowerment. Taken together, these two approaches render invisible not only the experiences of a vast majority of poor women in same-sex relationships living in the global South but also the structural processes that mold sociosexual practices and struggles. Here we draw on the oral histories of four women-two living in the South African township of Soweto and two in the Chitrakoot district of Uttar Pradesh in northern India—to generate a new kind of conversation about the struggles of poor women in the South who enter into same-sex relationships. Our use of the term lesbian or women in same-sex relationships echoes the ways that

² For a fuller analysis of this controversy, see Bullington 2001.

We recognize the extremely problematic and loaded nature of overarching dichotomies such as First World/Third World and North/South. We use these terms interchangeably and capitalize them, not to homogenize diverse communities and places but to reflect the continued sociopolitical agnificance and deeply felt impact of these categories (and the discursive practices that accompany them) in contemporary global politics and in our research locales. These terms also allow us to acknowledge our embeddedness in an unequal structure of knowledge production-rooted in postcolonial hierarchies-in which intellectuals based in resource-nch institutions of the North frequently dominate the international context in which knowledge about Southern peoples and places is produced, circulated, and discussed.

our narrators choose to describe their own relationships and identities. While many Sowetan women in same-sex relationships identify as lesbian, the narrators from rural Chitrakoot see themselves as two women in a special kind of sambandh, or relationship. Despite their deployment of different labels to describe their sexual choices, however, the commonalities in these four women's experiences derive from their respective locations in peripheralized geographical regions of the Third World in terms of resources and infrastructure. Although it is easy to see the marginality of rural areas, many urban "slums," shantytowns, and periurban areas also share this marginalized status. We highlight how these women experience, analyze, and articulate their everyday struggles around sexuality in relation to other material and symbolic struggles central to their lives. We consider the multiple and contradictory ways in which nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), as well as churches and informal associations, facilitate or stifle the emergence of sociosexual and political identities. Finally, we underscore the need for feminist scholars to bridge the gulf between development theory/praxis and lesbian studies by conceptualizing new frameworks that explore the mutually constitutive struggles for resource access and material survival on the one hand and sexuality, intimacy, identity, and community on the other.

Empowerment, homosexuality, and the erasure of "Third-World lesbians"

In recent years, the notion of "empowerment" has captured the imagination of development planners, scholars, and activists alike, and it is widely believed that the empowerment of the Third World's poorest women holds the key to solving some of the most difficult questions of global poverty, hunger, and environmental degradation (World Resources Institute, United Nations Environment Program, and United Nations Development Program 1994). Feminist scholars ranging from development economists to sociologists have variously engaged with and problematized the notion of empowerment and highlighted the intricate ways in which sociopolitical empowerment is connected with struggles over resources and entitlements as well as with processes of identity formation at various scales, from the body and the household to the transnational arena. Starting with the politicization and theorization of gendered access to property and resources, these scholars have radically altered preexisting discourses surrounding development by identifying domestic violence, re-

⁴ Kabeer 1994; Ray 1999; Katz 2001; Nagar et al. 2002.

productive rights, religious extremism, and women's control over their bodies and sexualities as key issues constituting the politics and praxis of development.⁵

Same-sex sexuality, however, has registered a silence in these conversations. Indeed, a review of this literature facilitates the impression that no poor lesbians exist in the South. This silence can be read in two ways: first, that poor women, especially in rural and periurban areas of the South, are so immersed in their everyday struggles for survival that they cannot indulge in the luxury of exploring/cultivating same-sex sexualities, or second, that homosexuality exists, but scholars do not consider it relevant to the issue of women's sociopolitical empowerment in the Third World.

At the other end of the spectrum are feminist theories that centrally address lesbian representation; examine the social articulations of and differences among gender, sex, and sexuality; and highlight the intangibility and instability of these categories (Rubin 1984; de Lauretis 1988; Butler 1990, 1993). Unlike development theory, which often tends to simplistically equate gender with women, this scholarship complicates gender, sex, and sexuality as a matrix produced by all people through everyday practices. However, most studies in this area remain disengaged with issues of resource access that development theorists and NGO workers have found so central to addressing women's struggles and to understanding strategies of mobilization and protest in the South.

Beginning in the 1980s, the scholarship of feminists of color in the United States challenged lesbian studies as monolithic, pointing out the limits of privileging one set of experiences without recognizing the partial and biased nature of conclusions enabled by such perspectives (Moraga 1983; Lorde 1984; Anzaldúa 1987). These critics began to disrupt the dominant assumption that "lesbian," for example, constitutes the primary identity for those who have same-sex relationships. But despite these interventions, multiple silences in contemporary lesbian studies persist, emanating, in part, from the fact that much of this writing is grounded in the cultural, political, and material realities of middle-class United States and Europe. This is evident in two core assumptions that endure in lesbian studies.

The first assumption is that abstract theorizing about lesbian subjects

⁵ Agarwal 1994; Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1999; Mathur 1999; Sarin 1999.

⁶ We use the term *leshian studies* to refer to scholarship that directly addresses lesbian subjectivities and identities. We recognize that this field is interdisciplinary and its often-contradictory classifications—designated, e.g., as feminist theory, queer theory, transgender theory, and/or sexuality theory—are highly contested.

can be politically, historically, and geographically neutral. As Rosemary Hennessy (2000) points out, generalizations about an "imaginary lesbian" (de Lauretis 1994) or "postmodern lesbian" (Grosz 1994) tend to homogenize lesbianism and facilitate representations of a middle-class white Northern subject. Hennessy shows us how such accounts abstract desire from its economic and political realities. In so doing, scholars' respective explanations of lesbian desire reproduce class- and race-specific accounts of lesbian subjects. Hennessy points to the ways that such accounts of lesbian identity are not only abstracted from issues of survival, they also inadvertently reproduce the boundaries between psyche and social, private and public, nation and colony, and body and market that reproduce capitalist privilege.

This links with a second assumption of lesbian studies, that pleasure and desire may be removed from or supersede economic needs. While we agree that sexuality is embedded in specific historical and geographic contexts (e.g., Almaguer 1991; Lancaster 1992; Kennedy and Davis 1993), we seek to reconceptualize desire itself not as innate or inherent but as emerging in conjunction with processes such as development, neocolonialism, apartheid, and liberalization. Accounts of lesbian identity that abstract sexual identifications and practices from their material context and individualize desire in isolation from the sexual and gendered division of labor are necessarily incomplete and occlude the impact and import of historical and socioeconomic forces.

Cheshire Calhoun argues that feminist theorizing, under which we include feminist development studies, "has failed to capture lesbian difference because it has not begun with a full-blown theory of heterosexist oppression fully parallel to race and class oppression" (1995, 29). Similarly, lesbian studies has not engaged with the complexities of living in places where political violence and struggles for resources as basic as clean water, food, and literacy directly inform women's options, strategies, and means for articulating their sexualities. The silences and erasures that these two literatures inadvertently produce can be addressed by systematically identifying and challenging the assumptions that marginalize certain voices and experiences thereby creating spaces for new narratives to emerge. Our collaborative effort is a beginning in this direction.

Extending intersectionality through collaboration

We build on the growing body of feminist scholarship that recognizes the imperative of positing identity categories such as race, class, gender, sex, and sexuality as essentially interrelated and simultaneously experienced. It

is now agreed that one cannot speak about any one of these identities in isolation because of their "complex relationality" (Mohanty 1991, 13; see also Spelman 1988). Theories of development and queerness that posit sexuality or resource access as burdens peripheral to their analyses are necessarily incomplete. As Anne McClintock points out, "race, class, and gender are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively like armatures of Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other—if in contradictory and conflictual ways" (1995, 5).

At the same time, our analysis extends the idea of intersectionality beyond relationality and simultaneity of identities. Intersectionality is not solely about looking at various axes of difference as interlocking "social categories" or "identities." These coproduced differences intersect with "interlocking relationships between the rules, resources, practices and power through which social inequalities of gender, caste and class are played out in different institutions in [a given] context" (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1999, vii). In the case of lesbian identities and struggles, therefore, it is not simply a constellation of sexual practices that is critical in producing difference. Like globalization, difference too derives its specific forms and meanings through its "encounter with existing social relations and material social practices in particular places," and our job is to expose the "tensions, contradictions and affiliations" embedded in these encounters (Katz 2001, 1228). Extending intersectionality therefore necessitates that we reconceptualize difference as constituted and (re)configured in relation to place-specific struggles over rights, resources, social practices, and relationships-including sexual and emotional intimacies—that people enter into with or without labels.

Our collaboration has evolved from our own intellectual struggles over the last decade within the subfields of lesbian and critical development studies, where Amanda Swarr has focused on transgendered communities in postapartheid South Africa and Richa Nagar has examined the limitations of empowerment discourses in women's NGOs in India.⁷ As we grappled with multilayered narratives of "women" living in these places, we confronted the limits of feminist theorizations of development, empowerment,

⁷ We are both engaged in long-term projects involving specific reciprocal relationships with the narrators in this article, but we do not discuss this issue here because their complexities cannot be captured in a few sentences and we seek to avoid the ways "new bourgeois subjects are reproduced ideologically even in knowledges that profess a progressive reformulation of desire" (Hennessy 2000, 190) Instead of "doing" positionality by listing our attributes, we position ourselves by aligning our intellectual and political goals with those of our narrators.

and queerness that fail to address how the politics of intimacy, sexuality, and access to resources intertwine in everyday lives. A fellowship from the University of Minnesota's Graduate Research Partnership Program allowed us to analyze these issues in a comparative theoretical and empirical framework. We suggest that the invisibility of these women's lives and struggles in feminist discourses on development and sexuality is inseparable from the boundaries and divisions shaped by colonialism, developmentalism, globalization, and academic knowledge production. Our intersectional analyses of shifting, relational, and multiple identities and subjectivities must, therefore, engage seriously and centrally with materialities and discourses embedded in global capitalist processes and neocolonial histories and geographies.

In the following sections, we analyze the life stories of Geeta and Manju in Chitrakoot and Cora and Phakamile in Soweto to explore how their struggles over access to basic resources and rights are thoroughly entangled with struggles to exercise sexual agency and to create spaces where same-sex intimacies can be nurtured and sustained. Their stories demonstrate how women's identities and perspectives are informed by their simultaneous experiences of heterosexism and poverty and how seemingly disparate strands such as religion, political organizations, and child rearing are inextricably interwoven with the politics of sexuality and livelihood. They expose how identity markers, such as "lesbian" or "butch/femme," are understood differently in various spaces; how community networks are defined by and/or in opposition to homophobia, casteism, and classism; and the ways women determine their own commitments to samesex sexualities within particular cultural contexts. By thus providing nuanced understandings of specific "lesbian" lives, our project begins to address major gaps in both academic literature and organizational strategies, and to illustrate the theoretical complexities of lesbian sexualities, intimacies, and everyday struggles for material and emotional survival in Third World contexts

Disrupting and reclaiming "empowerment": A story of Geeta and Manju

"The trees are fruitless, the earth is barren, the men are unfaithful, and the women, shameless!" This popular image of the Chitrakoot region as characterized by harsh climate, acute deforestation, and serious water crisis is further complicated by a history of bonded (indentured) labor, the dominant presence of bandits, and a general environment of hardships. With no profitable minerals or raw materials to offer for "development,"

the Chitrakoot district was systematically ignored in terms of human development by governments during colonial and postindependence periods and was driven instead by "the rule of the gun" (Vanangana 1998, 1). Social indicators place Chitrakoot at the very bottom of national averages in income, sex ratio, and female literacy (24 percent), with raping, burning, and battering of women as everyday occurrences. In this district, the launching of the Mahila Samakhya (Education for Women's Equality, henceforth MS) sowed the seeds of what some have termed as a grassroots revolution (Menon 1995).

Initiated in 1989 by the Indian government and envisioned by some dynamic feminist activists, MS was an innovative scheme that stressed the need for a positive interventionist role of the national government in women's empowerment and operated in collaboration with gender-progressive NGOs at the district level. Although urban women with formal education often held official positions in district level units, the pivotal forces were rural workers who mobilized village women and helped them form action groups to collectively reflect on their conditions and needs and to determine concrete strategies for their own empowerment. In this way, MS recognized that organizing the most disadvantaged rural women to discuss gender relations was a necessary step toward enabling them to pursue empowerment on their own terms (Agarwal 1994; Nagar 2000).

The work of MS in Chitrakoot first came into the national limelight when it accomplished the "incredible feat" of training the poorest and illiterate rural women from the lowest castes and the local Kol tribe as hand pump mechanics. While acute water scarcity and governmental apathy propelled rural women to master the technology of fixing hand pumps, the acquisition of this skill triggered a critical consciousness among women about caste, class, and gender relations and a deep desire to attain formal literacy. This gave birth to women's literacy camps, followed by the establishment of a residential school, Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK), whose six-month courses provided literacy training to village women. Alongside these developments, a handful of MS workers also began to form new alliances that politicized domestic violence and triggered within MS a critical rethinking of instrumentalist versions of empowerment in development theory and practice (Nagar 2000).

Homosexuality, however, remained a largely forbidden topic in MS, and the only woman to openly challenge the organization's stance on this issue was twenty-year-old Geeta.⁸ This case study examines Geeta's per-

Nagar interacted frequently with Geeta over a period of approximately two months (March-April 1999) in a variety of social settings. Most of the quotations and details provided

sonal history, her relationship with Manju, her complex association with MS in light of her relationship with Manju, and how her involvement with MS has shaped Geeta's dreams for the future.

Born in 1978 in a dalit ("untouchable") family, Geeta was the oldest of five living siblings. Her father was a construction worker and carpenter, and her mother and paternal grandmother looked after farming and domestic work. Geeta lost her father at age twelve, and her uncle supported her schooling for another year, after which her aunt arranged her marriage to Ashok, a carpet weaver. Ashok had never been to school, was completely unattractive to Geeta, and inflicted verbal, physical, and sexual abuses on her. He relentlessly mocked Geeta about one of her eyes, which was deformed, and beat her until her body swelled.

In 1992, after living in her sasural (conjugal village) for eighteen months, Geeta met an MS worker who encouraged her to join MS's literacy training camp. At the completion of this training, Geeta began teaching women in her sasural. As Geeta's activism gained momentum and her social networks expanded, her in-laws started resenting her work and accused her of being immoral. One day when Geeta was four months pregnant and Ashok was away, her father-in-law punished her by beating her mercilessly with a baton. After this incident, Geeta left her sasural and moved to Karvi, where MS was headquartered. For a few years, Geeta taught in literacy projects in different villages. Her daughter, Shyama, was born in 1993, and in the absence of Ashok's support, Geeta left the baby with her mother. In 1996, when Geeta got a job with the newly started MSK program in Karvi, she brought Shyama back with her.

It is in MSK that Geeta became close to Manju, an adivasi (classified as tribal) woman from the Kol community, who came to study for six months and became Geeta's lover. Geeta was acquainted with Manju through an aunt who used to work as a nurse in Manju's village. Manju ran a grocery shop in the village, and Geeta insisted that some literacy training at MSK would help Manju tremendously. In Geeta's own words:

Manju is much older than me. Her daughter is now thirteen, and she left her husband when she was still pregnant. When you'll see her, you won't be able to tell she is a woman. Her face, her shape—

in this case study, however, come from a taped life historical interview with Geeta on April 22, 1999 (conducted in MSK), followed by another life historical interview with Manju and a general discussion with Manju and Geeta, both conducted on April 24, 1999, at their home in Madhopur. All interviews and conversations took place in Hindi and were translated into English by Nagar

everything is just like that of a man. Nothing that she wears on her body is feminine—no bindi [dot], no necklace, no earrings. . . . Manju's husband was a terror and kept her imprisoned in his house. . . . One day after they had intercourse, Manju was sleeping and he filled her body [vagina] with crushed red chilies. After that, . . . she did not want any more men.

Before Geeta met her, she had heard stories about Manju. One was about her role in the killing of an armed bandit called Sher Singh Thakur. Sher Singh had raped all the single women of Manju's village and declared before the village that he would not rest until he brought Manju home for at least one night. So Manju's mother gave her a pep talk, sewed her a pair of shorts made of blue jeans, and handed her an axe. Manju was dressed in those shorts, a turban, and her brother's vest when Sher Singh marched in, calling her foul names. And Manju and her brother killed him. Geeta had also heard that Manju had a wild affair with another woman, but no one had the guts to say anything to Manju; they only bad-mouthed the other woman. Manju's entire village worshipped her, Geeta was told, and no one held any major event in Manju's absence. Her father, uncles, and brothers treated her like a man. She smoked bidis (hand-rolled cigarettes) and drank alcohol openly.

Clearly, Manju is a woman, but she refigures what it means to be a "woman" through her protective, sexual, and daily behaviors. Her masculinity brings her community recognition and, significantly, protection from harassment from men like Sher Singh. It also marks her as a woman who has relationships with other women, who is aggressive, and who overtly rejects predominant definitions of femininity. So what happened when Geeta met this "unreal woman"? Geeta narrates: "I do not know what happened to me when I met Manju but I forgot my man. I forgot that I had been married. We were so attracted to each other that we immediately felt like husband and wife. So terrible was that initial pull, that I got a fever. I didn't eat anything for four days. After that, we did not leave each other. . . . I knew I could lose my job. But I also knew it was impossible for me to stop. . . . I was in the grip of magic."

The attraction between Geeta and Manju is intense and almost instantaneous, though neither of them identifies as "lesbian." Geeta relates that this attraction is not only sexual but also familiar "like husband and wife." For Geeta and Manju, heterosexual marriage provides a model and terminology for describing their relationship, and this model makes their union recognizable and acceptable to their community. But they do not imitate heterosexuality through their masculine/feminine relationship

even though Geeta is clearly "feminine" and Manju "masculine," in terms of appearance and behavior. They create a relationship that is very different from their violent heterosexual marriages and is informed deeply by a feminist consciousness that they have internalized as members of MS.

In the common public spaces of MSK, Manju and Geeta found each other, and their love blossomed. During mealtimes, they sat next to each other and ate. At night, they lay next to each other in the dorm hall where all the teachers and students slept. And in the shared washing area, they declared their love for each other by hand washing each other's clothes. During the spring festival, Holi, Manju picked up Geeta on her bicycle and took her home, where she told her siblings, uncles, and parents about their relationship, and Geeta became a "daughter-in-law." In a Shiva temple in Karvi, Geeta accepted Manju as her husband in the absence of religious authorities. Geeta's mother first warned against doing anything that would make people talk, but she later accepted their relationship. For Geeta's daughter, Shyama, Geeta was "Mummy" and Manju became both "Amma" (mother) and "Papa." The only open opposition came from Ashok, who invited Manju and Geeta to his home one day and tried to kill Geeta. From that day, Geeta severed all contact with Ashok.

Although they worked in separate towns and Geeta often spent her nights at MSK, Geeta and Manju started sharing a home in 1996. In July 1998, they began renting a vacant one-room shop where they lived with their two daughters, and a year later, they purchased a plot of land to build a house together. In 1998, Manju also surprised Geeta by devoting all her savings to Geeta's successful eye surgery.

As Geeta and Manju's relationship became public, they were harassed by organizational workers. Twice, open meetings were called to discuss their relationship, and the woman in charge of the MSK declared "MS had no place for people like Geeta and Manju." Geeta and Manju were infuriated. "We said, we do not want MS either. We said this before the highest officials." Geeta explains, "Everything I said to them was connected with the feminist training I had received in the MS. I had internalized feminist thinking to the extent that I didn't even want to look at anything called 'man' . . . Even in MS, many women think that if they don't have a man, they don't have a life. But why not think about living your life with a woman?" Then, Geeta told the district coordinator of MS, "Look . . . Manju and I are in a relationship—a different kind of intimate relationship. Now, what is your decision? Do you have a place for me, or not? Tomorrow, I do not want anyone to say that Geeta was thrown out of MS because she loved Manju. I will leave MS before MS asks me to leave." The district coordinator immediately called a meeting

with the rest of the group, and Manju, who was offered a job at the MS after her literacy training, quit her job in anger. Manju threatened the MS officials, suggesting, "If you hurt Geeta for loving me, I will not let MS operate in this district, even if I have to befriend bandits to do this." After this incident, the same people who had humiliated Geeta began to speak to Manju and Geeta in sugarcoated tones and welcomed them as a couple.

Even as MS stifled their relationship, however, the spaces created by this organization were the only possible spaces that Geeta and Manju could have found to cultivate their relationship. Geeta recognizes this profound contradiction as she articulates the influence of MS in her life. She is still bitter about the homophobia she encountered in MS, but ironically, Geeta would have neither found Manju nor the courage to fight for her right to be with Manju if it had not been for MS. She says:

MS changed my life. I didn't want the life I lived before I came to MS. I could have ended that life by dying, but not while living. My family does not allow a woman to have another partner while her husband is alive—the caste allows it, but my family does not. . . . Even if I rebelled and left my husband, who would have guaranteed that I was not going to be in a more horrible relationship than before? . . . And now, I never want to return on that path with men. I understand that there are all kinds of men: good and bad, but no. I don't want it. With men, you are always expected to bear children, and I cannot stomach the idea anymore. . . . It was only because of the thinking that MS inspired in me that a new life with Manju and with MSK became possible for me.

Geeta gained economic, familial, and moral support from MS at critical moments in her personal struggles—for instance, when she faced serious medical complications while giving birth to Shyama. Later, when Geeta and Manju triggered passionate arguments about their own place as a couple in MS, they found personal support for their relationship from influential individuals such as Indira, the former district coordinator of MS, who eventually helped Geeta divorce Ashok:

[Indira] arranged a Panchayat [council meeting of family elders] at her home. . . . My Uncle, my Grandfather, and Ashok came, and I was asked, "Will you go back with Ashok, or not?" I said, "No, I cannot go. I am already committed to someone else." And I applied for divorce. After this incident, my interaction with my own relatives ended. . . . So MS is my family now. My original family is left behind,

but here at MSK, I laugh, I dance, I sing with the girls. . . . No other teacher likes to stay as many nights here with the girls as I do.

Although MS could shelter Geeta from the patriarchal pressures and heteronormative expectations of the outside world to a limited degree, the ideological beliefs and personal choices that Geeta and Manju made in the face of grinding poverty often generated painful disagreements and conflicts, especially when they discussed their daughters' futures:

Manju and I live very happily together for the most part, but sometimes she has grave doubts about what we have done. She thinks she has wronged me by loving me and this causes me grief. . . . Whether people think I am wrong or right, I do not want anything else, and I do not have anyone else. . . . Sometimes Manju and I talk about not having a son. She says, "What will we do? . . . Let's adopt a boy." And I say, "No. We cannot. We each have a daughter and they have full rights to everything we own. Once we adopt a boy, his ownership will get established on everything."

Geeta cared deeply for Manju's daughter, Tara, who was sixteen and studying in the village in the sixth grade when this research was conducted. For Geeta, Tara was "my own" and no different from her biological daughter Shyama. Similarly, Manju was a dedicated parent to Shyama; she looked after Shyama when Geeta lived at MSK, and Geeta was proud of their relationship: "Manju has trained Shyama so well that all my coworkers remark on it. . . . Manju wants Shyama to do really well in her studies. She wants my daughter to bring me the name I have never had."

Geeta had dreams for both daughters, but she avoided verbalizing her dreams for Shyama because Shyama was still very young, and Geeta did not want Manju to feel that she was worried about her own child. Geeta was more concerned about Tara, who was older, and there was increasing pressure from Manju's family to marry her off:

Whenever they bring up Tara's marriage, I resist it. . . . Manju and I will soon build our house, and then I want Tara . . . to study as much as she wants. And when she completes her education, I want her to get a job. But . . . the idea of marrying these girls does not even cross my head. . . . The restrictions imposed by our society are huge, but if you believe in something that involves a different approach . . . you have to come to the forefront and do it. . . . For our daughters, too, we have neither decided to marry them off, nor to match them up with the right women. . . . But I want them

to have a good, proper education so that they can make progress in life and become good human beings. . . . Manju worries sometimes, "my daughter is coming of age." . . . But I tell her, "Never talk about their marriage. They will take those decisions themselves. Right now, let them continue their education."

Geeta and Manju's story illustrates the ways in which these two women have fought to create public spaces and to gain social acceptance for their relationship as well as for their personal and political commitments. It also vividly illustrates three specific ways in which issues of sexual agency and choices are entangled with struggles for everyday survival. First, this case study enriches and complicates the idea of masculinity/femininity in samesex relationships by showing that the expressions and meanings associated with masculine gender identities cannot be understood in isolation from their sociopolitical context. In a place where there is no identifiable "lesbian community" or "lesbian culture," Manju's masculine gender presentation and behavior allow her to gain power in her adivasi and village communities and protect herself and her relationship with Geeta from violent threats such as rape and communal ostracism. Second, the intersections between sexuality and organizational ideologies shape Geeta and Manju's complicated association with MS. The commitment of MS to advance the rights of the most marginalized women in Chitrakoot, as well as the spaces and communities of women that this organization fostered, allowed Geeta and Manju's relationship to develop and grow. At the same time, MS itself became threatened by the nature of their relationship and found itself pushed and challenged in unanticipated ways. Geeta and Manju's sexual politics reflected their commitment to their relationship and their open opposition to MS's homophobia, but in the face of family ostracism and physical abuse, they also came to rely on MS economically and emotionally as a "family" and not merely as a "development NGO." Finally, the thoroughly enmeshed nature of the politics of sexuality and material survival is evident in the difficulties that rural Indian women at the lowest rungs of class and caste hierarchies face in raising children together. Although Geeta's politics make it difficult for her to envision their daughters' marriage, Manju's dilemmas on this issue are a constant reminder of the social structures and limitations within which they live. Purther, their disagreement over having a son is strongly rooted in their concerns about their daughters' economic future; as two women creating a family together, their already minimal economic and social power in the face of their patriarchal and casteist society is considerably diminished.

Subverting violence in postapartheid Soweto: A story of Core and Phakamile

In sharp contrast to Geeta and Manju's environment in rural Chitrakoot, Cora and Phakamile live in Soweto where a vibrant history and culture of resistance has explicitly connected struggles against homophobia with those against racism and classism. Under the forced segregation and racism of apartheid that ruled in South Africa from 1948 to 1994, the Group Areas Act (1950) required that racial groups live in designated locales. For black South Africans, this meant being relegated to rural "homelands" with remote locations and barren land and to urban "townships" known for their crowded and substandard living conditions. Located outside of Johannesburg, Soweto has been characterized by violence and poverty despite its proximity to white-designated areas of great opulence (Thompson 1995; Bonner and Segal 1998). A site of intense community-based political struggles against apartheid, Soweto was intimately connected with the 1960 antipass campaigns, the 1976 student uprisings, and political tensions around South Africa's transition to racial democracy in the 1980s and 1990s. Gays and lesbians have been essential to Soweto's communities and activism but have rarely been acknowledged in scholarship.9

In this section, we discuss the story of Cora and Phakamile, two young residents of Soweto with whom Amanda Swarr lived and worked for six months in 1999 and 2000. The politics surrounding lesbian sexuality and poverty intersect in Cora and Phakamile's daily lives in three critical ways. First, their gender identities are shaped by the raced and classed constitution of masculinity and femininity in their specific geographic locale. Masculine "butchness" characterizes how most lesbians define their appearances and shape their social interactions. Though butches do not merely copy or mimic men, Sowetan butch lesbians' self-definitions must be understood in relation to Sowetan male heterosexual masculinity. Like heterosexual masculine men, Sowetan lesbians take up masculinity strategically to assert their agency, claim masculine privileges, and declare their desires for relationships with women. Butchness allows some Sowetan

With the exception of Krouse 1993 and Gevisser and Cameron 1994, scholarship on South Africa and specifically on Soweto almost entirely ignores the presence and role of gays and lesbrans in this locale.

¹⁰ Swarr and her research partner, Susan Bullington, interacted and intermittently lived with Cora and Phakamile in Soweto and Johannesburg over a period of six months (September–October 1999, June–July 2000, September–October 2000), and the discussions included here are based on conversations undertaken during this time. Most of the quotations in this case study come from life historical interviews conducted in English jointly by Swarr and Bullington on October 14–15, 2000, in Cora's home in Soweto.

lesbians to achieve social power in the face of impoverishment, violence, and the racism of apartheid and colonialism.

Second, the historical and sociopolitical context of South Africa informs Sowetan lesbians' feelings and beliefs about religion. Unlike Geeta and Manju's association with a women's development NGO, Cora and Phakamile's primary affiliation is with a Christian Metropolitan Community Church. Religious spaces emerged as critical avenues of information, networking, and emotional support under apartheid. Unlike many places where religion is associated with homophobic repression, this church serves as a political and social space for Sowetan lesbians to articulate an ideology sensitive to their cultures and sexuality.

Finally, the violence and homophobic harassment faced by lesbians are directly related to their poverty. Both their modes of transportation and their insecure housing, as well as the degree to which they are known to be lesbians in their communities, make them vulnerable to attack. Thus, family acceptance and gender emerge centrally for all four narrators, even as their specific material and class-based struggles, as well as their relationships to religious and sociopolitical organizations, take very different forms.

Phakamile is a twenty-six-year-old woman who lives in an impoverished area where crime and gangsters are especially prevalent in a small structure she calls her "cabin," which is attached to her family's house. She is proud to have her own space, which is just big enough for a bed, in this wooden one room, a style of housing common in Soweto. During most of 1999 and 2000 when this research was conducted, Phakamile was unemployed; unemployment was common in her community and in 1997 was estimated at 57 percent among black South Africans aged fifteen to thirty (Forgey et al. 1999, 247). However, in the latter half of 2000, Phakamile worked as a waitress. Most Sowetans who are employed have "unskilled" service-based jobs in areas such as domestic service, factory, and mine work, and informal sector employment that keep them living at a subsistence level. Race continues to be an important determinant of wages, with blacks making less than 15 percent of what whites make. Further, the formal workforce is 60 percent male, making it more difficult for women to attain employment (Forgey et al. 1999, 259). This sporadic employment increases young Sowetan lesbians' reliance on their families for everyday survival.

Masculine "butch" identifications are critical to how most Sowetan lesbians characterize themselves and their relationships. "Butchness" exists as the rhetorical opposite to "femme," but most Sowetan lesbians identify as butch and have relationships with "straight" women who are bisexual in practice. Through butchness, Sowetan lesbians assert their masculinity and define roles in relationships, and these terms of identification are a

source of great debate and conversation among lesbians. Phakamile describes herself as very butch and masculine, despite her small size. She smokes tobacco and marijuana rolled in newspaper, a sign of her masculinity. Phakamile is a soccer player, and playing soccer itself is an assertion of her masculine butch gender identity.

Phakamile's partner, Cora, is from a relatively prosperous area of Soweto and lives in a house with her mother, father, uncle, and niece. Their house was given to Cora's parents by her sister and has electricity and running water. Since Cora has lived in this house, many of the appliances and decorations in the house have broken, and some of the rooms have no furniture in them. Cora's parents cannot afford the upkeep for the house, but Cora, her mother, and her niece spend hours each day cleaning it. In the context of Soweto, this family is middle class. Cora is twentyeight-years-old and athletic, and she realized that she was a lesbian when she was nineteen. She speaks of her gender as a "lesbian woman" and, unlike most of her peers, opposes butch and femme concepts. Cora has obtained sporadic domestic service employment, and she cleans buildings with her mother in a small Afrikaans city about a half-hour's taxi ride from Soweto. She has aspirations of living on her own, away from the control and lack of privacy she experiences in her family's home. Cora would like to have access to private spaces to explore her sexuality like upper-class black and white lesbians she knows, but her economic dependence on her family requires that she continue to live at home.

Cora is not directly open about her lesbianism with her family, although she and her many lesbian friends spend a lot of time at her house and even wear T-shirts that declare their sexual orientation. For the first few years of her relationship with Phakamile, Cora lived with her older sister, who was always skeptical of their relationship. Frustrated by her sister's strictness, Cora moved into her parents' home where her mother confronted her and Phakamile about their relationship: "She said, 'You, you are lovers,'" recounts Phakamile. Cora and Phakamile ignored Cora's mother at the time, and Cora does not want to come out to her family before she is ready: "I think I will tell them . . . when I've got my own place, and a permanent job, of course." But until they achieve economic independence, Phakamile spends the night at Cora's house regularly enough to be informally accepted as part of the family.

By contrast, Phakamile is open about her sexuality with her family, and they are accepting of her lesbianism. Phakamile states that her relationship with her grandmother has always been "so good and so I didn't have a problem. But at first I did have a problem. The only person who made me to go home and tell people, tell my family who I love, is [Cora]. I

loved her so much anyway that I had to tell them. They were patient about it. . . . [Cora] made me have my freedom. She made me."

Despite this love, Cora and Phakamile have had an intermittent relationship from the time that they got together. Phakamile is much more interested in continuing the relationship than Cora, and this is partly because of the butch/femme dynamic between them. The meanings of "butch" and "femme," along with the question of who should "propose" to whom and how, are constant topics of discussion. Phakamile describes the start of their relationship at a soccer game where she was one of the star players by explaining that she called Cora over and proposed to her. Cora laughs at this description, claiming that she proposed to Phakamile, "You know what . . . Phakamile, as butch as she is, I proposed to her. Really, really. Well, I could see that . . . she was interested and she was afraid, and so I thought let me make things easier for her, you know and propose. . . . Phakamile, she was scared of me."

This discussion of fear and who proposed to whom is also related to their class differences, as Cora aspires to be middle class and Phakamile is clearly working class. For example, Phakamile describes her "cabin" with great pride and a sense of romance. But for Cora, the cabin "was a funny little house. . . . I just told myself, 'Oh me, I would never live in one of those.'" Cora does not like to sleep at the cabin, which is another reason they spend so much time at Cora's house, despite the acceptance of their relationship by Phakamile's family. Cora says: "I have to wake up, boil water, take one of those dishes, pour water and wash. I'm not used to this kind of lifestyle. I'm used to this kind of lifestyle where I wake up, go straight to the bath. . . . You know, I'm spoiled." This class tension also comes up when they envision the future of their relationship. Phakamile hopes for them to be together forever, but Cora hopes for a partner who is more wealthy and upwardly mobile than Phakamile.

While gender identity and class facilitate tension between Cora and Phakamile, the two women also share many of the same values. Both are practicing Christians and attend the same church each week—the Hope and Unity Metropolitan Community Church (HUMCC)—along with most of their friends. The Metropolitan Community Churches were founded as a space where gay and lesbian Christians could reconcile their sexual orientation with their faith. From its inception in the early 1990s, the HUMCC has attracted black South African Christians who are gay and lesbian to one of the most dangerous and notorious parts of Johannesburg, Hillbrow.

The HUMCC is both a political and social space for black gays and

lesbians. As well as serving as a source of faith and spiritual support, its two young pastors counsel members through familial rejections, relationship difficulties, financial crises, and numerous suicide attempts. Many of the HUMCC members struggle to reconcile their Christian faith and their homosexuality. Phakamile explains: "My family, most of them, they judge [like] God, so whenever they want to condemn, they tell you about the Bible. And then it's like you don't have any information." Information and emotional support come not only from the leadership but from the members of the church who create community with each other. Explaining why she decided to go the HUMCC for the first time, Phakamile says: "I was very much depressed, and I just felt like going to church." She and Cora were experiencing difficulties in their relationship, and she hoped to meet up with her there. This sense of community also carries over to social events such as picnics, discussion and Bible study groups, and gay and lesbian commitment ceremonies. The HUMCC breaks down the isolation of being gay and lesbian in Soweto and Johannesburg, bringing in new members at each service. For Cora: "I just felt comfortable there. Welcome. So, I left my church, said: 'Bye guys-see you.' Then I joined HUMCC. . . . I mean, I felt as if I belonged there."

The experiences of Cora and Phakamile speak to the complex social networks of relationships, both intimate and familial, formed through and around membership in the HUMCC. The church offers a new ideology of self-acceptance to its members, countering the judgment and homophobia they face in their daily lives. Members of the HUMCC community feel less stigmatized when they realize that there are others like them, role models with whom they find community. For Cora and Phakamile, like most of the members of the church, Sunday services are a place to meet regularly with friends. However, there are also ways in which coming together makes gays and lesbians targets for homophobic harassment. On a Saturday evening in August 1999, four HUMCC members were traveling home to Soweto from Johannesburg.¹¹ While riding the train in a car full of people, four men threatened to rape all three women and kill the man, Michael, because they were homosexual. One narrator remembers that at least one of them had a knife, and their words, "we're going to get you, and you, Michael, we're going to kill you." They were all paralyzed with fear until a man who was on the train with his girlfriend

¹¹ Details of this story were collected from an interview with Cora on October 14, 2000, and conversations with Michael in Berea, Johannesburg (June 2000), Rebecca in Zola, Soweto (October 1999); and Kim in Protea, Soweto (October 1999).

suddenly shot and killed three of the four men, saving their lives. When the train stopped, they all got off and ran from the station; it was a traumatic experience for the entire community.

Individuals like Phakamile who are known to be lesbians in their communities and are outwardly butch also face social persecution for being lesbian. Phakamile is toughened from her experiences but describes homophobic verbal harassment as a daily occurrence. In one instance, she grew sick of the rape threats and exploitative treatment that are so common for Sowetan lesbians. Phakamile decided to take matters into her own hands: "I just went to . . . this main character's house and asked him, 'What is your problem? Do you have a problem around me or my lifestyle?' . . . I was scared, [but] at the same time I'm telling myself I have to do something about this because most of my times I spend around here, and I walk everywhere, so anything is possible. . . . And then the next couple of days came, and he apologized to me." While this story has a positive outcome, the stress and emotional toll it takes on Cora, Phakamile, and others like them is palpable. Suicide is a major problem in their community, and during 2000 at least two members of the HUMCC tried to kill themselves. Most members of the community admit to at least entertaining thoughts of suicide. Phakamile confesses:

For [most] of my life I've been suicidal. . . . That thing has entered my mind several times. . . . And then I'll ask myself, "What's the major reason for me to kill myself?" And I couldn't find the exact problem. That's when I decided to go to church. . . . If you are so proud, you don't have the guts to tell people that you're having that problem . . . that your relationship is going through rocks. You just pretend you're okay. . . . I didn't like to cry in front of Cora. . . . But she knows, when I feel like crying I cry a lot. . . . Sometimes she cries with me.

Suicide is increasingly common in Soweto and results, at least in part, from the despair wreaked by the racist economic policies of the apartheid government (Ashforth 2000). Phakamile's sense of isolation is compounded by the stoic burden of masculinity that prevents her from discussing her feelings and from crying before others. Phakamile, like many of her peers, draws on her partner and her spirituality to confront this impulse.

Cora and Phakamile share the same lesbian community networks in Soweto, a network of friends and supporters who are primarily other black lesbians. Aside from the HUMCC, there are two organizations that constitute the formal part of this community. The first of these is Sistahs

Kopianang, an organization of black lesbians in Johannesburg. While intended to serve as a social space, this group also illustrates class and geographic tensions that poor black lesbians confront. Sowetan lesbians like Cora and Phakamile are often excluded from meetings because they do not have the money to come to Johannesburg and because the meetings are conducted primarily in English, which is not their first language.

The second formal community organization of note here is the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality. While peripherally involved with this group—which championed the sexual orientation clause, making South Africa the first country in the world to have legal protection for gays and lesbians—Sowetan lesbians like Cora and Phakamile do not consider themselves members. The Coalition often organizes around abstract ideas such as legal policy, which are perceived to mean little in the daily lives of black township lesbians. Further, more overt racism and sexism coming from the Coalition leadership historically has created a hostile space for many black women. Women such as Cora and Phakamile may volunteer at special events, but they are not part of the administration and goals of gay and lesbian NGOs. Consequently, these two organizations are peripheral to their sense of community.

Most of Cora and Phakamile's emotional, social, and financial support comes from the other black Sowetan lesbians. This is where they define their identities and meet many of their partners. Members of this network, most of whom are unemployed, spend time with each other daily. They visit each others' houses, talking, smoking, watching television, and playing cards together. They support each other economically, with money, food, and clothing; they counsel each other about problems with their families and relationships; and they serve as role models for each other, defining what it means to be a Sowetan lesbian. In the future, Cora hopes to be a computer technician, to move into Johannesburg, away from her parents, and to have her independence. Phakamile's hopes are more romantic: "The future, if she lets me, I want to see us being married, having our own home and a car. . . . Travel around. . . . Anything, as long as it supports my life."

Cora and Phakamile's story illuminates the problematic assumptions inherent in both development studies and lesbian studies. Their liminal gender positions and sexualities lead to their exclusion from the traditional category of "African woman," which simplistically assumes heterosexuality as a prerequisite for "authentic" feminine gender and thereby renders them invisible in academic and NGO-based discourses on "gender and development." Similarly, lesbian studies provides inadequate conceptual tools, if any, to grapple with the centrality of poverty, violence, and so-

ciospatial location in the articulation of their sexualities, genders, and relationships. Phakamile and Cora's narratives push us to bring these two fields of inquiry into a productive conversation and highlight the importance of social spaces where Sowetan lesbians define their relationships and the places where differences among South African lesbians get articulated. The intersectionality of their sexual, racial, and classed identities and the negotiations in and around their multiple relationships cannot be understood or theorized in isolation from their mundane struggles over resources (such as a shared living space, employment, or violence-free public spaces) in and through which their everyday identifications and negotiations are coproduced.

(Homo)sexuality and development: Reframing intersectionality

The manner in which Cora, Phakamile, Geeta, and Manju experience and narrate their interwoven struggles around sexuality, community, resource access, and everyday survival pushes us toward new ways of approaching difference and its construction. It is inadequate to see these women's identities as merely relational and simultaneous; rather, we must grapple with the intersecting social, material, and symbolic processes that produce their identity categories in specific contexts. Both examples underscore the mutually constitutive nature of same-sex experiences and practices, on the one hand, and the categories of race, caste, class, and gender, on the other. For all four women, their experiences as poor, less educated, and geographically isolated; as dalit, adivasi, or black; and as members of families struggling to muster adequate resources for their children often take precedence as they narrate their lives and define their identities, communities, relationships, priorities, and dreams for their future. At the same time, they are actively involved in the construction of viable identities and communities (including sexual ones) for themselves, their daughters, and other women like themselves. Thus, the labor of material survival and that of sexual identity/community construction in their specific locales are always interconnected and mutually constitutive.

In the Sowetan case, Cora and Phakamile identify strongly as lesbians, but this identification only finds its meaning in relation to their racial, class, and sociopolitical locations that critically shape the ways they find community, establish relationships, and survive daily challenges. In the case from Chitrakoot, the term *lesbian* does not exist as a reference point for Geeta and Manju; the organizational and ideological spaces of MS allow them to build an intimate emotional and sexual bond—a relationship for which they have to fight and push the boundaries of that very organ-

ization, but lesbianism itself does not operate as a central axis of difference in their lives and political battles. Rather, they (and their coworkers who "admire and envy" their relationship) distinguish chiefly between intimacies marked by the presence or absence of physical and emotional violence and repression and of spaces in which they can or cannot build healthy emotional and sexual partnerships.

Because of the material limitations they face, access to private spaces in which they can explore their sexual orientation is limited for Cora, Phakamile, Geeta, and Manju. Their stories also suggest that for a vast majority of socioeconomically marginalized women in same-sex relationships, exclusively lesbian community spaces and organizations are rare. Sowetan lesbians, including Cora and Phakamile, rely on gay and lesbian churches like the HUMCC as critical spaces for support and socialization. Such churches and political organizations found in urban and periurban areas, however, are not exclusively lesbian and may be plagued by racism and sexism. For most poor lesbians outside of the United States and Europe, such spaces and organizations, if they exist at all, tend to focus on the needs of middle- and upper-class gays and lesbians, such as establishing clubs and bars, legal rights to inheritance, marriage, artificial insemination, and gay business associations. Very frequently, then, poor and rural women develop and nurture their same-sex relationships and practices in the absence of any formal lesbian organizations or even an identifiable community of women in same-sex relationships. When there are groups that meet some of their needs, as in the case of the HUMCC, they usually face unreliability and a chronic lack of funding.

Our case studies further emphasize how an analytical focus on organizations such as women's NGOs, churches, and informal associations can help us grapple with the complex struggles in the lives of marginalized lesbians in Third World contexts. Such a focus allows us to connect struggles over resources with those over sexuality while simultaneously illuminating the extent to which the concerns and everyday experiences of the poorest lesbians have been peripheralized at the "grassroots" level in development projects at all scales. Women's organizations may address critical issues such as skill building and sexual violence, but such initiatives are based on assumptions of heteronormativity and rarely acknowledge the existence of lesbians in their midst. Specific concerns of women in same-sex relationships, such as homophobic discrimination within their families or communities, may not be welcomed or may be actively silenced, and homosexual women often fear raising their own issues, which may be labeled "divisive" or "peripheral." While attentive to homophobia, gay and lesbian organizations dedicate few resources to the concerns of poor

lesbians. By exploring some of these dynamics between specific NGOs and their lesbian members, we can begin to analyze the complex, contradictory, and incomplete nature of "empowerment"—whether that empowerment happens to take place on the terms of a foreign funding agency or on the terms of rural communities.

Our central aim here is to demonstrate how the world's most economically and politically marginalized women exercise their sexual agency and publicly cultivate their sexual and emotional intimacies with women, how other axes and structures of difference feed into this process, and how women experience and articulate these intersections in relation to their other battles for everyday survival. Cora, Phakamile, Geeta, and Manju present nuanced critiques of the patriarchal structures and processes operating in their lives in highly contextualized, place- and class-specific ways. An engagement with their narratives enables us to extend intersectionality beyond identity-based categories such as "lesbian" and "bisexual," or even dalit, adivasi, and "black." Terms like lesbian can be incomplete, inapplicable, or even offensive depending on contexts and histories. But scholarship and organizations often rely on such terms, concepts, and identities—including their Western and imperialist trappings—with little or no interrogation.

By extending the work of feminist political and postcolonial theorists such as Judith Butler (1990, 1993), Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991), and Anne McClintock (1995), on the one hand, and of critical development theorists such as Naila Kabeer and Ramya Subrahmanian (1999) on the other, our intervention opens new spaces that allow (homo)sexuality and sexual agency in women's lives to be understood in relation to their everyday struggles around development politics, resource access, and poverty. Cora, Phakamile, Geeta, and Manju not only expose the limits of existing discussions of intersectionality and of concepts and terminology used in lesbian and development studies, they provide exciting opportunities to generate more refined and context-specific conceptualizations of sexuality, difference, and identity without compromising an unequivocal political commitment to support struggles for access to resources, social equity, and justice.

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Roundtable: Notes from the Fleid

Introduction

Françoise Lionnet Obioma Ninaemeka Susan H. Perry Celeste Schenck

otes from the Field is a collection of testimonials solicited from development practitioners working in situ all over the world. The editors of this volume each felt strongly that a special issue on development cultures should make every effort to reveal the human face of development, to listen to the voices of development workers as they live through and analyze retroactively the processes of development, and to lay bare the struggle of practice as it articulates itself in vivid ways across the globe. We felt it important to include the voices of male co-laborers in these particular fields and also to explore new terrains of engagement for developmentmany of them, hearteningly enough, in the humanities. Each contributor has been asked to write in the first person, situating his or her personal history of practice in the particular contexts—geographical, political, disciplinary—in which he or she works, and then to evaluate in some measure what he or she was able to achieve. Some are young scholars doing dissertation research. Others work outside the academy to try to bring about political change. Finally, some of us have been in the field so long that our activism has become a way of life.

This section is necessarily a cornucopia of personal narratives—ranging in length, tone, and register of language—and we have made no attempt to smooth out the necessary roughness or discontinuity in and between narratives. *Notes from the Field* is divided into two sections: in the first, we present testimony of new practices from different geographical locations—Niger, Guatemala, Argentina, China, and the Middle East; in the second,

we present a range of new spaces—theater, financial institutions, radio, the editorial page, and the classroom—in which development activities have begun to flourish differently.

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A Language of Their Own: Development Discourse in Niger

Lori Hartmann-Mahmud

Lori Hartmann-Mahmud's field experience in Africa began in Niger in the Peace Corps (1988–90). A graduate of the University of Denver's Graduate School of International Studies, where she focused on development studies, comparative politics, and Africa, she returned to Niger in 1997–98 to do the dissertation fieldwork on which this narrative is based. She is currently assistant professor of international studies at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky.

fter several extended sojourns in West Africa (one year in Senegal, two years in Niger, and several other shorter visits), I returned to Niger in November 1997 to conduct dissertation research with one

I would like to acknowledge those who have made the research for this article possible. The University of Denver's Graduate School of International Studies provided me with a generous U.S. Department of Education Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowship, and P.E.O. (a philanthropic organization committed to supporting women in higher education) awarded me a research grant and ongoing moral support. More recently, I am grateful for the research support provided by Centre College.

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simple question, "How do Nigerien women define and prioritize development?" Observing, practicing, and studying development for years had led me to a frustrating impasse—why are projects conceived and theories debated without substantial input from the "target" population? (The use of the word target is indicative of the passivity accorded to people of the global South.) Their participation might be solicited, but often this occurs after the agenda has been set, after assumptions about problems and priorities at the local level have been made. I wanted to back up, to try to understand how women define and experience the concept of development. It is not enough to fill project proposals with words like sustainability and empowerment: I wanted to understand how those concepts are contextualized in the minds of our partners in the global South.

Upon arriving in Niger I began translating my questionnaire into French and Hausa. Quickly realizing that the goals of the study would not be attained without some assistance, I sought a Nigerien woman who would be enthusiastic not only about the project itself but about engaging in decision making over questions asked, choice of sites, choice of informants, and language issues. I wanted someone who would be willing to offer advice and constructive criticism, who would be able to do more than translate but would engage in the more delicate "transfer of meaning." Rabi Ibrahim became invaluable. She beautifully engaged informants in discussion about sensitive issues, knowing just when and how to push for more information. For example, in some instances after we explained our study, informants responded, "Ba ni da ilimi [I have no knowledge], why are you asking me these questions?" Rabi was able to convince them that we were interested in their ideas and perspectives on development, not in technical knowledge. The fruitful collaboration that Rabi and I enjoyed was instrumental in eliciting thoughtful and revealing responses from our informants.

So we planned our study, identifying seven research sites (three small villages: Doumoumougé, Gafati, Dabnou; three towns: Mirriah, Tibiri, Tamaske; and the capital city of Niamey). We developed a questionnaire with the aim of asking predominantly open-ended questions. We wanted the 104 women (and seventeen men) of various cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds who were interviewed to help guide the research agenda. We established general categories of questions, but in several cases we expanded or altered the questionnaire according to responses provided by women. For example, as we asked questions about views on education, we consistently found that informants showed great interest and passion for the subject. Group discussions brought out tensions concerning sending girls to school and other debates about formal

versus informal education and a European curriculum versus an Africacentered curriculum. Thus, education became a major focus of the study. Our informants were the catalyst pushing us to pursue the topic in more depth. Just as informants guided the direction of our study, it is my strong belief that development theory has to be open to the contributions of those in the global South.

The importance of language, or translation versus transfer of meaning

This research project relies heavily on language. We sought to understand Nigerien women's definition of development, their evaluations and priorities, and the stories they tell with regard to their quality of life. Rabi and I would discuss the interviews afterward, paying particular attention to definitions and symbols expressed through language. For example, our informants expressed development (in Hausa) as ci gaba (go forward), haruwa (increase, grow, gain wealth), taimakon hai da hai (self-help), or zaman duniya (improve quality of life) (see table 1). We were interested in how these words become contextualized in women's reflections, and on a theoretical level this close study of language helps to problematize rigid categories that are often assumed in development discourse.

Especially for women, who are not usually spokespeople for an African village or town, there has been little attention paid to the terms they employ in discussions of development. Women in development studies have focused on African women's condition, their productive and reproductive workload, and even how to measure and appreciate that contribution. There is no shortage of evidence that African women in general, and rural women specifically, are overburdened with daily tasks of collecting firewood and water, caring for children and other family members, working the fields and gardens, cooking, and other household tasks. Alleviating that burden should be a priority of development efforts, but our understanding must go beyond the level of material conditions to incorporate women's thoughts and ideas, thus shifting the study of development from a purely materialist to a more philosophical focus.

For example, we asked informants to translate the word development into their first language. Even many of the informants who spoke neither French nor English had heard the word development either on the radio or in discussions with those who spoke French. For those who did not understand the word development in English or development in French, we asked them to talk about initiatives or activities that had improved their lives, and then we asked for the term they used to describe

Table 1. Hause Definitions of Development (Frequency by Research Site; N = 112)

	Ci garba*	Keruwa, Bun'kasa, Semu, Sema'n na a samu	Taimaken kai da kai, Sense kai, Tauki tsaye da kan kai	Rerums, Bun'tasa, Samu, Inimaken hai de hei, Jenas kei, Zaman duniya, Kyanta reyuwar su, Zamma Baban Sena'n na a samu Indi tany da han hai Berome Great)	Zamma Bahan (Become Great)
Villagor					
Doumoumougué	7				
Gafati	7	4	1		
Dabnou	9	4		ч	
Towns:					
Mirriah	8	80	1	r	
Tibiri	6	12		74	
Tamaake	1	ч	2	H	
Çiy:					
Names	25	7	1	1	1
Total	47 (men: 12)**	37 (men: 2)	v	6 (men: 1)	
			•	\- 	t

help, self-sufficiency, meet one's needs); Zaman daniya, Kyanta rayuwar zu, Wayawa kai mata (improve quality of life, women's enlightenment, uschilden, Note: Cl gada (make progress, move forward; literally "eat the front"), Karwws, Bankkas, Same's me a same (grow, increase, gain wealth, make profit, wealth-income-generating activity); Taimaken has de has, Fansa has, Tauk tasye da han has (help oneself, redeem oneself, mobilize for acifimprove rural life, flourish); Zamma Baban (become great).

* The terms in boldface above are worth noting because they emerged throughout the study during discussions about people's work, their activity in women's organizations, and politics.

** "Men" denotes the number of male respondents.

that process. Table 1 provides the definitions given by informants for each research site (villages: Doumoumougué, Gafati, Dabnou; towns: Mirriah, Tibiri, Tamaske; city: Niamey).

These definitions were key to the discussions that proceeded; for example, if an informant used the term sana'a na a samu, we could expect the conversation to go in the direction of small businesses, loans, and building wealth or capital. From those who talked about wayewa kai, we were told about travel opportunities, skill acquisition, expanding horizons, and education. The large concentration of respondents from Niamey who answered "ci gaba" reflected the rhetoric that dominates politicians' speeches. In the towns women employed the expression sana'a na a samu, reflecting the dynamic economic environment we found in spaces with both rural and urban attributes. The use of language provides keys to unlocking people's philosophies on the processes and goals of development.

Many women connected their definitions and goals of development to their participation in women's organizations (political, social, and economic). They talked about how that participation was mind opening, allowing them to make new discoveries and meet new people, which they described as enlightening experiences. Even among those who defined development as ci gaba, the term wayewa kai came up frequently in the course of subsequent discussions. If development means to make progress, then the means to that progress seems to be through wayewa kai. The expression means broadening horizons, "blossoming," becoming more aware, enlightening.

The following respondents used some form of the expression wayewa kai in their responses. I have noted each woman's level of education next to her pseudonym in order to show that the level of formal education does not necessarily indicate a woman's capacity to be enlightened or to have an open mind. The following are responses to the question "How has participation in this group affected your life?" Pseudonyms are used to protect the informants' identities.

- Halima Idi, president of *Mutuelle d'Epargne et Credit*, no schooling: "It has allowed me to become more aware, learn, meet new people, and make discoveries."
- Salamatou Idi, political party, theater group, no schooling: "I enjoy myself with the groups, and it allows me to really understand social life."
- Hadjia Saadi Lawali, credit group, primary school: "I have made a lot of contacts, learned and discovered so much."
- Fatima Mahamane, social group, pottery group, Koranic school:

"It has allowed me to learn so many things and to improve my pottery work."

- Aichatou Mahamane, credit group, no schooling: "fulfillment, joy, increased knowledge, and I am better informed."
- Saadi Mahamane, trade union (president of women's wing), high school and teaching school: "I understand the country much better. I want to see concrete progress, not "il parait" [it seems] . . . I have become aware that I have no problem making contact with people."
- Hadjia Haoua Abdou, several organizations, Qur'anic school: "I
 have flourished [and have appreciated the] freedom to express
 myself."

These examples illustrate how women view the intellectual advantages gained by participating in women's organizations. They talk about their enhanced understanding of society, being better informed, and how this leads to feelings of fulfillment and self-confidence. Horizons are widened, minds are stimulated, and wayewa kai is taking place.

Women expressed much enthusiasm over these experiences, whether they included participation in a political organization, a women's cooperative, or an informal credit bank. Any opportunity they had to increase knowledge, awareness, contacts, or skills they welcomed as a true benefit, implicitly linking these opportunities to development. A few respondents explicitly linked these experiences to development. In an oral interview, Haoua Mahamane made the links clearly: "After the interview, she thanked us and said how happy she was to participate. At first, she had been afraid she couldn't give good answers, but when she found she could, she was happy and it was satisfying to be asked her opinion, to be asked to think and reflect. She said that these types of discussions help open people's minds to new discoveries, to raise awareness (wayewa kai or kai ya wai—the head is woken up). 'The questions were difficult but important. This is how development will progress.'"

The link between enlightenment and development was made even more explicitly in responses to the question about people's thoughts on the many women's organizations created in Niger since the early 1990s. Almost all the respondents who were speaking Hausa brought up the idea of wayewa kai. Either they saw it as a reason for the increase in women organizing (Aichatou Mahamane: "I am very happy that women are more free [to organize]; it is because of wayewa kai"), or as one of the effects (Salamatou Idi: "It permits one to expand one's horizons, learn, discover,

¹ Interview by author, February 14, 1998

and develop"; Biba Kadir: "It is good; we are enlightened; now, nothing important will happen without the participation of women"). It is through careful examination of definitions and expressions associated with development that one can begin to get a sense of women's priorities and their philosophical orientation toward the topic. This helps to provide a framework for understanding more specific and concrete development priorities. Table 2 represents women's responses to questions about their specific development priorities.

Although there are divisions between the various development priorities in the table, further discussions highlight how interrelated these priorities are, especially given the fact that most women specified several. A plan to acquire credit to buy a grinding mill could be motivated by an interest in easing women's workload and accompanied by a desire to learn about managing a business. The sources of credit are often a women's credit union or nongovernmental organization, so participation is key to establishing the network and skills that are requisites for successful economic endeavors. Notice that the categories from tables 1 and 2 are interrelated.

Clearly, the multifaceted nature of development is illustrated by an indepth study of women's definitions and priorities. It makes it difficult to pinpoint one definition or one priority as they are so interrelated; however, one begins to see a picture emerge from the qualitative discussions held with a cross section of Nigerien women. These findings render the mainstream approach to development, which tends to fund "a project" with narrow and specific goals (e.g., a literacy project or a credit project), illogical. In most cases a literacy project would not be "distracted" by considering the installation of a grinding mill, but the links are clear. A reduction of time and effort spent on reproductive work such as food preparation would allow for women to engage in potentially more meaningful activities such as learning to read, write, and calculate. Instead of a project approach, there should be a "package" approach that may begin with a grinding mill that eases women's workload and thus frees up time for literacy classes that then allow appropriate skill acquisition for managing credit that will in turn allow better management and possible expansion of the grinding mill project (and so on).

This discussion has illustrated how a local-level study focused on language and particular experience can inform the theoretical foundation of development discourse by reexamining the categories and, more importantly, the relationships between these categories in the discourse. Is development "progress" or "enlightenment" or "income generation"? Is it credit projects, literacy projects, or work-reducing projects? Taking each

Table 2. Development Priorities for Women (Response Prequency by Research Site; N=104)

	Prome		Preficipation In Projects					
	Generation and Credit	Education	NGOs, and Women's Organizations	Setlarly Back Needs	Pamily Concerns (Merriage, Children)	Ease Women's Work Load	Ald or Gifts	Human Rights
Villages:								
Doumoumougué	7	7	1	1		1		
Gaffitt	8	Н	1	æ	7	г		
Dabnou	6	9	က	1	æ	ന		
Towns:								
Mirriah	13	4	9	1		7	1	7
Tibui	15	7	7			(4	*	ı
Tamaske	4	7	s	н	-	:		
Caty:							r	
Niamey	13	24	8	10	10	1	6	9
Total	28	45	26	17	16	10	6	8
l								

Note: This table reflects the number of responses, not respondents. Many people discussed several topics in response to the question on women's prioritica. NGO = nongovernmental organization. in isolation has been the conventional approach. A more creative way would begin by seeing the interrelated nature of these categories.

Theoretical considerations

The previous section illustrated the rich and varied definitions that Nigerien women accorded to development. Further analysis brings to light how interconnected these definitions and priorities are. The major revelation of this research for me was how women's ideas pushed me to rethink categories of development that seemed to be polar opposites or simple facts of conventional wisdom; yet, on critical inspection, they yielded a much more complex and instructive picture. I will share some of those examples in this section.

Development discourse is riddled with static and dichotomous categories that serve to simplify the "map" of the global South; however, by standardizing people and places, action is taken as if the human subject has no gender, history, values, or original ideas. The complex reality is ignored, and development becomes ineffective. By questioning those categories, we muddy the water and complicate the picture, but we come closer to an accurate map of the world that we are trying to serve and understand.

Basing analysis and planning on dichotomies can be damaging in several ways. First, the axis of the dichotomy is adhered to so strongly that any intermediary is ignored. For example, most analyses of development look simply at the developer and the developee. In some cases, the developer "targets" the developee for an initiative or project. In more progressive development strategies, the developee participates in the planning and carrying out of the project. Still, the axis of the dialogue is set between those two parties. This study showed that the intermediaries (animateurs/ animatrices, or local development workers) are actually the key players, and a project often succeeds or fails based on their work. They sensitize both the developer and the developee, and they are the fulcrum of communication. They navigate that confusing space between developer's and developee's contexts, often being asked to clarify misunderstandings, apologize for unintended insults, and bring together the developer's idea for the project with the needs and priorities of the developees. Without attention and recognition accorded to the key local development workers, there is just too large a gap in terms of language (the transfer of meaning) and trust between the two parties.

The second way in which dichotomies are misleading is in debates over which side should "win," debates that rely on assumptions of mutual

exclusivity. Which is more useful: a universal theory of feminism or particular feminisms that take account of context and the detailed texture of women's lives? Making an either-or choice limits the creativity of solutions. A universal vision combined with contextual accounts is the better approach. But a synthesis requires more than merely combining the universal and the particular. It must be shown how they affect and change each other and how efforts to achieve synthesis can be fruitful. Reversing the hierarchy is not enough. Transformation of thought and action occurs through displacement of the dichotomy, through questioning its assumptions and categories.

And finally, studying social phenomena through categories such as dichotomies leads one to infer a huge distance between two poles. For example, one perceives the success and failure of a development project as being far apart. A project fails; donors pull out and go back to the drawing board to assess what happened. They often start from scratch to redesign the next project, when in actuality the difference between success and failure can lie in one detail—for example, holding literacy classes at 10 A.M. instead of 1 P.M., when women are free to attend; establishing a beautiful new clinic with only male medical personnel, so women choose not to come; the treasurer of a water pump project being a member of the chief's family so even when he embezzles funds the villagers are reluctant to accuse him. There are many "almost successes" that miss a few details in planning or pull out before the project gets going. To see failure and success as worlds apart misses the point.

The particular can inform the universal, not by replacing one group of people's definitions with another's, for that would be merely multiplying particulars. Rather, context-rooted studies can help to shift the foci of reflection and dialogue in order to better approximate universal explanations. Our informants' representations may demand that we recast the categories that drive this enigmatic creature we call development.

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Performing Tourism: Maya Women's Strategies

Walter E. Little

Walter Little is assistant professor of anthropology at the State University of New York at Albany and codirector of Oxlajuj Aj, Tulane University's Kaqchikel Language and Culture class in Guatemala. He has conducted fieldwork among Maya handicrafts producers and vendors since 1992 on issues related to tourism, gender roles, and identity performance, and this research is the subject of his book, Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity (Austin: University of Texas, 2004).

aya women who sell handicrafts to tourists are public figures. Their images are featured in hotels, restaurants, airports, and other places frequented by tourists. Often they are the only indigenous persons whom tourists traveling to Guatemala and to the Mexican states of Yucatán and Chiapas meet. In Guatemala, not only are Maya women represented in tourism brochures, guidebooks, postcards, and advertising campaigns, their images are used in newspaper articles on crime, the economy, and health reports that are not related to handicrafts sales.

Like most visitors to Guatemala, I met Maya women and men in the handicrafts market in Antigua. That was in 1987, before I began graduate studies in 1990, and this initial meeting has led to twelve years of research. The deft ways that they sold to foreign tourists and the seamless cultural transitions between their indigenous-oriented hometowns and the non-indigenous, tourism-driven Antigua in large part inspired me to begin graduate studies. Intending to learn how work and identity were interrelated for these vendors, I focused my attention on the public performances they made for tourists in the marketplaces, plazas, church courtyards, and streets of Antigua. Gradually I realized that these performances were more than strategies to make sales. I became a person to them by means of many intersubjective experiences, including the sharing of meals of *ichaj*

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(Kaqchikel for greens); socializing with them along with my daughter, who played with their children; gaining fluency in Kaqchikel; and learning basic K'iche'. These experiences permitted me to see how vendors actually critique the tourism development of which they are subjects. The following examples highlight common ways that Maya women perform for tourists for economic reasons, as well as how they use humor to critique and undermine the tourism system that they live and work in but do not directly control.

Maya women mobile street vendors use calculated performances to sell their handicrafts in what might be called tourism as performance. A typical economic exchange between a vendor and a potential customer does not begin with the expression "Buy something." Vendors resort to such formulas when they are "bored," "want to go home," or "are hassling bad customers." Instead, the sales pitch begins slowly and subtly. Usually working in pairs or small groups (mother-daughter, siblings, cousins, or friends), women, adolescents, and girls stop and then sit next to a potential customer. They speak to each other in Kaqchikel—usually sizing up the tourist, trying to predict what he or she might buy. They may take out thread to weave bracelets as they talk.

Only when the tourist begins to watch does one of the vendors address him or her. Neither vendor asks the tourist to buy. Instead, they build rapport by making small talk, as the following conversation (translated from Spanish) illustrates:

Vendor: Do you want to learn how to make a bracelet?

Tourist: No. Is it difficult?

Vendor: Not very. Where are you from?

Tourist: San Diego. Where are you from?

Vendor: We are from San Antonio. It's near Antigua.

Tourist: Your huipil [hand-woven blouse] is beautiful. Did you make it?

Vendor: Yes. That is one of our traditions. You should learn how to weave one.

Tourist (laughs): I don't know. It looks complicated.

Vendor: It is, but there are good teachers in San Antonio. You should go there.

The vendor then explains how the blouse was woven by taking a *buipil* from her bundle of merchandise, pointing out the designs, and emphasizing that the reversible pattern is unique to San Antonio. She brags that it is the most complicated weaving in Guatemala.

Tourist: That is very difficult. I'm traveling for just two weeks.

Vendor: Not much time. You should stay longer. You could visit us in San Antonio.

Vendor (to her daughter in Kaqchikel): Go sell.

The girl walks around the fountain, asking tourists if they want to buy various types of hand-woven textiles, but she does not have any success.

Tourist (looking at the girl): It must be difficult to sell.

Vendor: Very! No one wants to buy anything. It is very slow.

Tourist: What do you have?

At this point the vendor shows her some merchandise and eventually makes the sale.

I highlight here how vendors build rapport with tourists rather than simply try to achieve the sale. Such exchanges demonstrate Brechtian theatrical techniques in which tourists become part of the play. Independent tourists, like the woman above, who travel at slower paces and control the time they spend in any given place allow vendors to engage subtle selling techniques. When vendors realize tourists may be in Antigua several days, they will spend days courting them. Performances cater to each respective tourist. Some are teased. Some are given advice—how to avoid thieves, where the best restaurants are, what bus companies are the most reliable. Some are engaged in discussions of politics. And some are even invited into vendors' homes to see what Kaqchikel Maya life is like. Vendors share local food specialties, demonstrate weaving, and tell stories about traditions. They offer to help tourists practice Spanish and to learn words in Kaqchikel. Many vendors encourage reciprocal language-learning relationships where they help the tourist with her or his studies in exchange for lessons in the tourist's language. All these activities minimize the economic goals and emphasize that the vendors are the bearers of traditional Maya culture that contrasts with the tourists' culture.

I call these sales tactics *performances* because vendors' time is too limited given their household obligations and because the pressure of making money is too urgent to permit the development of genuine friendships

with tourists who rarely return. In fact, these performances have a strong political component. Although Maya vendors in Antigua are featured on postcards, brochures, and in guidebooks, all of which contribute to tourists' perceptions, in fact the municipal government promotes Antigua for its Spanish colonial architecture and Spanish-language schools. Although tourism promotion highlights the colonial, Maya vendors adorn the sites. The touristic importance of the colonial period has been fortified through formal declarations that the city is a national monument (1944), a monumental city of the Americas (1965), and a UNESCO World Heritage Site (1979). Furthermore, local non-Maya merchants complain to city officials that street vendors disrupt their businesses and taint the colonial image. No law exists prohibiting handicrafts sales by street vendors, but that has not impeded local police forces from seizing merchandise, levying fines, and occasionally jailing vendors for selling on the street.

When Maya vendors develop good rapport with tourists, they make it more difficult for the police to intimidate them. When they perform their culture—making bracelets, weaving, speaking Kaqchikel—to tourists in the Central Plaza, they are subverting a public space that contradicts the municipality's and merchants' designations as to how that space should be used and occupied. Maya vendors are working in the space of the other, the non-Maya.

Like performance artists, they transform the plaza into a combination Maya marketplace and interactive theater. By drawing tourists into the performance, they temporarily control the plaza and protect themselves from the police, who are reluctant to bother them in front of foreign tourists. In 2001, police officers began videotaping vendors working in the plaza in order to fine or arrest them at a later date. When vendors learned this, they covered their own and the tourists' heads with the textiles they sell. Aside from hiding their identities, this tactic makes tourists aware that street vending is not approved by the city and tends to make them sympathetic to the vendors.

Humor plays an important role in such performances. In the exchange I discuss below, joking reveals how Maya handicrafts vendors understand their place within the structure of tourism and their cultural differences from foreign tourists and ladinos (Guatemalans who are culturally defined as non-Maya). In the airport in 1998, I met a young ladina woman dressed in Santa Catarina Palopó clothing. Initially, I mistook her for a Santa Catarina vendor. As I approached her, pleased to see a Maya woman in a high-profile tourism job, I noticed that she was wearing makeup, which is rare for Maya women. When I greeted her in Kaqchikel and she stared at me blankly before asking in English if I was speaking a European

language, I knew she was not a Maya from Santa Catarina. She had been hired by Maya World promoters and the Guatemalan Tourism Commission (INGUAT) to greet tourists, distribute brochures, and provide basic information about tour companies, hotels, and travel in Guatemala. Disappointed, I went to Antigua where I related my experience to friends from Santa Catarina. First they teased me, saying, "Haven't you learned anything? Can't you tell a Ladina from an indigena?" Then they explained how it "made sense" that a ladina would work greeting tourists. Ladinas had to greet tourists, they explained, because Maya women were so different and so potent (their character and their sexuality) that tourists would not understand them. Having a ladina dressed as a Maya woman helped ease tourists into the differences they would encounter when they actually met "real Maya women."

They asked me if she was selling handicrafts. Since she was not, they laughed that she was "a fool and didn't know what she was doing." One woman commented, "Just standing in the airport can't be a good job. How much can she make? Why would we want her job, when we can make more money selling handicrafts here [in Antigua]?" They all admitted that they were glad she was there, since they hoped it would help promote Santa Catarina and inspire tourists to buy textiles from actual Santa Catarina women. Joking aside, it is common knowledge that INGUAT employees make relatively high wages compared to the roughly three dollars per day most Guatemalans make performing grueling physical labor.

Maya women's joking reveals how they cope with how they have been described in tourism material and situated within tourism development. The example I have cited illustrates not only how they make light of their work as vendors to tourists but also how they are located within tourism sites according to ethnicity and gender. It suggests their ways of making do from within the space of the other. Here is a social, cultural, and economic space that is largely determined by guidebooks written by foreigners and mass-advertising campaigns by large hotel chains, international tour companies, and governments. Making do often means vendors rework non-Maya-defined space for their own use. To do this they play on the concepts of tradition illustrated in tourism materials to attract tourists looking for a certain type of Maya.

Maya handicrafts vendors work within well-defined touristic spaces. They are not typically engaged in hegemonic struggles over tourism planning with development organizations or the Guatemalan government. Although tourism incorporates whole Maya towns and marketplaces, there

is no mandate for Mayas to participate. However, tourism affects all Mayas in San Antonio Aguas Calientes and Santa Catarina Palopó. Despite their exclusion from decision making, vendors in San Antonio Aguas Calientes and Santa Catarina Palopó have participated in international tourism since the 1930s. They go to Antigua and fit into the tourism service sector, where they sell handicrafts and criticize aspects of tourism through humor. They pattern their lives in ways that exploit tourists' perceptions of Maya women. The ways in which they engage tourists and avoid problems with government officials were developed over decades of personal experience. In Antigua, Maya handicrafts vendors perform from within non-Mayacontrolled tourism spaces, where they use tourists' perceptions of Mayas to manipulate and renegotiate those spaces on their own terms to exploit tourism development projects for economic gain. Their ability to produce and renegotiate the terms of what are Maya cultural practices and materials is worked out in small ways through joking among themselves and interacting with tourists on a one-to-one basis.

While it is transparent to tourists that marketplaces exist in order to sell merchandise, vendors engage in numerous tactics to camouflage their economic intentions. Vendors without obvious selling techniques often sell the most merchandise. These vendors make productive use of cultural performance to hook customers and make sales. The performance of "Mayaness" also suggests more than incorporating tourists in the performance and subverting non-Maya-controlled spaces to make money. It also shows how Maya women, as culturally and discursively constructed, matter to tourism and to themselves. Judith Butler's notion in *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* of performativity "as a reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" can be seen in these examples of Maya women's strategies. Their awareness and mastery of the situations in which they find themselves permit them to use performance and humor to make sales, protect themselves from police intimidation, and critique tourism development practices.

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¹ Judith Butler, Bodies That Matter On the Discursive Limits of "Sex" (New York: Routledge, 1993), 2.

Argentinian Women Survive Economic Crisis

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rgentinian society has become a living social laboratory as a result of long-term economic upheaval and recent crisis. Inventiveness and imagination have become the only means to uphold human dignity, and they are at the core of a series of unique protest strategies aimed at survival and resistance: neighborhood organizations, impromptu roadblocks, self-governing rural production, buying cooperatives, and worker takeovers of bankrupt factories. It is impossible to analyze in such a short piece the economic impact of global policies and their repercussions in Argentina, which include soaring levels of unemployment; the degradation of working conditions; the destruction of local industry and the consequent closing off of avenues for employment and increasing social exclusion; the growing gap between rich and poor and the spectacular rise in abject misery; the resulting economic and sexual exploitation of women, particularly young girls; and the rising traffic in women. Instead, I have chosen to focus on testimony to demonstrate the key role women have played throughout this crisis. Women have often been both the initiators of protest and the source of new alternatives for survival. These practices have sparked an innovative dynamic between the public and private space, while women's own autonomy and individual liberty have been transformed through their community work.

Women in Argentina have built new paradigms and new spaces for solidarity and collaborative work to counter the complex process of internal migration and the breakdown of family and community units caused by market forces and a repressive and authoritarian political system. They have regularly taken the initiative to rebound and to give new sense to

preexisting conditions. They have fought against the diverse impacts of the economic crisis despite the mistrust or indifference of male politicians who are used to more orthodox forms of political and class struggle. I have chosen examples below from the *piqueteros* (picketers), the workers, and the peasants.

The piqueteros movement was born in the Argentinian provinces in the 1990s following the shutdown of several factories due to national privatization policies and the subsequent structural readjustment of this socalled modernization process. The first picket took place in 1994 in a small city in Patagonia where oil drilling, the principal source of work, was brought to an abrupt halt. The working population was tired of unkept promises and cut off a route vital for the region's commerce and communication. When police repression resulted in the death of one of their picket-line colleagues, the piqueters obtained financial support, a few jobs, and new promises from the local and provincial governments. Word of this example spread. As unemployment soared from 7 to 22 percent over the coming decade, roadblocks to protest factory closings across the country became common practice. When Argentinians speak of piqueteros, they are speaking primarily of a masculine movement. Yet, when I interview women activists, they present a different picture. "There are more women than men among us," explains Elisa Ojeda, piquetera. "The women are more decisive, the men are more silent. They say, go on and make demands on our behalf because you'll come back with a positive response. They give nothing to men. So it's really up to us!" Another piquetera confirms her story: "It was the women who brought their men along. We had made bricks to build barracks. . . . Our men came and said this is a job for men. And we said 'Who do you think has been making them?' The coordinator for the roadblocks is a woman and men owe her their respect." Another explains that "the women were the first to put up the roadblocks. Probably because for the men a demonstration has always been linked to the workplace and the right to strike or to occupy the factories." Still a fourth argues that "the women are always more numerous than the men, because it is embarrassing for men; their first reaction is to hide that they are unemployed."

The picket movement has been transformed into a series of autonomous communities. These communities manage the welfare and merchandise they receive and make their own bread, pizza, pasta, and bricks, and grow vegetables for market, bartering their excess production. They even organize health services, family planning, their children's education, and training for unemployed adults.

A second group of Argentinian women's voices comes from the fac-

tories. The economic crisis provoked the closing of a number of large factories that could not compete under the conditions imposed by the government's neoliberal economic policies. Male and female workers occupied their factories and explored diverse solutions such as the formation of workers' cooperatives and the awarding of state subsidies. But not all found viable solutions. The fate of one of the textile factories, occupied by the workers (90 percent of them women) became symbolic. In response to the shutting down of production and the factory premises by management, the workers decided to start up production and take on the buying, selling, and financial problems. In an extended interview, one of the workers, Celia Martinez, analyzes how the way in which women related to one another was altered by this new experience:

We are more united, and no longer criticize our own or one another's make-up or clothing. We feel more equal and could care less what we look like at work. Our only interest is to see how much we can produce, to tell our story to people outside the factory to get outside support and reinforce our position. All we think about now is how we're going to tell our story to the next journalist. We no longer have a problem with our "feminine aesthetic." We talk a lot amongst ourselves. Before, no one would admit when she was having a fight with her husband. We were more hypocritical and closed-minded. Now we are united, we have confidence in one another, and we lean on our work colleagues every time we have a big problem that's bothering us. Because sometimes when I'm having a family problem, I cry, I can cry now. Before we wouldn't talk about these things with one another, but now we can.

Global economic development produces ruptures in social relationships and forces each individual to get by on her own, no matter what the price. Obviously these new strategies of resistance create a sense of solidarity and new forms of communication between subjects that are potentially subversive. As Celia expressed in our extended interview: "I wish I were better educated to help defend the factory, to make demands. I have a hard time expressing myself. I often think of something, but then don't know how to say it. I don't have the experience to discuss things on an equal footing with other people. Even though I have nothing personal that I need to defend, I want to know how to defend the factory." This sort of change and personal progress creates a new political space for women. Celia puts it this way: "I now know that women weren't born just to cook and wash clothes. We can do much more, and now that I know this, I have no intention of stopping."

Well away from urban areas, my third chorus of voices—peasants—have abandoned their kitchen gardens in favor of cultivating cash crops highly vulnerable to market demands. Yet, as the global prices for cotton, rice, and lentils have fallen, their production has declined, depriving many farmers of an income. As these farmers become increasingly indebted, they are forced to sell their fields. In the current climate, years of poor agricultural planning have marginalized these peasants, making them among the most vulnerable groups in Argentina. Many have recently returned to their kitchen gardens, as well as to flower cultivation and to crafts production, and most have reverted to barter. Once again, it is women who have taken the initiative. Rosa, a peasant from Mapuche, takes the following stand: "We're the ones who have to begin producing goods to sell, to create work for ourselves, because no one is going to do it for us."

These women have surged forth as a result of the depression, the hopelessness, and their husbands' abandonment of the struggle. Some peasant women receive help from the government or from women's co-operatives or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that encourage microcredit, offering women their first political experience. According to Rosa: "We had to sell our field rather than lose our house. Just after that I began to meet with other women. Little by little, as our numbers grew, we created our organization. The woman engineer who had been sent by the government to work only with the men could see that it was the women who tilled the fields. So she called us together for a meeting. That's how our organization was born and later we began to participate in regional peasant association meetings."

Over the course of many interviews, these peasant women told me how they discovered greater personal autonomy as soon as they took on new responsibilities in their organizations. Analia's account is typical: "The women's organization that I represent has fifty members. Before that, I knew nothing about anything since I had spent my life planting or harvesting the fields, raising my children, cleaning and cooking. I only left home to get my sons vaccinated at the hospital. I didn't even go into the village to shop; my husband did the errands. I had no voice and made no decisions. I didn't even think because I believed that thinking served no purpose."

Amanda describes her own transformation:

I began to go to the group meetings. At first I was very quiet. I would only say "yes" or "no." And then I started to get involved and to take on a few responsibilities. My life had been strictly private,

not because I wanted it to be but because my husband had insisted. I got married at seventeen. My husband had total control over me. All he had to do was shake his head and I didn't dare go to the meetings. My life was like that. And then one day I decided that I would go because I wanted to go. He continued to criticize me and said "you're only going to gossip and eye other men." There is a terrible *machismo* in our region. I said to him, "That is none of your business. Live your life and I'll live mine."

These transformations led to a redefinition of public space, reinforced by contact with other women. Amanda describes how grassroots coordination began.

Now there are forty of us and we get together once a week. We meet just before the weekly barter sessions in our village so that we don't have to go out twice. I've become the group coordinator and my job is to establish contact with the other womens' groups in the region. The first time we were supposed to send a delegate to the regional meeting, no one wanted to go because you had to be there from morning to night. The regional meetings are twenty kilometers away and you can get there by bicycle. But I have a motorcycle. I love to go to the meetings because I always learn a lot.

The piquetera, worker, and peasant movements are all indebted, needless to say, to the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a much older movement that appeared in 1977, well before the advent of globalization in its current form. "When we understood why our sons and daughters had been taken from us, what the Dictatorship was doing, we knew that it wouldn't be enough simply to find them again. Our first response had been visceral," writes Nora Cortiñas. 1 Out of this visceral, instinctive reaction of mothers, robbed of their children and abandoned to despair, grew a political movement. The mothers of the Plaza de Mayo gradually understood that their children had been taken from them because they were opponents of the neoliberal economic policies of the dictatorship and had foreseen the consequences that we live with today. When the mothers first occupied the Plaza de Mayo, they were taking over space laden with symbols of the exercise of power. They were occupying a space that the military forces of Argentina considered their own. Like that of the mothers, all current movements have begun with specific claims: the right to life for the mothers, the right to work for the piqueters or the workers, the right to eke

¹ Silvia Chejter, "Nora Cortifias, Madre de Plaza de Mayo," Traposias 11 (2002). 139-51.

out a living from the land for the peasants. But each movement has broadened its objectives. With the struggle for human rights and for life itself has come the realization that other rights—education, health, and protection from discrimination—have also been violated by the successive liberalization policies of our governments.

But political activism in Argentina comes with a price. Women who once lived shut in at home have ventured forth to take on public roles previously reserved for their husbands. For many of the *piqueteras*, domestic violence has increased. As one *piquetera* expresses it: "We've all experienced it. One of my friends fainted after a street demonstration. At the hospital, she told me about the physical violence that her husband was putting her through. A month later she was able to get the upper hand and threw him out."

By taking control of the streets and staking their claims for social justice, women can also empower themselves and transform their personal lives. These women are reinventing their personal space while challenging the use of public space. By practicing activism, they have begun to know themselves, their capabilities, and their talents, which are so often ignored or devalued. They become conscious of their ability to react, to struggle, to take control again of their lives, their bodies, and their destinies, recovering the dignity that comes from empowering themselves to make the right decision for their community. By transforming social relations among themselves and with society at large, Argentinian women are challenging the free market system in their country. As a piquetera puts it, "The world doesn't begin and end in your own home. We have to change things. I think that everyone can contribute to the transformation of culture."

Migrant Women Negotiate Foreign Investment in Southern Chinese Factories

Zhang Ye

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hina's burgeoning growth over the past twenty years has been fed by the regular migration of underemployed rural farmers to urban areas in search of work. These men and women are an endless source of cheap labor and one of the major reasons for the high level of foreign investment in China. Migrant workers tend to be employed in foreign-invested companies, joint ventures, and township enterprises in the production of toys, clothing, footwear, and electronics. In Guangdong Province in the south of China, more than 60 percent of the ten million migrant laborers are women. These migrant women are particularly vulnerable to labor exploitation. It is with their disadvantageous situation in mind that I have begun advocating for the formation of new networks—partnerships with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the media, corporations, and scholars—to better protect their interests.

Nongovernmental organizations are new to China. As the director of the Asia Foundation's Beijing office, I was deeply involved in the preparations leading up to the fourth UN International Conference on Women, held in the Chinese capital in 1995. Foreign foundations were instrumental in providing funds for Chinese women activists to prepare for this event, where many of us witnessed the functioning of civil society in a global context for the first time. Since 1995, women scholars and activists have been steadily pushing the government to redefine the role of civil organizations in Chinese society. Universities have joined with the All-China Women's Federation, a mass organization dedicated to the advancement of Chinese women of all ethnic groups in all walks of life, to

house the many initiatives that have sprung up to meet women's needs during this time of rapid economic and social transition.

If China's migrant workers are particularly vulnerable and in need of social protection, it is because they have broken the law. The current residential permit system (bu kon) prevents migrant laborers from staying in China's cities permanently. Designed to tie the Chinese peasant to the land, the system discourages mobility on the part of the majority of China's population. Since 1949, municipal transportation, housing, water supply, and drainage infrastructure have been designed according to a designated number of urban residents. During the Maoist years, the government invested in its urban laborers through the work unit system, providing urbanites with cradle-to-grave benefits such as free health care and education. This state-controlled social safety net, along with the rigid registration laws, has made it nearly impossible for nonregistered peasants to live and work in the cities on a permanent basis.

As China's economy has grown over the past twenty years, peasants have poured into the cities looking for work, paying little heed to the bu kon system. Each city has been given the leeway to handle its migrant population at its own discretion, and most municipal governments prefer to look the other way. Cheap labor attracts foreign investment. As much as 70 percent of industrial output growth in Shenzhen, China's southernmost city, has resulted from migrant labor input. However, although the unprecedented industrialization of China's coastal areas has broken down the rigidity of the residential permit system, social policy and government practice have not kept pace. Migrant workers are often isolated in factory communities or industrial complexes where their equal rights in employment and selection of jobs, guaranteed by Chinese laws, are often violated. Women, in particular, suffer from rampant discrimination.

Most women migrant workers are young and inexperienced—the majority in Guangdong are eighteen to twenty-five years old. These young women are cheaper to employ than their male counterparts. At an average of thirty-seven to sixty-two dollars per month, their salaries have remained stagnant for the past ten years. Although China's labor laws guarantee women workers maternity leave and protection for their reproductive health, most women are refused maternity leave and simply fired when they become pregnant. The chemical fumes, unbearable heat, and long hours on their feet in footwear and garment factories endanger workers' health. Sexual harassment and personal abuse are rampant. Those women who are forced into having affairs with their employers are viewed by the government as a threat to the stability of marriage and family. Yet the money they send home to their families may be the main source of income,

used to build a new family home or to pay for a parent's hospitalization. Because they are illegal residents, most expect to return home to marry. After their experience in the city, however, they may have difficulty accepting the constraints of village life.

Throughout my campaigning for better social protection for women migrant workers, I have come up against the interests of local government. Despite a fairly good level of national legislation designed to penalize discrimination against women, local governments are the actual beneficiaries of the current system and resist the implementation of national legislation. Migrant workers must pay high fees to local authorities for the right of temporary residency; in Shenzhen, for example, migrant workers have become cash cows for the municipality, accounting for 70 percent of local taxation. Law enforcement agencies fail to perform their duties with regard to protecting women because every municipality benefits from the endless supply of easily exploitable female labor that pours in from the countryside. In Guangdong province, women migrant workers have responded by quietly reinforcing their networks.

The emerging civil society in China operates through horizontal linkages. Foreign and national NGOs have linked with multinational corporations, scholars, and the press to put pressure on local governments to enforce antidiscrimination laws. The traditional mass organizations that house NGOs in China, such as the All-China Women's Federation and the All-China Labor Union, have shifted their focus from a party-line approach to a service-oriented approach, addressing legal rights and health conditions for women migrant workers. Through the Asia Foundation, I have set up counseling and other services, while Oxfam has provided a van that is used as both a transportation vehicle and a venue for medical services. Multinational corporations, frustrated in their attempts to implement their codes for responsible corporate behavior in China at the subcontractor level, have turned to local and international NGOs in an effort to get their message across to municipal governments. Over the past five years a team of scholars has conducted a series of studies on the disadvantaged position of female migrant workers. In addition to publishing their findings, they have also provided education and training for these workers. Finally, the Guangdong media has begun to play an increasingly important role in raising awareness throughout the province. The media expose the worst offenders and encourage the efforts of the new support groups founded by migrant workers to assist new arrivals and protect those whose rights have been violated.

Nongovernmental organizations are becoming tangible outlets of services for the marginalized people of China. By playing roles for advocating

social change, they are transforming China from the bottom up. The horizontal networks formed to protect women migrant workers' interests in Guangdong province are just the beginning of a vast social reform movement that will sweep across China in the years to come.

Local Coalitions, Global Partners: The Women's Peace Movement in Israel and Beyond

Glia Svirsky

Gila Svirsky is a veteran peace and human rights activist in Israel. She has been a member of Women in Black since its founding in 1988 and is cofounder of the Coalition of Women for Peace. She has been executive director of Bat Shalom and chairperson of BTselem, two leading peace and human rights organizations. In recent months, Gila Svirsky and Sumaya Farhat-Naser, a Palestinian woman, were jointly awarded two major peace prixes.

n Israel, we often date the beginning of the women's peace movement—arguably the strongest movement for peace in the Middle East—from the creation of Women in Black in Jerusalem in January 1988. Until then, there were more women than men in the Israeli peace movement—that was plainly visible at any peace rally—though we did not have a public voice to represent our numbers. But the women's peace movement in Israel is more than just the vigils of Women in Black. I think it can be said that women's peace activism in Israel has consistently been more varied and more progressive than the peace activism of the mixed-gender peace groups.

It was more varied because women did not just hold vigils but engaged in a wide variety of activities—dialogues between Israeli and Palestinian women, street theater and teach-ins, publishing a children's magazine for peace, consciousness-raising groups, documenting the words of Palestinian women, and a seemingly endless stream of demonstrations. It was

This essay is dedicated to Rachel Corrie, the young American woman who was killed by an Israeli army bulldozer as she courageously held her ground, protecting the Palestinian home in its path. Many thanks to Celeste Schenck for her help in preparing it [Signs Journal of Witness in Culture and Society 2003, vol. 29, no. 2]

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more progressive because we took positions that were considered radical well before the mixed-gender groups did. Israeli women signed a peace treaty with Palestinian women long before Rabin and Arafat did so on the White House lawn, and our principles went far beyond the general assertion of ending hostilities. We called for the establishment of a Palestinian state side by side with the state of Israel, the recognition of Jerusalem as the shared capital of both states, and a just resolution for the Palestinian refugee problem.

It took the women's movement only one month to get together and gear up after the start of the al-Aqsa Intifada currently being waged. We called an emergency meeting, and representatives of nine women's peace organizations showed up. We named ourselves the Coalition of Women for Peace and agreed to work together—to support one another's peace work, to avoid scheduling activities that would conflict with one another, and to plan major actions that would include everybody. The principles we adopted reflected a feminist vision of peace—not just ending the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories but realizing a shared future of cooperation. Our vision includes opposition to the militarism that permeates both societies, an equal role for women in negotiations for peace, and a society that cares more about education, health, art, and the poor than it does about maintaining an army.

The coalition has carried out some large joint actions, and participation in these rallies has grown. Other women's groups have spun off. Machsom Watch began monitoring human rights violations at checkpoints. A "Women Refuse" campaign has begun. What do we refuse? To raise our children for war, to ignore war crimes committed in our name, to support the occupation, to continue our normal lives while another nation is suffering because of us. And, of course, we refuse to be enemies with anyone and certainly not with our neighbors, the Palestinians.

In addition, we have held a series of nonviolent acts of resistance to occupation. In the first, women put a "closure" on the Israeli Ministry of Defense in Tel Aviv. "Closure" is Israeli army lingo for not allowing Palestinians to enter or leave their villages or towns. In our closure, we lay down on the road and did not allow any people or cars to enter or leave the Israeli Ministry of Defense. They were not amused, and many of us spent a long night in jail because our lawyer, who came to bail us out, was arrested, too.

Subsequent actions, often in cooperation with mixed-gender peace or-

¹ For a full listing of the principles and member organizations of the Coalition of Women for Peace, see http://www.coalitionofwomen4peace.org.

ganizations, involved other nonviolent acts of resistance. These included the removal of blockades and filling in of trenches, both intended as physical barriers to prevent Palestinians from entering or leaving their villages. In other actions, individual women—young women in particular—pushed resistance one step further by lying down in front of army bulldozers or chaining themselves to olive trees in an effort to prevent further destruction of Palestinian homes and property. Many of these actions ended in arrests. Very recently, we have been helping Palestinians with their olive harvest despite shootings and physical attacks by settlers on those working in the groves.

Despite this impressive collection of activities, and our best efforts notwithstanding, the media have ignored our activities or ascribed them to the other, "mixed" movements. This has been frustrating and sometimes infuriating. We are left trying to get our message out primarily by e-mail and Web sites, but the Israeli public sees us very little. Some of this has to do with the unwillingness of Israeli media to portray activity that falls outside the consensus, and some of it has to do with how women continue to be silenced or regarded as marginal to the main business of society.

And yet, the coalition has pushed many women past their inhibitions. Participating in nonviolent civil disobedience has been tremendously empowering. We seem to get a surge of energy from defying a brutal authority in the name of morality and justice, thereby placing ourselves squarely in the noble tradition of nonviolent resistance.

As we have struggled to achieve change within Israel, one of the most heartening developments has been the global spread of Women in Black, the starting point of the women's peace movement in my country. Women in Black began in Jerusalem in January 1988, one month after the first Palestinian Intifada broke out, with a small group of Israeli women carrying out a simple form of protest: once a week at the same hour and in the same location—a major traffic intersection—they donned black clothing and raised a black sign in the shape of a hand with white lettering that read "Stop the Occupation."

From this modest beginning, Women in Black vigils spread by word of mouth, driven by the desire of women to "do something" and inspired by the example of those who were already on a vigil. The vigil format was simple to emulate and made participation possible even for women who were distant from urban centers of activism. This, indeed, was one of the most far-reaching contributions of Women in Black to the peace movement—it enabled women everywhere to participate. They did not have to get to the big city, they did not need personal political clout, they

could bring the kids, and they could make a statement that would be seen by everyone in their immediate vicinity. Within a few months, women were standing in thirty-nine different locations throughout Israel. Throughout the north of Israel, where many Palestinian citizens of Israel reside, the vigils had Arab and Jewish women standing side by side.

Women in Black vigils proliferated throughout 1988, 1989, and 1990, virtually covering the length and narrow breadth of Israel. Although the vigils were sometimes as small as two to three women or as large as 120 in Jerusalem (and more on special occasions), the effect was cumulative, persistent, and powerful. As the number of vigils grew, a network was established, representing vigils throughout Israel. This network arranged for an annual conference of all the vigil participants together, which invariably closed with one mass Women in Black vigil. Thanks to these conferences and the informal interaction between women, almost all the vigils gradually assumed certain basic principles: each vigil is autonomous and can establish its own rules and principles, no person can speak for the vigil as a whole, and no vigil can speak for the movement as a whole. Most vigils also adopted feminist formats and structures—nonhierarchical, consensus-seeking decision making, and nonviolent responses to provocation. No conscious attempt was made to spread this ideology from one vigil to another, but it made its way throughout the country. For many women, this was their first positive encounter with feminism and one of the elements that bound many to the vigil.

Two or three months after the first Women in Black vigil in Israel, solidarity vigils had begun in other countries—women dressed in black who carried signs that bore similar slogans. Initial reports came from Canada and the United States, and these later spread to Europe, starting in Italy, and Australia. Some of these early solidarity vigils of Women in Black were composed of Jewish and Palestinian women. Others were composed primarily of Jewish women. Soon, newsletters arrived from a North American coalition called the Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation (JWCEO). Founded in New York in April 1988-just four months after the first vigil in Israel—these vigils stood in solidarity with Women in Black and other Israeli and Palestinian women's groups working for peace. The JWCEO newsletter carried a full description of the vigils and conferences in Israel as well as news of peace activities throughout North America. It called on the North American Jewish community to publicly support Israelis working for peace and particularly to show solidarity with the Women in Black vigils in Israel.

The JWCEO newsletter from October 1990 carried the names and addresses of twenty-six affiliate groups and organizations, from Seattle to

New Haven, all Jewish women's peace activity focused on ending the occupation. Some called themselves Women in Black (in Berkeley, Boston, Boulder, and Syracuse, to name a few) and held a regular vigil, though not weekly in all locations. And others assumed different names, formats, and strategies: "Jews for a Just Peace" in Toronto, "Hannah Arendt Lesbian Peace Patrol" in Minneapolis, and "Ithaca Jewish Women to End the Occupation" in Ithaca, New York. The common denominator was women wanting to end the Israeli occupation.

Many Israeli Women in Black were in close contact with JWCEO, and information was shared. Visits went in both directions, and sometimes Women in Black and other Israeli peace organizations also received donations to help with specific projects. But beyond the material help, these overseas groups provided a much-needed source of emotional nourishment to the Israeli vigils during these early years. Until the JWCEO newsletter arrived, with its pictures of vigils in a host of North American cities, Israeli Women in Black had not fully absorbed the fact that their vigil was not an isolated Israeli phenomenon but was admired and replicated elsewhere. The very first expression of the international sisterhood of Women in Black came in March 1990, as more than twenty-four organizations held solidarity vigils in various locations in Europe, North America, and South America to celebrate International Women's Day.

Throughout the 1990s, the Women in Black vigils spread spontaneously from country to country, many of which had nothing to do with the Israeli occupation. In Italy, Women in Black vigils took place in eighty locations during the early 1990s to protest a range of issues, from the Israeli occupation to the violence of the Mafia and other organized crime. Italian women helped spread the phenomenon to other European countries. In Germany, the original protest of Women in Black seems to have been against the sale of chemicals by German firms to the Iraqi regime. After the 1991 Gulf War, German Women in Black broadened their mandate to protest a variety of social ills: neo-Nazism, racism against foreign workers, nuclear arms, and other issues, with vigils in Munich, Cologne, Berlin, Wiesbaden, and elsewhere. The first Asian vigils of Women in Black took place in 1994 in Bangalore, India, to protest the razing of a mosque in Ayodhya, which became a metaphor for violent Hindu nationalism and the communal conflicts that spread as a result. During the war in the Balkans, Women in Black in Belgrade set a profound example of interethnic cooperation that was an inspiration to their countrywomen and men.

In the first decade of their existence, most of these vigils had little sense of the existence of one another, unaware of the fact that they were part of a worldwide movement of women seeking to end war and violence. A newsletter that went out to readers in nineteen countries sought to strengthen the bond among the vigils, encouraging women to describe their work in far-flung corners of the globe, but few took notice.² Over the years, the origins and "herstory" of the movement were forgotten. One Israeli woman reported a visit to San Francisco in which she stumbled across a Women in Black vigil protesting the neglect of the homeless in that city. (This was the second generation of Women in Black, after the first Jewish-Palestinian group had dissolved.) "I'm from Women in Black in Jerusalem," she told them excitedly, perhaps hoping for a little matriarchal respect. They had never heard of the group.

A major international Women in Black vigil was held on September 4, 1995, in Huairou, China, near Beijing, with more than three thousand women from different parts of the world gathered in the evening for a mass vigil, the culmination of a day devoted to analysis of peace and militarism in the world. This gathering of peace activists, organized by the Bangalore Women in Black vigil, was part of the Beijing Conference on Women, which brought together women activists from all parts of the world. At the vigil, women demanded an end to violence and aggression wherever it exists.

But apart from this occasion, and even though Women in Black vigils had taken root in every continent of the world, cooperation among the disparate vigils was minimal until 2001, when e-lists originating in Spain, Israel, and the United States began to connect the groups. This was followed by two massive joint actions—in June and December 2001—demanding peace between Israel and Palestine. For both these days, the Israeli combined movement of Women in Black, under the umbrella of the Coalition of Women for Peace, mobilized thousands of women in 131 locations across the world to participate in solidarity actions. The December event in Jerusalem saw more than five thousand Israeli and Palestinian Women in Black and men marching together from the Israeli to the Palestinian sides of town under the twin banners, "The Occupation Is Killing Us All" and "We Refuse to Be Enemies." These mark the largest coordinated vigils of Women in Black across countries.

Women in Black is actually only one link in the history of women's peace activism, reaching back at least as far as the protest of Greek women under Lysistrata. Perhaps the most direct antecedent of Women in Black in Israel is the Black Sash movement of South Africa (see Spink 1991).

² Called Women in Black, and edited by me, this newsletter appeared six times in 1992–93 in two editions each issue—English and Hebrew.

These vigils and solidarity actions took place in twenty-three countries across the world.

These were white women who fought apartheid in their own country, just as the Jewish Women in Black in Israel fight occupation by the Israeli government. As their name suggests, the trademark of these women was the black sash they wore over their clothes to signal their protest of the racist system. Like the Women in Black of Israel, they too were part of the oppressive ruling power and spoke out against it. To these two, we must add other important groups of women peace activists. To mention a few: the Mothers and now Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, who protest the brutal political killings and kidnappings (Arditti 1999); the Greenham Common Women in England, who sought to end nuclear warfare (Cook and Kirk 1983); the antiwar work of the Italian Women's Association for Peace and the much heralded Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; the Mothers of Soldiers Committee in Russia, who sought to bring the boys home from Chechnya; and the five organizations, besides Women in Black, that sprang from the horrors of war in the former Yugoslavia—the Autonomous Women's House, the Center for Women War Victims, the Anti-War Campaign, Women Against the War, and the Movement of Sarajevo Women. Most Women in Black, regardless of where they stand, know nothing of these organizations or movements, as it is still regrettably common for the history of women in the world to pass unnoticed.

Yet the heterogeneous, grassroots movement of Women in Black has empowered women in many countries to mobilize for peace, and many men have now joined. It is an international movement, so the voice of conscience in one region now echoes and reverberates throughout the world. And it provides a worldwide support system for victims of oppression, exposing injustice committed against them to the light of day and the pressure of world opinion. The movement of Women in Black assumes many forms in many countries, but one thing is common to all: an uncompromising commitment to justice and a world free of violence. I feel privileged that my activism as a Woman in Black has brought me in touch with a small corner of that powerful global experience.⁴

Coalition of Women for Peace Israel

⁴ In 2001, the international movement of Women in Black was honored with the Millennium Peace Prize for Women, awarded by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The international movement was also a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001 and again in 2003. Israeli Women in Black won the Aachen Peace Prize (1991), the peace award of the city of San Giovanni d'Asso in Italy (1994), and the Jewish Peace Fellowship's "Peacemaker Award" (2001).

Women Reappropriate Power in Rural Cameroon

Glibert Doho

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hen my mother first saw my play, Noces de cendres (Wedlock of ashes), in Cameroon in 1992, she was stunned. The main character of this political satire, a queen, upends the intolerable social and political order of Cameroonian society in a way that my mother found "ambitious, disrespectful, and aggressive." Ever since, she has angrily admonished my daughters: "Don't behave like those crazy characters in your father's play!"

And yet, all her adult life my mother has been a victim of this social order she so vigorously upholds. Although the first wife of a chief, she was quickly banished from inner court circles because "her womb was arid." But her fate was a better one than that of my father's second wife, who remained childless ("her stomach as flat as the backside of a gorilla"). The daily lot of sub-Saharan African women is a litany of woe: forced early marriage, death in childbirth, sexual mutilation, sterility, repudiation, kidnapping, and rape. The main cause of their gendered enslavement is their lack of education. Regardless of government statistics, 80 percent of the Cameroonian rural population cannot read. Since most of the female population is remote and illiterate, how then, as a playwright, could I reach those women who suffered the most? How could my work have an

impact on this vast, silent majority? Clearly sub-Saharan women do not need to master the language of Shakespeare or Molière to lay claim to political, economic, or cultural power. By creating popular theater at the grassroots level with the women of my own and other communities, I hoped that we could work together to break down the psychological barriers that prevent these women from assuming their place in society.

My work with popular theater in Cameroon over the past ten years is based on the pioneering experiments of Ross Kidd and Martin Byram. In response to the total failure of development projects across sub-Saharan Africa following independence (we call these failed projects "white elephants"), Kidd and Byram adapted Augusto Boal's model to small African communities in an attempt to bypass development paradigms designed by the former colonizer and implemented by an elite with no knowledge of grassroots conditions. From the 1970s onward, theater for development, theater for social change, or just popular theater has allowed the masses to reappropriate the stage for their own purposes. By the time I transferred my own ambitions from Yaoundé to Cameroon's remotest villages, our country's poorest citizens had begun a dialogue with the elite through popular theater, forcing them to alter their discourse and adopt new ways of managing development.

Popular theater promotes participatory methodologies that go beyond getting everybody up on stage. We must first win over to our project all those who have sufficient social standing to influence others. The second step is to convince participants that daily life is a drama and "all the world's a stage," in the words of Shakespeare. We run workshops where participants discuss improvisation, character, plot construction, and those local themes that they want to bring forth in the drama. We must continually verify our information: have we included all social categories? Has anyone tried to hide the truth from us? Has the urban playwright been able to blend into the background as different members of the community surge forth to cooperate with or contradict one another? Are the problems raised in the drama local problems and not in any way influenced by the interests of the project's sponsors (usually urban-based nongovernmental organizations)? Then, as we construct the play during our workshops, participants must both create the drama and procure some of the funds needed to finance its performance.

Local funding will only be forthcoming if the play represents local concerns. The favorite Cameroonian recipe for theater presents a stable, familiar situation at the outset, introduces a disturbing force in the predictable universe of local life, suggests one or more ways to solve the problem(s) within the play, and ends on either a euphoric or tragic note.

The characters must be infused with local color to be sufficiently familiar, and the play needs to incorporate local sayings, songs, and dances to facilitate spectator identification. Rather than opt for sophisticated dialogue, the playwright should make the lines straightforward, easy to memorize, and frequently repeated to anchor the theme. The play then has to be brought to the spectators. When is the local market day? At what time of day do the most people gather at the market? Have we informed all of the local associations that in turn might encourage their members to attend the performance?

After each performance, the actors converse with the spectators in an attempt to explain and refine their message. The process may go on for hours, as each spectator is encouraged to give his or her opinion. This ensures that the dignity of each individual is respected and that the full range of voices is heard. Discussion often focuses more on the solutions chosen in the play rather than on the sad or happy ending. Local leadership may then decide (or be strongly encouraged by the spectators) to actually apply the solutions suggested in the play, a process that fosters a sense of empowerment for all concerned. Several examples come to mind.

Pouss is a small, dusty town of 35,000 people located in the far north of Cameroon, sandwiched between the Chadian and Nigerian borders ninety-five kilometers north of Maroua. While human rights may be violated throughout Cameroon, parts of the north are still living in the Stone Age as far as women's rights are concerned. We chose this remote region for the second part of my project on theater, democracy, and human rights because despite the large number of inhabitants, Pouss has only four primary schools and no secondary schools. Fishing, rice cultivation, and contraband with nearby Nigeria and Chad pull children out of the classroom to work from five in the morning until sundown. Moreover, a purely local reading of the Koran has resulted in a custom that forbids young girls to have their first menstrual period in their father's home. Such a custom effectively prevents most girls from pursuing more than one or two years of schooling before their marriage at the age of nine or ten. Finally, many, although not all, of the local tribes practice female genital mutilation, or "circumcision," as a means of keeping women "chaste." In short, young girls receive virtually no education and are treated worse than cattle in many households. The entire area is ruled by the seventy-five-year-old Sultan Bang Yaya, who was recently brought to court by a local human rights association for having married a minor.

Under such challenging circumstances, we thought it prudent to engage the assistance of a former "circumciser" turned human rights activist, Hélène Djomze. Because human rights organizations in Cameroon can

be as petty and dictatorial as some of the local sovereigns, we took care to associate ourselves with a regional cultural project undertaken by the Peace Corps several years earlier. We even benefited from the presence of a German student who was studying our project, since her white face reminded the sultan of the previous Peace Corps volunteer who had done so much for the region. Once we managed to convince the sultan that we had nothing to do with the human rights initiative condemning him for taking a child bride, he decided to use this occasion to improve his human rights reputation and accorded us his gracious assistance throughout our project.

With the sultan's blessing, we began our workshops. The participants identified female genital mutilation, widow repudiation, domestic violence, and the reluctance to educate girls as the key issues that they wished to weave into their drama. They decided that even their sultan would have a role to play in the eleven-act play, L'Excisense de Pous. Although the dialogue remained simple, the plot was fairly complex. Following his brother's unexpected death, a propertyless drunk takes advantage of local custom and marries his brother's widow, thereby inheriting all of his brother's property, including his wife and daughter. Counseled by other drunks, he rules his household with an iron fist. He spends most of his day sleeping, while his new wife and daughter labor for him in his newly acquired fields. One day he decides that he must marry his nine-year-old stepdaughter to a local notable. The rich man pays a high bride price in exchange for a promise that the girl will be circumcised before the marriage. Knowing that his wife will never agree to circumcise the girl, he engages an aunt to oversee the task. The aunt and the mother come to blows, and the drunk intervenes, stabbing his wife. While the wife recovers in the local hospital, the girl is taken to a circumciser, who botches the operation. Panicked that the girl may bleed to death, the aunt sends for a nurse. The nurse arrives too late to save the girl and decides to bring her inert body to the sultan. The sultan (played by none other than the sultan himself) does the right thing and sends the guilty to the police, while sending money to the mother in the hospital. In a semihappy ending, the mother assures the audience that she will use that money to educate her remaining son.

In another play called *Forced Marriages*, written by participants from the same region, we attacked the delicate subjects of early betrothal and election fraud. In most rural households, the women of the family vote according to their husband's wishes, and their husbands vote for the local strongman, or *lamido*. On voting day, citizens enter the voting booth and choose from among several ballots, each inscribed with the name of a

candidate running for election; they then stuff the ballot of their choice into an envelope and seal it. But although the secret ballot is guaranteed by law, each candidate has a different color ballot and envelope, allowing any spectator to see who the ballot is for before it is dropped into the sealed ballot box. Anyone foolish enough not to vote for the local lamido risks exile, imprisonment, or, at the very least, a good roughing up by local thugs.

In Forced Marriages, a poor man decides to marry his daughter, Maïmouna, to the local lamido on the eve of the elections. Despite the pleas of his wife, an enlightened uncle, and the girl herself, who begs to be allowed to continue her education, the poor man fears the wrath of the lamido, who is angry with the man's brothers for having voted against him in the last election. Didn't his brothers lose their land? And didn't the imam say that all young girls must be married before the onset of their menstrual cycle? Better that his daughter enter the lamido's harem rather than continue her education. Thus Malmouna enters the harem. where she preaches democracy and free elections to her co-wives. These women speak with their own family members, and a general revolt ensues. The wives leave the palace. The lamido is defeated on election day by his new wife, "democracy." As he collapses in tears, ripping at his turban and his gandoura, he realizes that his people have imposed this forced marriage and that he must accept it if he is to retain his place in the community. The play has a happy ending, as his people return to celebrate this auspicious new marriage.

Popular theater in Cameroon has subverted traditional gender arrangements, questioned the politics of work, reappropriated political language for the benefit of the community, and even enlightened existing despots. In the economic sphere, it has been equally powerful in its effects. The Batoula peasants of Cameroon are the major producers and purveyors of Café Arabica to the West, although they do not consume it. In one play put on by the peasants of my region, a young man destroys his failing coffee plantation in order to cultivate plantains, peanuts, potatoes, corn, macabo, and other vegetables. Since making this change, he affirms, he has had enough to eat and has sent his children to school. The postproduction debate focused on the village reappropriation of economic power in place of its neocolonial enslavement to the culture of exportation. Popular theater had once again opened people's eyes. Six months later, the Bafounda markets were full of food products, and trucks were coming from as far as Douala and even Libreville in Gabon to provision other regions, while the village flourished. My mother, along with most of the women in Batoula, was in the audience and saw the play. She resolved

A French word literally meaning "street stall," ECHOPPE also is an acronym for Exchange for the Organization and the Promotion of Small Entrepreneurs. For us, an entrepreneur is someone who undertakes a project in his/her life, and the ethos of people giving birth to projects that they have the right to carry out gave birth to our nongovernmental organization (NGO). When the first programs of ECHOPPE began, our goal was to promote social insertion through economic integration. Work with the street boys and other artisans began by creating new product ideas using materials and skills readily available to these people. Innovation, focus on quality, and then finding markets as outlets for the goods produced helped us to create the beginning of the network that is today called Artisans du Soleil, a series of fair-trade shops throughout France and Africa professionally selling products made in dignity by those who yesterday found themselves on the streets.

Next ECHOPPE began working with young mothers and women in difficulty, creating a small loans program addressed to the needs of the very poorest in urban West Africa. The program began in Lome, Togo, and then was duplicated in neighboring Cotonou, Benin, in 1993. Today ECHOPPE's first borrowers are now members of their own credit union, lending money to others and providing a new community dynamic that promotes the rule of law along with the full integration of all citizens.

After hearing of the successes of the economic model of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, ECHOPPE decided to follow the example and launched a small loans program. Sums of \$40 were made available to first just ten borrowers, male and female, in the Togolese capital. Rather than favor the Grameen Bank's model of group loans, loans were made to men and women so poor that they had no social capital, hence no network that would allow them to organize or join a group of borrowers. Although all of the initial borrowers paid back their loans in full, with 15 percent interest to cover the cost of weekly loan collection, the first evaluation of these loans indicated that while male borrowers tended to spend their loan on a radio, parts for a motorcycle, or even a mistress, female borrowers used their loans to invest in small businesses that put food on the table and allowed them to pay their children's school fees. Thus the small loans program began to lend exclusively to the poorest women, recommended by local church organizations and NGOs and later also by the loan beneficiaries themselves. These women often use their first loan to buy stock for roadside food stalls selling soft drinks, porridge, or corn on the cob. Food sellers have the most rapid turnover and are able to work their way out of abject poverty within a year or two.

Social programs accompanying the loans were built around analyses of

what often stopped people from regular repayment on loans. Illness was usually the first reason for nonpayment or late payment of loans. Illnesses included primarily malaria (mother or child), unforeseen pregnancies, malnutrition (often resulting from chronic malaria), and preventable childhood diseases. In an effort to assist with loan repayment, social workers were trained to teach and create a series of interconnected programs designed to guarantee better health for families. In the apprenticeship or first phase of the loan program (first and second loans), training programs primarily focus on health and nutrition: family planning, vaccination, malaria treatment, and prevention. Programs to accompany loan repayments with savings were also initiated. The social programs associated with second-phase loans focus on the woman as part of a community: learning how to get a birth certificate and an identity card, the importance of marriage in civil society, inheritance rights, divorce, and so forth. Some women are also trained as paralegals who train other neighborhood women in their rights and responsibilities. Today, most women who come to ECHOPPE do not come just for the small \$40 loans but for the programs that accompany them out of poverty.

Initially we had considered teaching accounting skills and business to these women, but very early on we recognized that these women knew more about accounts, selling on credit, and so on than we or our own staff members did. They just could not write it down. Borrowers today tell us that they are particularly interested in health information and legal assistance. They view the loan as the glue that holds the health and empowerment package together.

In order to receive her first loan, in addition to the normal intake procedures, a woman must show vaccination cards for each of her children. If the ECHOPPE social worker discovers a sick child at home during the initial home visit, that child must be cared for before the loan is granted. The total environment of the person is studied in order to address her needs. Borrowers are then encouraged to attend neighborhood workshops where women from all levels of the loan program participate and share their problems. Low-cost mosquito nets, malaria medication, aspirin, worm medication, condoms, and spermicides are most often available in ECHOPPE offices.

Microcredit, often cited as a panacea for poverty, must be more than economic development. We have found that everything improves around a woman who achieves economic survivability—health, the quality of family relationships, self-esteem. In fact, each step in the ECHOPPE process is part of a pedagogy: the building of a life project. Payment of the first loan is more of an apprenticeship in empowerment than an economic

engagement. Our first welcome of the individual, the physical environment in which she is received, and the question "Where do you want to be in five years time?" are all part of a teaching process. To further a borrower's sense of her own self-worth, she must learn to recognize and write her own name in order to receive a second loan, a larger sum. Former borrowers insist that signing their own name to the second contract was one of the most important moments in their lives. For many of these women this is the first time they have held a pen in hand, and they practice their signatures for the event with their children as tutors. Children have often been able to return to school and, most of all, remain in the family home, thanks to the additional income brought in through the loans. Not only do children return to school, but husbands often return "home," eager to be cared for by a wife who now has a steady income!

The issue of returned husbands, and in-laws in general, is one that preoccupies many ECHOPPE staff. Since most women aim to use their savings to purchase land or build a house, they are vulnerable to preying relatives who cite traditional practices of male ownership to abscond with their wife or daughter-in-law's property. Other borrowers may fall prey to religious sects that illegally demand a signing over of property in order to join a prayer group. The training program for third- and fourth-time borrowers attempts to counteract these dangers by requiring them to produce identity cards, along with a working knowledge of inheritance laws and human rights. Neighborhood workshops where women meet to share their problems at all levels consist of testimony, networking, and sharing of legal information. These meetings also include the building of leadership skills and democratic practices by means of the election of a president, secretary, and treasurer.

For women who are able to save as much as \$100, ECHOPPE itself can no longer ensure the level of loan that they need to be able to increase their economic activities. These women are thus encouraged to participate in the ECHOPPE credit union as part of the third phase or "autonomy" phase. The credit union is a savings and loans mutuality born of the women's savings and administered fully by these same women. Today the Togolese union is the first all-women's credit union to join the Togolese Federation of Savings and Credit Unions, a nationwide grouping of credit unions with a primarily male membership. With the accumulated savings women can choose how best to invest the surplus and can also invest in programs for bettering themselves and their communities. Today the Togo credit union is only five years old, yet it includes over 1,500 women. Later, women may choose to invest extra accumulated savings in improved health care or even to refinance the small loans program that brought them to

independence. This investment process ensures that more quality mutualists will be coming to their programs.

The neighborhood meetings and the credit union are the two strongest elements of the ECHOPPE movement. When you are very, very poor, you do not have time to act for others. You focus on yourself and mere survival needs. You dance for those who will give you bread. You can be manipulated. By providing social insertion through economic integration, women slowly strengthen themselves economically. They are able to prepare meals for their own children and keep them in their own homes (rather than sending them off to a sister-in-law) and educate them by themselves. Suddenly, they can plan for tomorrow. The social programming accompanying the loans is aimed at building and strengthening the person and the person-in-community—giving her a chance to decide for whom she wants to dance. This is accomplished by providing adult education in a very different way.

The neighborhood meetings, women's groups purchasing together in quantity, and ECHOPPE's politics of providing loans to the poorest are all part of a "pedagogy for peace," a means to encourage a culture of mediation and tolerance among members and their families and within their communities. Poverty knows no ethnic boundaries. The more women can know about themselves and their "sisters," the more they can act against political manipulation and build true leadership and "nationhood."

The work of ECHOPPE recognizes the important role that women play in our world today and tomorrow. As poverty becomes increasingly feminized, the women who bear the children are most often those who die in political disputes and oppression. They most often feel the pain of the wounds and the famine of their own offspring. For this reason they have even more to say when they can rise up out of their poverty, learn their rights and their responsibilities as citizens and actors in a community. As has been said, "It is when the women rise up that the leaders of the world will listen." Herein lies ECHOPPE's hope of a better tomorrow for a world that must now begin to think beyond economic development.

And while credit union members would argue with the criticism that microcredit encourages the poor to accept their poverty and internalize their identity as disenfranchised members of society, the economic crises of the 1990s have made our work increasingly challenging. It is true that the numbers of precariously marginalized women in Togo and Benin have only increased since we began our programs. Still, we are no longer acting alone. Eighteen hundred credit union members in two countries have joined us in this all-out battle for women's empowerment.

Resolving Conflict through Solar-Powered Radio in Chad

Susan H. Perry

Susan Perry is associate professor in the Department of International Affairs at the American University of Paris. A scholar-activist, she devotes her fleldwork to human rights projects in Asia and Africa. Her expertise ranges from mediation workshops with francophone civil society leaders in Chad to symposia on reduction of the death penalty with lawyers and nongovernmental organization activists in China.

t was a hot day in Africa, as they say, the sun beating down on the tin roof. The Sisters of Mercy had kindly rented us a comfortable space for our workshop, but nothing could bring relief from the suffocating, dry heat. Inside, the national mediator of Chad and I were hard at work developing our metaphors for a workshop on conflict resolution. As the mediator shifted from one foot to another in a puddle of his own perspiration, we compared the anatomy of a hippopotamus under water to that of the seething conflict in the region—hidden enemies, submerged meanings, and a general unwillingness to name the sources of conflict.

As a guest speaker for the U.S. government's Africa Regional Services Program, I travel throughout francophone Africa to run workshops on mediation and conflict resolution. Chad presents a particularly knotty problem. After decades of armed conflict, Chadians have finally settled into an uneasy peace, now threatened by the discovery of oil in a fragmented nation with no other exportable natural resources. Early warning signals of renewed armed conflict abound as Chadian human rights activists vigorously pursue opportunities for peace building before it is too late. Underlying the current tussle for control of the oil revenues are the age-old problems of herder versus farmer, Muslim versus Christian, northerner versus southerner. The early nomadic settlements to the north periodically sent slave-raiding parties to attack the farming communities grouped along the fertile rivers of the south. Old wounds have been exacerbated by shifting climactic patterns. Due to the drying up of underground water tables in the north, the annual migration of cattle to southern water sources now takes place in September, rather than in November, meaning that shepherds often let their herds run roughshod over fields not yet harvested. The peaceful answer lies in creating designated cattle paths that lead directly to water sources, keeping the crops out of harm's way. The belligerent answer, and the one most often resorted to in Chad, is the gun.

A gun represents a great deal to the average Chadian herder or farmer. It is not only a weapon but a status symbol, a phallic extension of man's ability to control his territory at a distance. Men wield guns, and women wield the hoe or the sewing needle, supporting their families through kitchen gardens and crop farming in the south and through milk products and handicraft production in the north. Chadian women suffer from abysmally low literacy and maternal health rates and are consequently ill equipped to defend their vital interests. Women stand to lose the most through continuing armed conflict in Chad: added to the destruction of the family home is the underlying threat of rape by roving armed bands, forced conscription of their children as child soldiers, and a precarious drop in already fragile health and educational services. As human rights activists seek answers to the current complex emergency, they are abuzz over a new program in neighboring Niger that offers an unusual solution to the dilemma of armed conflict—an exchange of solar-powered radios for guns.

Radio has always played a major development role in Africa and within the past decade has begun to figure prominently in peace consolidation across the continent. The supremacy of the medium is unchallenged in Africa, where 97 percent of the population relies on radio rather than television as a source of news and entertainment. While community-sponsored and commercial radio are flourishing in some countries, in others the government has maintained tight control over the airwaves. Freeplay Foundation has worked extensively with the United Nations and partner nongovernmental organizations to provide solar-powered radios to conflict victims throughout Africa—from orphans in Rwanda to flood victims in Mozambique. Because batteries are prohibitively expensive, solarpowered radio presents a viable alternative to reliance on a costly, environmentally unsafe product. Under the auspices of the Freeplay Foundation, I have interviewed dozens of radio recipients and potential recipients throughout the continent and am struck by the value that displaced or threatened people place on accurate information. According to one thirteen-year-old orphan from Rwanda named Mukakarimba, accurate news is worth more than a goat. A lighter, more user-friendly Lifeline Radio has recently been designed to deliver endless listening hours to women and children who have come to value information as their most cherished possession in the quest for personal safety.

Personal safety is also an issue in the Diffa region of Niger, where solarpowered radios are being exchanged for illicit guns as part of a drive to consolidate the peace after years of civil war. Radio batteries are prohibitively expensive in Niger, and information is hard to come by in this sparsely populated region. The project that has excited the interest of Chadian activists is called Radios for the Consolidation of Peace. Project partners are counting on the fact that solar-powered radio will prove more valuable to Diffa communities than banned weaponry. In a highly integrated program funded in part by the United Nations Development Program Trust Fund for the Prevention and Reduction of the Proliferation of Small Arms and managed by the Nigerien government, the thriving network of community radio stations has begun the shift to solar-powered generators, while local residents are being trained as announcers, producers, journalists, and station managers to provide radio programming for their rural constituents. As is the case throughout Africa, the majority of these volunteers are women. As these community stations broadcast the need to collect and destroy all remaining illicit light arms, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is training former female prisoners to serve as local technicians to maintain and repair the 12,445 solarpowered radios donated by the Freeplay Foundation to the Diffa communities. Many of these women had been imprisoned for refusing a marriage partner or leaving a brutal husband. This job leading to selfsustenance is their only hope out of the spiral of absolute poverty.

In order to get a radio-for-guns exchange off the ground in Chad, the government will have to free the airwaves. As Niger moves from twenty stations to an expected 160 over the course of the next few years, pressure is put on neighboring Chad to liberate its own airwaves and permit more than the current fourteen community stations for a population of over eight million people. But a steady traffic of commentary and information does not sit well with the dictatorial administration of President Idriss Deby, and local human rights associations eager to set up a radio-for-guns exchange in Chad must proceed with caution. One way to force the president's hand is to use mediation workshops as a platform for discussion of this issue. During each of my two missions to Chad in 2002, I also followed up discussion in the workshops with airtime on the community radio stations in Bongor. When I asked the women running these stations where they found the time to do this work, they laughed: "When I come to the station, my neighbor looks after my children and feeds my goats.

When she comes to the station, I cook dinner for her husband. If he complains, then we mention it on the radio. The whole community knows. His friends will tease him and he'll think twice about complaining next time."

Radio can play a key role in luring the hippopotamus out of the water to size up the true shape and complexity of ongoing conflict. While the metaphor elicits much laughter (and we can hear the very beasts snorting in a nearby river), human rights activists know that exposing the lies of absolute power and reinforcing intercommunity communication are necessary if Chad is to avoid another civil war. Women have come forward as willing participants in setting up and staffing community radio stations throughout Africa. Chadian women are no different. They work side by side with their male counterparts, risking the government's wrath by pushing their human rights agenda forward, one idea, one solar-powered radio at a time.

Department of International Affairs American University of Paris

Writing International Development: The Op-Ed Page

Marwan Bishara

Marwan Bishara, an editorialist and political activist based in Paris, positions himself at a crossroads. An Arab citizen of Israel, who grew up as a secular Christian in Nazareth and a leftist in a Baptist school, he learned firsthand how managing ideological, religious, and national differences helps human beings evolve peacefully. One of a handful of foreign intellectuals invited by the Nation to write a "Letter to America," he is also author of Palestine/Israel: Peace or Apartheid: Occupation, Terrorism and the Future (London: Zed, 2003) and of a forthcoming book on the war on terrorism.

n 1994, I sent my first opinion piece, otherwise known as an op-ed (opposite editorial page) article, to the *International Herald Tribune* (*IHT*), not knowing it was going to alter the way I wrote for years to

come. The IHT—at the time a joint publication of the powerful New York Times and Washington Post—publishes mostly important people, statesmen, and those closest to corporate power. Yours truly, a Palestinian who had recently moved to France, with no money, no homeland, and no woman, had nothing better to do than to count his beads hoping for white smoke to emerge from the IHT building on the outskirts of Paris. When the phone finally rang, a woman's voice came on, confident but impatient: "This is the International Herald Tribune, are you going to be around in case we need to contact you for details on your article?"

This call took place on the eve of the historic international conference for a "New Middle East," at which world leaders and corporate executives were going to meet in Amman, Jordan, to envision ways and means by which to shore up support for the peace process and to reinvent economic relations among old foes and new partners in the Middle East. My article was deeply critical of the economic logic that emphasized doing business before making peace and that stressed trade instead of freedom from occupation.

A second call came late in the evening. "My name is Hope Keller, and I am the deputy page editor. Do you know the name of the World Bank executive you cite in the article?" she asked, not bothering with an answer. "Don't worry, we have it, he also sent us an article on the subject today!" she said sarcastically. "Hold on, I think that's his office on the other line. . . . Jesus, they haven't stopped calling."

"He" was the deputy director of the World Bank responsible for the Middle East, the engine behind the conference, and more powerful and certainly richer than I was. But Keller was neither fascinated nor intimidated by power and status, or so I later learned. She liked my piece because, as she said, it was reasonably argued and shed new and important light on a complex issue. The World Bank official, on the other hand, had written a predictable self-congratulating article encouraging the "peace makers" but taking credit for himself and his organization. The morning after, my article appeared at the top of the opinion page and his was nowhere to be seen. All those heading to the international conference in Amman read my modest contribution in the place of that of the almighty World Bank. Hope gave me hope. Nearly a decade later, I still occasionally get feedback from people who read that article.

Since 1994, I have written many and published more than a few oped pieces. Needless to say, the Hopes of the world do not come in great abundance, but there are enough such editors, both men and women, to offer hope to those whose activism expresses itself through the written word. A greater number of people are ready to stand up to power and

to question authority even at great personal risk. The op-ed page, in short, has become a new site for political praxis, a place where development debates can be made personal, where writing must be accountable to a specific voice and an identifying byline. In the best of all possible worlds, access to the op-ed page would be democratic.

The op-ed page is the space consecrated to people—from outside the body of newspaper and magazine writers—who are determined to express their opinions alongside those of in-house op-ed writers. It is a crucial way in. Over the past couple of decades, in fact, op-ed writing has taken on prominence and evolved into an art of its own. A rather short—no more than 850-word—in-depth reflection, it is meant to bridge readership and publications, lessen the gap between books and television, and strike a happy medium between hard news and academic theory. The op-ed page features several critical lenses through which to view our complex realities.

Stuck mostly in the back pages of newspapers, op-ed is read by curious and impatient people who like to go one step beyond the hard news but have no time to indulge in long readings of books and documents. Oped is also read by people who like to attach a name to an idea and who like to listen to opinions that are up close and personal. Op-ed pieces also synthesize. Although I have never read sociological studies or polls on the subject, I can tell from experience that those who read op-eds are mostly those with higher levels of education, better jobs, and more influence. The op-ed pages of the Wall Street Journal are infamous for making or breaking those mentioned in them. Similarly, the op-ed pages of the New York Times and Washington Post have become the first reading stop for those thirsty for analysis and perspective. Presidents, statesmen, and executives pass messages to one another via this channel and share their positions with their various constituencies—and their opponents or competitors.

Generally, philosophers and academics do not like to write in sound bites or commercially packaged paragraphs. Alas, "for lack of horses, saddles are put on dogs." Staff op-ed writers, such as Thomas Friedman, William Safire, Jim Hoagland, and their peers in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere, have become the de facto theoreticians of our modern Americanized times; they not only comment about the world but deconstruct it and suggest ways to change it in their entertaining albeit short columns. These are the writers with whom I most often find myself in conflict. As I write these words, on the eve of the U.S. war on Iraq, one writer proposed changing the configuration of the UN Security Council, another outlined how to conduct a clean war against Iraq, and a third commended Israel's Ariel Sharon for his moderation. Interestingly enough,

those staff writers, as well as other op-ed contributors and celebrities, do not report to the newspaper editor but, rather, to the publisher.

Mass-circulated newspapers produce masses out of citizens. They are corporations whose first task is to generate revenue for their shareholders by reproducing the status quo of power relations, and thus often op-ed writers are best at generic writing that tap-dances around controversial issues, doing no more than flirting with power. These writers skillfully adapt their perspective to the revolving door of the powerful with all its complex dynamics. The writing on the prospect of the U.S. war in the Gulf was a case study in power schmoozing. Newspapers are also aware of their readers' affiliations and those of their advertisers, and they know how to tiptoe around the powerful and the corporate, who by definition make up the best source of both news and income.

As for us, the outsiders who seek access to the op-ed page, we have to be prepared for snubs on a daily basis. By the very nature of their work, editors exercise great power over "contributors" by the mere facts that they receive thousands of submissions and that they fill a very small daily space of a page and a half. Hence, the more popular or powerful the paper, the more selective the standards. They also receive a lot of high-quality articles. So why yours or mine? Believe it or not, there are now Web sites devoted to helping outsiders to the op-ed page gain access. They provide information on how to write, how to send, and even how to do the necessary politics—the schmoozing—that will lead to publication. Duke University now hosts a special center on op-ed writing. The American Psychological Association and the Kennedy School of Government, to name just two institutions that have taken up the banner, encourage their members to write. This is a space worth occupying—especially for an outsider.

Generally, editors and readers tend to judge an article, first, by the identity of its author and then on its own merits. If you are a woman, if you have a foreign name, or if you are freelance or unemployed, editors may still treat you as such—regardless of your expertise or the energetic style of your prose. Editors also tokenize, expecting a Palestinian such as me to write about Palestinian struggle. An Egyptian would similarly be expected to cover his beat. An Indian would never be asked to write about NATO, even if it were his or her specialty, but to provide the Indian perspective on NATO. These are the barriers that still need breaking through. We make a big mistake if we restrict our committed, written views to our skin color, our gender, our denomination, or our nationality. We also shortchange ourselves if we accept that others do the same to us. So we should each write beyond our positionality—and not just on the editorial page.

Conventionally, we underline the byline of a foreign minister when he puts forth views on the politics of his country. However, when an ordinary citizen expresses his or her view on questions of war and peace, genetics, the environment, crime, poverty, and other burning social issues, those views should be evaluated on their merits, not on the identity of the author. One can only provide a truly ethical or moral (in the nonreligious sense) perspective when one is free from associations and affiliations. The more free we are in our thinking, the more we are capable of seeing the facts and judging right from wrong. Otherwise opinion risks becoming a rhetorical repetition of stereotypes, the confirmation of a label that has been preimposed.

Where you publish is as important as what you publish. I, for example, publish mostly in conservative or establishment papers (depending how you define that) such as the IHT, Le Figaro, or La Vanguardia, even though I am not a conservative or center-liberal. This choice of venue has been important to me—it means that I am not writing to those who agree with me in principle, or, as is commonly said, I do not preach to the choir. Interestingly, one unexpected group within my readership turned out to be Arab leaders. To publish in powerful papers in the West is considered not only an accomplishment in the corridors of power in the Arab world but also, sadly, a source of legitimacy and authority. Given the current state of affairs in the Middle East and the lack of democracy across the Arab world generally, voices from outside the region are heard with more seriousness than those from within. Hence, a number of my articles, so I have been told, were read with interest by Arab officials who have, in turn, incorporated some of my ideas in their policy planning. I like to think of this as development activity from the op-ed page.

To the extent that we become what we write, writing has been a healing experience for me personally. Only when we lay out our ideas in the open do they make sense, earn value, and assume responsibility. When they are published and read, they enter a new realm, one of the marketplace of ideas that the individual contributes to but does not control. Unlike books, op-ed pieces are like speech—and the speed of the message, in its turn, correlates with the rapidity of the reward.

People from outside the mainstream such as myself take comfort in the presence of increasing numbers of women in media. Over the years, I have written to many publications, mostly as a freelance editorialist. From the moment when Keller featured my first article, most of those who solicited and bought my articles were women. That includes editors from the Washington Post, the Nation, Al-Abram Weekly, and the Los Angeles Times. From experience, I find women editors to be more understanding

of differences of opinion; more welcoming to minorities' views, perhaps because they are more capable of identifying with them; more patient with dissent; and above all more open to critiques of force and concentrations of power wherever they may lie. They have also been more welcoming of praxis and ethics rather than the calculation of balances of power more typical of realpolitik. If the op-ed page is to become a site for political access, praxis, and ethical discussion, not just for the wielders of power but for those at its margins, perhaps women editors will show the way.

Paris 1

Development Pedagogies

Celeste Schenck

Celeste Schenck is professor of comparative literature at the American University of Paris, where she recently led a faculty review of the curriculum. She is coauthor of several books, including Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989) and Eye to Eye: Women Practising Development across Cultures (London: Zed, 2000), and has written numerous articles on women's poetry, feminist theory, and pedagogical issues.

I want to tell an idiosyncratic story of curricular renewal at a small American university located in Europe and argue secondarily that development practices and the ethical debates surrounding them should have a more systematic place in the classroom. Let me begin by describing our international campus in the residential neighborhood just under the Eiffel Tower, where some 850 students of nearly one hundred different nationalities and some one hundred faculty of nearly twenty nationalities struggle daily with the difference differences make, speaking to each other across cultures, languages, and ethnicities in various registers of accented English. More and more, the typical American University of Paris (AUP) student speaks at least three languages; has lived in more than one nation; feels at home crossing cultural boundaries; reads, writes, and argues well

but yearns to polish these skills in English; is at ease with new technologies and networks; and manifests a kind of adaptability and openness that we credit to his or her upbringing, to our unique community within the capital city of Paris, and to the between-two-or-more-cultures aspect of everyday life at the university.

Most of our faculty, staff, and students think of themselves as hybrids holding several different passports rather than identifying themselves with a single nationality. We are an institution so increasingly diverse as to make our American project at times challenging, an institution at which discontinuities, contradictions, heteroglossia (both linguistic and cultural) are so much the norm that AUP is defined by this métissage more fully than by some clear demarcation between American and international. Our faculty, administration, staff, and students move easily across the nationalisms, the ideologies, the languages, the various coalitional citizenships and ethnicities—in short, the blended transnationalisms—that define our community. For precisely these reasons, we think of ourself as a natural laboratory for developing a pedagogy appropriate to the world our students are inheriting.

This singular mix of identities—we have no national majority—does not come without struggle, and thus we reject utopian multiculturalismthe "it's a small world after all" anthem of college catalogs and viewbooks. Often our classrooms are sites of conflict resolution (and prevention), as when, a few years back, in a course on the Balkans crisis, Bosnian, Serb, Croatian, and American students unsure of the exact location of the former Yugoslavia struggled hard to find a common language for exploration. As a faculty, we are coming slowly to believe that courses should create learning environments in which our students' complex multiple identities drive them to negotiate difference for themselves. We also try to foster in our classrooms metacritical reflection on the challenges, the difficulties, and need for mediative democratic negotiation in highly diverse populations. As a faculty leader in our curricular renovation project these past three years, with the help of substantial funding from the A. W. Mellon Foundation, I have witnessed the rise at AUP of what I would call development pedagogies as we have experimented with ways to manage imaginatively the endowment of our various, inevitably conflicting, "locations."

On a typical end-of-term day, a freshman learning community called "Citizenship and Activism" is holding its final exercise. Twenty-two students from thirteen different nationalities present the mission, business plan, organizational structure, fundraising strategy, grassroots activities, international networking, and budget of their virtual nongovernmental organization (NGO)—Senergy (Senegal + synergy)—to a jury of local

activists; members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD); and NGO leaders. The teachers are two of the editors of this volume, a social scientist and a humanist, who collaborated on the paired courses. The same twenty-two students took "International Institutions and the Rise of Civil Society" alongside a comparative literature course on "Writing, Ethics, and Engagement," studying basic concepts and case studies of development organizations in tandem with their ethical reflections in novels, poetry, films, photographs, philosophical essays, and testimonials. Experts were brought in to hold practicums in budget planning, fundraising, organization structure, and political communications.

To counterbalance the apathy and feelings of powerlessness that students often experience in courses in which testimony of political, ethical, and human rights abuse is fulsome, we decided that student outrage and energy should be channeled into a shared project. Although a virtual model would have met course requirements, somewhere along the wayin the synergy of the paired courses, the team teaching, the students' commitment to their learning—the stakes of the project rose both for the students and for the teachers using this new course format for the first time. They decided to build a real NGO, asking us to take them to Senegal to begin collaborating with local youth on an AIDS-awareness campaign. What they initially conceived as a missionary project—"helping" Senegalese youth—was transformed through their own research and exploration into a planned exchange program with their counterparts in West Africa. In a world in which nation-states are losing significant power but global governance is far from a reality, our students learned that transnational social movements are likely to play an important role in constructing new forms of connection. Raising money for the trip, they worked in teams, had successes, had failures, fought with each other. But past struggles, now worked through, are subsumed in the excitement of today's impressive presentation to the community. These are first-year, first-semester college students whose entire scholarly trajectory will be marked by this experience.

Cut to another classroom on the floor above, where a class on the Arab-Israeli peace process made up of students from fifteen different nationalities is holding its final exercise. The students have worked in four teams over the semester to carry out advanced research and prepare their team briefs for the two vested parties plus the United States and the United Nations. The teacher—an Arab Israeli citizen—often casts the students against nationality or religious orientation, such that Jewish students

sometimes find themselves on the Palestinian team. This year a Chinese student heads the U.S. team. The end-of-term exercise is a series of lively public peace talks, at which, in earlier years, informed, passionately engaged students succeeded where world leaders failed, negotiating a fair settlement that both sides could sign. When the events of the past year make it hard for this year's crop to reach an agreement, the frustrated students go on to establish a peace club at the university.

All of the students I have just described may soon have the option of taking a senior capstone course called "Renegotiating the Nation." Faculty are currently developing a proposal and pilot program for this culminating curricular vehicle of AUP's new four-year general education program. It calls for student teams and faculty master learners to work for an entire year on a particular global hot spot, meeting with world experts, studying maps and statistics, doing feasibility studies, compiling and evaluating opinions. Students will work in five teams—social policy (labor, health), culture and media (education, art, media), political processes and governance (elections, governance, and defense), economic and business planning (monetary policy, economic plan, industrial and manufacturing policy), and, eventually, a constitutional committee to generate documents to prepare for the externally juried debates at the end of the first semester. By the end of the year, they will be ready to hold an international, interdisciplinary, student-run conference at which they make recommendations for solving the problems articulated in the brief the teams received at the outset. The students taking these capstone courses will be expected to function across languages and cultures in teams; to discover, work through, negotiate, and refine the arts of democratic debate and action; to take increasing responsibility for their own learning, releasing their teachers to the role of faculty facilitators and fellow learners with them; to produce collaborative work, both oral and written; to submit this work in a public situation to professionals from outside the university. The capstone will permit us to assess whether our graduating seniors have become creative and autonomous producers of knowledge, working in intercultural, interdisciplinary teams to put their education in the service of solving the world's problems.

We are convinced by sharing with colleagues across the globe that university classrooms, both at home in Paris and the world over, have increasingly become sites of development practice, providing students with opportunities to simulate real-world issues, finding workable, dignified, empowering solutions to the seemingly insurmountable problems posed by the contemporary world. In our own institution, a recent, radical gen-

eral education reform has recentered our general studies program around the university's revised mission statement: "The American University of Paris aims to foster in its students a critical, informed, active belonging to the world that responds to, and helps shape, the intellectual and practical challenges of the twenty-first century." And general education, as we see it, is the location at which such ethical commitments are formed. Where other universities have met similar goals by incorporating service learning into their curricula, we have felt that our constituencies merited, that our educational project required, a common education focused on global issues, one that should not be confined to a global studies department or advanced work in the major. Beginning fall 2004, all entering students will take one-third of their courses in a program called "Envisioning a World of Interdependence" that will stretch vertically across their four years at AUP, a kind of twin pillar to their study in the major. In addition to the programs discussed above, students will take writing and language courses, science learning communities pairing science with other liberal arts courses, and a cluster of courses designed to promote historical and cross-cultural understandings as well as analysis of social experience and organization. Finally, they will participate in one of several possible "Building Communities" initiatives, ranging from service learning to integration of French life and culture via extracurricular means, from on-campus peer mentoring to off-campus exchanges with alternative high schools and other American-style universities in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East.

Some of us at AUP have long dreamed of a recruitment policy to go along with the development pedagogies described above, such as a financial aid package that would attract politically engaged students to the hands-on learning experiences our curriculum provides and then require of them a specific postcollege commitment to social justice projects. That may still be a few years off for a small, woefully underendowed private university. But our development pedagogies are already producing results. This past year, an AUP alumna who had taken some of the courses I have described above founded her own cocurricular pilot project at AUP. JustWorld, a privately funded initiative, aims at strengthening student ties to the international movement for social justice. Organized alongside the curriculum and offering support to our gradually broadening educational mission, it provides travel money to attend international social forums and funds a lecture series, workshops on a range of leadership skills, and student conferences. The mission of JustWorld is to encourage undergraduates to engage in social activism by building up skills and expertise

Roundtable: September 11 and its Aftermath: Voices from Australia, Canada, and Africa

9/11 One Year Later: Voices of Women Activists from Australia and Canada

Sneja Gunew

year after the events of 9/11, I asked a number of women in Australia and Canada to write short accounts of their perception of the consequences of these events. Canada and Australia remain closely allied with the interests of the United States but are also at a tangent to the global centrality of the United States. All the women chosen have been involved over many years in various ways in the kinds of "minority" politics that range from antiracism, antimilitarism, and anticolonialism to antipatriarchalism. All know what it means to be marginalized in relation to dominant groups and cultures. Faced by the growing inevitability of a U.S.-led war against Iraq, what they had in common was a raw response to the events of a year ago and the ways in which they had devastated the projects close to their hearts.

While North American readers are probably largely unfamiliar with Australian issues, these brief snapshots give a palpable sense of racist histories translated into contemporary struggles. In Australia, following 9/11, the realities of racial profiling had immediate and pernicious consequences within the communities themselves (e.g., among the widespread Lebanese groups) and also precipitated a terrible situation for Afghan refugees trying to land on Australia's shores. The anguish of dealing with the clearly determinable regression in civil liberties permeates all the accounts: from those on the front lines of activism as well as from those, like Mary Kalantzis, who had pinned their hopes on the long-term efforts of particular pedagogical practices. All the commentators linked these

contemporary struggles to their colonial roots and the attempted genocide of the Aboriginal peoples.

In Canada, another settler colony, the perceptions of these writers were somewhat similar, and it was salutary to glimpse the larger picture in accounts such as Jan Hare's, whose focus on the consequences of 9/11 for indigenous peoples reminds us that for many groups the devastation accomplished in a few hours equals the realities experienced over many decades for many ostracized groups in the so-called developed world. The Canadian responses are characterized by their ability to see links between what is happening within Canada and in other parts of the world; for example, Radhika Desai's focus on the terrible consequences of Hindu fundamentalism in Gujarat or Myrna Kostash's awareness that the present crisis links to memories of the devastating recent war in the former Yugoslavia. Women then and now are suffused with a sense of helplessness in the face of militarism.

Insofar as there is any glimpse of hope in these accounts, it is that people might become more conscious of the responsibilities attached to their global connectivity as well as experience a renewed recognition of the fragility of civil rights for both individuals and communities once a war mentality has taken hold. The huge antiwar demonstrations sustain this fragile hope. It is fitting that this present collection should begin and end with the voices of Arabic and Muslim women living their renewed vulnerability in the so-called developed world.

Centre for Research in Women's Studies and Gender Relations University of British Columbia

The Day the World Did Not Change

Paula Abood

eptember 11 is just another day in the calendar of televised events. Its meanings remain variable depending on whom you speak to. Many women of color, particularly Arab women, have refused to buy into the propaganda that has become that particular day in September. Should anyone be surprised by this? For those whose everyday lives are defined by colonialism, racism, war, state terrorism, dispossession, displacement,

and exile, the political commodification of September 11 perhaps best represents the privileging of white-Western suffering over and above everyone else's political concerns.

Do we imagine that ordinary Iraqis were deeply shocked by the collapse of two buildings in downtown New York, when in fact most of their buildings and landscapes have been collaterally damaged by masses of carpet bombs and depleted uranium dropped by none other than the United States and friends? Not to mention the willful starvation of the Iraqi civilian population through a genocidal economic blockade imposed by the so-called civilized West for the past eleven years? Do we imagine that Palestinian women remain deeply affected by this incident when they and their families have been subjected to state terrorism via bombs, U.S. F-16s, Apache helicopters, and an assortment of missiles, rockets, and bullets for decades? Could we imagine that this urban devastation deeply troubled Chechen women when their own city of Grozny has been razed and bombed into a smoking postmodern ruin without an ounce of sympathy from anybody? And what about the Somalis? The Bosnians of Sarajevo? The Sudanese? The South Lebanese? I could go on.

I work with many of the above-mentioned communities in Sydney, members of which are here as refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, exiles, and outsiders. It is from this position that I speak back to a politics that demands we must react as we are told to September 11. As an Arab feminist living in the West, I refuse to be co-opted into this act of white solidarity at the expense of all other political concerns and events.

On the Western front, the campaign to demonize and vilify, to target and detain without evidence on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, and culture has been taken up with renewed vigor. Here in Australia, the predatory race politics in the six months preceding September 11 made the ground fertile for the successful peddling of a virulent anti-Muslim, anti-Arab (and in Sydney anti-Lebanese), antirefugee, and anti-Afghan political campaign. The convergence of local, national, and international tensions around race, gender, borders and security, and law and order exploded in our faces. Minority communities were once again the targets of racialized attacks. The media took up the call to arms as the politics of an explicitly white supremacist agenda underpinned all that was happening at the northern borders of Australia, in the southwest suburbs in Sydney, and in the rubble that was Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, asylum seekers, mostly Afghan and Iraqi women and children, were drowning on their way to Australia; incidents of gang rape in Sydney were being used politically to link ethnicity and religion (Lebanese Muslim) to crime (rape of white women); and refugees were being named

as potential terrorists by senior government ministers in preelection hysteria. After September 11, border protection legislation—aimed at containing the rights of asylum seekers—and antiterrorism bills were invoked, giving succor to the political aspirations of the ruling elite. This obscene abuse of state power has stripped minority communities of their right to identity, self-expression, safety, and citizenship.

Racial tensions, fueled by the media, have especially marginalized women of color, making them the usual targets of abuse and assaults. Women and girls have been spat and set upon, dragged across the street by their scarves, and menaced verbally, physically, and sexually. Many women have resisted the violence in both creative and practical ways. Muslim women especially were forced to rely on escorts as a protective measure when entering public spaces like shopping centers or when traveling on buses. Some took up self-defense classes. Many kept their children home from school. In short, the very rights to freedom of movement and freedom of dress have been denied to women and girls with little outrage from so-called progressives hiding out in "democratic" Australia. Muslim and Arab women have ultimately been restricted in how they are able to respond because of the viciousness of both the physical attacks and the debates in the public space. In short, they have been silenced.

And in their own silence, white feminists remain duplicitous in their collusion with the white supremacist agenda. By not intervening to condemn these ongoing waves of violent attacks on minority communities or publicly calling into question the warmongering rhetoric that has contextualized border protection and security concerns in Australia, white women have actively privileged their personal concerns of safety and civil rights over and above the political realities and civil rights of minority women and their communities.

It is without question that women of color have more in common with their brothers of color for a whole lot of obvious reasons. White women need to seriously consider becoming race traitors to the white supremacist cause. As Leila Ahmed reminds us, "In the context of the contemporary structure of global power... we need a feminism that is vigilantly self-critical... if we are to avoid becoming unwitting collaborators in racist ideologies." I could not agree more.

Sydney, Australia I

¹ Leila Ahmed, Wemen and Gender in Islam: Historical Rosts of a Modern Debate (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 247,

From Penal Colony to Police State?

Anna Couani

n Australia the consequences of September 11 have run parallel to those in other countries. The federal and state governments have introduced antiterrorism legislation that seriously curtails the freedom and privacy of Australian citizens. There has also been a massive increase in racism. There has been a systematic campaign to make Australians feel threatened by outsiders that activates an old white Australian paranoia about being an island of Europeans in a sea of colored peoples—about how one day, some other nation may do to us what we did to the Aboriginals.

The political use of racism has been part of the Australian landscape since the British invasion of 1788. The legislation embodying the White Australia Policy was the first law passed by our national government in 1901. It was anti-Chinese racism that united English, Irish, Scots, Welsh, European, American, Protestant, and Catholic workers to found our trade union movement. Racism has often been used to unite our multiethnic white community.

Any event or theory that "proves" the reality of an external threat is magnified and readily achieves currency, such as the bombing in Bali or Muslim gang rapists. In the lead-up to a New South Wales state election in March 2003, a local right-wing party called One Nation promoted the building of a mosque in a suburb as a threat. Muslim women have been attacked on the streets. I know of young men "of Middle Eastern appearance" being picked up by the police and assaulted. They may not be either Middle Eastern or Muslim. A One Nation epithet states: "Not all Muslims are terrorists, but all terrorists are Muslim."

Conservative white Australia remains in denial about the genocidal practices of white settlement. In February 2003, a national museum and its Aboriginal director are under threat because they mounted an exhi-

¹ For current information about Australian antiterrorism legislation, see http://www.getsmart.org.au/frontpage.htm.

² See the Web site of Australians against Racism: "Facts about Australian Muslims and Islam," http://www.australiansagainstracism.org.

³ See David Oldfield, "Muslim Racists Calling the Kettle Black," http://www.onenation.au.com/Pages/ONNSW_Press_Releases/NSW_Press_Releases_Archive/NSW_Press_2002/PR_2044_170202.html, and the One Nation Web site http://www.onenation.au.com.
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bition that speaks the truth about Aboriginal history since the British invasion in 1788.

I have been involved in feminist activities since the 1970s in Sydney in what Australian feminist Suzanne Bellamy calls the "predynastic phase." I was mostly involved in the quest to get women writers published. Over the decades, the main beneficiaries of our efforts have been Anglo-Australian women, and many of them are no longer activists; they are now dynastic, even politically conservative. On some occasions in the past few years, I have found myself lined up against racists who call themselves feminists concerned about the sexist practices in Muslim or traditional societies. They appear unconcerned about the sexist practices in the English-speaking world within fundamentalist Christian groups. Here many people make hysterical remarks about women wearing head scarves, seeing them as symbols of women's oppression rather than symbols of Arab or Muslim identity. The same people appear to have no problem with the Western fashion of push-up bras, enhanced cleavages, transparent shirts, and five-inch-heel shoes with no ankle strap.

In the 1980s I turned my attention more toward minority culture communities, and today I find my fellow travelers among non-Anglo feminists who are mostly involved in peace. The antiracism campaign has grown substantially here especially in relation to issues around the detention of refugees and the draconian policies of the current conservative federal government. The racism issue is inextricably linked to growing U.S. militarism. Anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism has obviously been stirred up to justify U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and elsewhere. So the massive protests against the U.S. invasion of Iraq here and in other countries in 2003 were heartening for Australian antiracism activists.

What I think many of us feel, especially people who have fled war and

⁴ The source of the phrase predynance phase is from an e-mail written to me by Bellamy about her performance piece: "My show is called 'The Lost Culture of Women's Liberation, The Pre-Dynastic Phase, 1969–1974.' It is a performance/art installation, first shown and performed in Australia in 1996 and subsequently in USA several times at conferences and universities (NY, Boston, Connecticut, Chicago, St. Louis, Oakland etc.) as well as in many venues in Australia. It is a comic surrealist fantasist archaeological dig of Women's Liberation House from the 'pre-dynastic' period in Sydney (based on actual archival material as well as constructions and models), done 500 years in the future, and I morph into a pre-dynastic woman to explore the site. I invented the term 'pre-dynastic' to indicate a 'pure ideas' period of early women's liberation before International Women's Year when power indicators changed The term 'pre-dynastic' for this period was my invention, and it seems to be entering the language now."

⁶ AMPAC: "Rapists Rape in Spite of Islam, Not Because of It," http://sydney.indymedia.org/front.php3?article_id=6243.

poverty in the past, even if the escape was generations ago, is the great sense of tragedy about Australia getting involved in war. Australia has always been peaceful, never really thoroughly embroiled in war. In the 1960s and 1970s, Australians reacted fiercely against our involvement in the Vietnam War. A feeling of foreboding gripped me from the moment our government got involved in the events surrounding the Timor Gap oil treaty a few years ago, when it masqueraded as the liberator of the Timorese. This set the precedent for Australia as regional police force, deputy to U.S. colonialism.

Now as I write, our conservative federal government, having supported the U.S. invasion of Iraq against the wishes of the majority of Australians, is eager to get behind future invasions of other sovereign states proposed by the U.S. government.

In all the ethnic minority communities in Australia, people have struggled and mostly failed to maintain their languages and customs. We have all become Anglicized and now Americanized. They call it Australianized. The biggest threats that I perceive today are from politicians who strip public spending on health, child care, family planning, and education to funnel money into the purchase of armaments and who pass laws to curtail our civil rights.

Sydney, Australia

Appendix

Relevant Web sites for more information on the issues raised in this article

A pro-refugee organization: http://www.refugeesaustralia.org/contact.htm
Australians against Further Immigration: http://www.users.bigpond.com/
AAFI.htm

Conference papers by Australian academics on these issues: http://www.hreoc.gov.au/racial_discrimination/beyond_tolerance/speeches.html

On the media and race reporting: http://www.abc.net.au/m/talks/8.30/mediarpt/stories/s377056.htm

On the representation of ethnicity: http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/8.30/mediarpt/stories/s359532.htm

Bilal Cleland, "A History of Islam in Australia": http://www.islamfortoday.com/australia03.htm

Encounters with Islam (American Broadcasting Company television program): http://www.abc.net.au/compass/s538946.htm

Karen Armstrong, "The Curse of the Infidel" http://www.guardian.co.uk/ Archive/Article/0,4273,4444362,00.html

Gary Leupp, "Challenging Ignorance on Islam": http://www.counterpunch.org/leupp0724.html

September 11: Mixed Metaphor

Mary Kalantzis

eptember 11 has become another world-changing phenomenon reduced to a mundane metaphor: clanging, mixed, ambiguous, double speaking. The events of that day have become the basis for a wide range of reflections about life, its purpose, and values. The nature of religious faith, and the task of juggling the world of multiple and divergent religious views, has become a respectable topic again. But this is only the beginning of the numerous ways in which September 11 has become a metaphor and a symbolic turning point. It has become that for almost anything you can think of, from the boom and bust of the dot-com economy, to the symbolism of skyscrapers, to the nature of the modern metropolis, to the hazards of travel, to the conditions of personal and national security. All of these subjects, it seems, can be cast in a different light since that moment of ghastly revelation.

Like many others I too grasped opportunistically at the power of that moment, possibly even as the symbolic basis for a little strategic optimism. Maybe, just maybe, this moment could be a catalyst for thinking about what is really important again—to put humanity (diversities, identities, belonging) up there alongside the market, science, and politics. To breathe life again into the project of recognizing, affirming, and understanding diversity. To tackle the nasty conjunction of cultural difference and social inequality in a global and collaborative way.

In the first few days of reporting, CNN described these direct hits to the heart of U.S. global business interests and defense headquarters as a "low-tech/high-concept" phenomenon. That phrase provided a kind of key for me. Evil, terrorists, oppressors, martyrs, men of God—it was about meaning and humanity, not the genius or might or the science of technology and the market, which so dominate the thinking of advanced democracies. As an educator I wanted to salvage something out of the tragedy for my purposes.

The other aspect of my strategic optimism was that this was an opportunity for the United States to reconsider the role it might play in the world, given its overwhelmingly powerful influence on global affairs. Perhaps George W. Bush's isolationism and unilateralism might be replaced by a genuine engagement with the world. Perhaps the diversity of his

cabinet might predispose the United States to connect more sympathetically with the world and the cultural range of its interests, creeds, peoples.

But it seemed that all people, of all ideological persuasions, were using September 11 as the touchstone for any interpretation that suited them. And that these were old interpretations recast more often than they were new interpretations borne of the shock of recognition. Certainly many commentators, including American ones, have warned that hegemonic thinking and systems die hard. September 11 need not be a moment for humility and reflection. Rather, to use Mike Davis's words, the pursuit of "terror" could become a new "steroid of empire," less a turning point than an alibi to return to an old story.1

So where does this leave us? The logistics of power and world dominance cloud the possibility of interpreting September 11 in a constructive way, of using this pivotal point as the basis for the strategic optimism for which I had been hoping. We certainly refuse to come to terms with genuine diversity despite all the progress and rhetoric made in the last few centuries. Quite fundamentally, we still shy away from acting on a new and difficult principle of equality—that you don't have to be the same to be equal.

September 11 has created many paradoxical openings. For a moment at least, the Koran became a best seller in the West, although it is hard to know what, on first reading, the book-buying public could make of it. There is a renewed thirst for religious ecumenicalism, an attempt at a certain kind of understanding even though the ecumenical, for all its affected goodwill, faces its epistemological antithesis when it attempts dialogue with fundamentalism.

In Australia, we've been reduced to our blood links with the greater empire of the English, whose political capital and global headquarters shifted from London to Washington/New York some time during the twentieth century. We're right behind our Anglophone brothers in the war on terror, the axis of evil, in eliminating Saddam—whatever. We've been reduced to compliant team players in Huntington's atavistic clash of civilizations.2

More's the pity, because we've lost the opportunity of the moment, to reconsider history, identity, and worthwhile human futures. Productive big-picture doubt has quickly been displaced by race certitude.

¹ Mike Davis, "The Flames of Empire," New Left Review 12 (November-December 2001): 34-50.

² Samuel Huntington, The Clash of Carilinations and the Remaking of the World Order (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

The September 11 story remains unfinished. It may well be replayed, perhaps even in more ghastly ways. The real tragedy is that it could have prompted us to address the question of how we create the conditions of security in a world of deep cultural and material division. But it hasn't.

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Fortress Australia

Tseen Khoo

rom my perspective in Australia, one of the most prominent values to emerge from 9/11 and its aftermath is hypocrisy. On the one hand, Prime Minister John Howard condemned the firebombing of Australian mosques, the violence against individuals or businesses of "Middle Eastern appearance," and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. On the other, he and his ministers ramped up the national apparatus for detaining asylum seekers (many from Afghanistan) in exploitative arrangements with South Pacific neighbors and in Australia itself and redrew our national boundaries (twice) to keep "them" out.

On the one hand, we are encouraged to celebrate our society's successful multiculturalism, and Australia's level of tolerance is vociferously defended. On the other, there is a corrosive readiness to target visibly different groups for vilification and violence. Post-9/11, "Letters to the Editor" and other media forums resounded with ambivalence about Australia's multicultural society now that one cannot tell whether one of the others is one of "them" or, more to the point, whether one of the others can ever safely be one of "us."

Women wearing head scarves became, once again, the embodiments of this dangerous otherness, even more so than during the sporadic community antagonisms of preceding Gulf War engagements. The threat oozed beyond cultural or national affiliations and entangled itself with religion. A most disturbing aspect of this need to protect (sociocultural) borders is the ease with which arbitrary markers of otherness became grounds for punishment. Thus, incidents encompassed a wide range of communities and provided a reminder—if anyone needed reminding after

the disturbing rise of xenophobic politics in the form of "Hansonism" in the late 1990s—of how ignorance, uncertainty, and fear fuel racialized opinion and action. The fact that violent acts occurred against Muslim women brings to the surface several issues. These include the confused, binary representations of *hijab*-wearing women as both "victims" (of the Taliban regime, silenced and oppressed) and "perpetrators" (upholders of fundamental precepts, which quickly came to be perceived as sources of terrorist motives). The spate of "extremist" imagery in the consequent media coverage about sites and cultures of terrorism often gestured to the "alien" cultures of Islamic fundamentalism through representations of women fighting for the cause. "They" smuggled weapons and communications under their gowns. "They" encouraged their children to be suicide bombers. "They" should want to be liberated.

The swiftness with which popular opinion turned to question the presence of visibly different others within their societies affirms the everpresent, hegemonic mechanisms maintaining the privilege of toleration (an issue discussed incisively by Ghassan Hage). For racial minority communities and individuals, the prevalence of this toleration emphasizes the continuing need for heightened vigilance in addressing issues of discrimination. It also underscores the conditional state of citizenship for others in Western nations. The intensified modes of surveillance and judgment in the wake of 9/11 mean added weight given to suspicious behaviors and the processes with which to identify and act on them. An accusatory watchfulness over certain communities has exploded several times into surprise raids on domestic properties. The rush for the quantification of national threats is matched by an equally hasty disassociation from homeland politics or national critique by some racialized groups.

Howard's vision of "Fortress Australia" seems uninterested in engaging with inclusive or constructive social agendas to alter these ingrained processes of persecution and conglomeration. Indeed, the incumbent government persists in using the aftermath of 9/11 as its tenuous grounds for the prolonged incarceration of asylum seekers and, referring to the "destruction" of the Taliban regime, as an apt time for sending those

¹ See Ghassan Hage, White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society, rev. ed. (Annandale, New South Wales: Pluto, 2003).

² The Australian government mailed out a "terrorist kit" to every household in February 2003. It contained a booklet titled *Let's Look Out for Australia. Protecting Our Way of Life from a Passible Terrorist Threat*, which contained luxings of what constitutes suspicious activity, a refrigerator magnet with emergency contacts, and reassurances in a letter from the prime minister that "[Australia is] a strong, free, compassionate society—together, we will look out for Australia and protect the way of life we value so highly."

License for the New Barbarism

Radhika Desai

uch as the Bush administration would like the world to think otherwise, September 11 changed little. A new, more violent world order was already taking shape well before that. But, suffering from a rather sizeable legitimacy deficit, the U.S. government seized on the events of September 11 as the closest thing to a license that it was going to get. Like the "containment of Communism" and the defense of "democracy" and "human rights," the "War against Terrorism" veils the pursuit of the United States's real goals.

As before, the U.S. government seeks to secure the interests of its corporations and rich citizens and compliant allies elsewhere. In the 1950s and 1960s, U.S. dominance took the form of a sort of leadership in which the pursuit of U.S. interests seemed to require fostering growth and prosperity elsewhere—particularly in Western Europe and East Asia. But from the 1970s onward, U.S. actions in shoring up control over the world economy became much less benign. By the 1990s it was clear that the U.S. economy was growing at the expense of other parts of the world—Europe and Asia as well as the third world. Of the two chief mechanisms through which the U.S. government and corporations exert their power over the world—the world financial system that they dominate and unrivaled military powerthe former seemed to be preferred until the financial crises of the late 1990s. The later years of the Clinton administration—remember the bombings of Sudan, Iraq, and Afghanistan-and then the "election" of the Bush administration seemed already to portend a greater reliance on military force. After September 11, a theologically named operation— "Infinite Justice"—inaugurated a new age of U.S. intramundane activism.

This new, more violent world order not only links economic inequality to gender, national, ethnic, and racial oppression and discrimination more intimately and openly, but the everyday structural and normalized forms of oppression and subordination are more closely policed by violence. At the international level, Israel is raining murder and mayhem on the Palestinians for daring to dream about a nation of their own, while India is piggybacking its own war on terrorism onto that of the United States to teach Pakistan a lesson for daring to question India's regional dominance. In each of these conflicts, the United States is allied with the more powerful aggressors (in the case of the Indo-Pakistani conflict at the expense of the more loyal side!). The barbarity of the "new world order" aims at little more than preserving the present configuration of property and privilege. No wonder the license of September 11 is not considered valid by so many!

If this is the shape of the new, more violent international order, in domestic politics, too, in country after country, a new aggression against women and minorities is evident. This even after a quarter century of the miserly and punitive politics of the Right, which has served to augment property and privilege at the expense of workers, women, and minorities. No more horrific example of this can be found than the genocide of Muslims in the Indian state of Gujarat in late February and March 2002. Not satisfied with the routine and "normalized" discrimination against Muslims that is so prevalent in Indian economic and state institutions, the Hindu nationalist government of the state, backed by the Hindu nationalist government in New Delhi, used an "incident" between Hindu militants and Muslim bystanders at a small-town railway station to orchestrate the mass killing, rape, mutilation, and looting of a whole people. The widespread destruction of Muslim property and businesses clearly revealed that the resentment of Muslim success was, like the desire to show Muslims their place generally, central to the animus that charged the genocide. Unlike the predominantly high-caste and majority Hindus, Gujarati Muslims' success had an exposed flank—economic success without corresponding social and political privilege was insecure. Finally, the general undermining of civil rights in all countries, which has received such a fillip since September 11 in the name of antiterrorism, and the brazen corruption of public discourse that has gone with it everywhere have been central to the Gujarat and Indian governments' impunity in what is formally and substantially still a liberal democracy.

In this new venture of the aggressive protection of property and privilege, working people, the propertyless, women, and minorities are the "collateral damage." The incorporation of a handful of members of these groups within the larger political, military, and economic structures of this imperium should not prevent us from seeing this clearly. Only a politics

that is simultaneously egalitarian, feminist, and antiracist has any chance of doing something about this new barbarism.

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is the Bingo Palace Burning?

Jan Hare

hey still went to the bingo hall that night. I had called to wish my mother happy birthday, and while the rest of world remained glued to their televisions trying to make sense of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center that took place on the day of her birthday, she and her friends from the community were heading out to the bingo hall. It gave me pause, bringing to mind how the bingo hall was our own center of trade on the rez. There, amid the bingo dabbers, good luck trinkets, and smoldering cigarettes, we invest, we risk, and we trade. We trade our stories about what's going on in the community and our hopes for winning a game. I could see my mother poring over her cards, talking with the women about the unbelievable, historic events of the day, while pulling back on her Craven A cigarettes. This image of her, amid the rising smoke of the bingo hall, merged in my mind that evening with the haze enveloping New York on my television screen. Where was the link between these worlds and lives if not in a history going back to when we were not playing bingo but were at the very center of trade in this so-called New World, when my people were the New World trade center, some centuries ago.

Aboriginal societies were familiar with widespread trading practices prior to the arrival of the newcomers. Internation trading created alliances of friendship and peace, allowing for trade of food and commodities with one another. It also led to warring among nations to control and protect trade territories. Still, this continent was largely marked by an economy of sharing, gift giving, and reciprocity valued among aboriginal societies. It was trade far more broadly conceived than by the Europeans who later arrived.

Trade shaped relations between aboriginal peoples and newcomers. Furs were exchanged for European materials and technologies. When the beaver hat hit the height of fashion in Europe, our people in the northern parts of this New World took advantage of the demands for this commodity. We were part of a global supply chain, from Turtle Island to Paris—part of a world trade organization that was to radically alter life on this continent, this New World.

Yet that was hardly the whole of the world trade that we engaged in during those years. For along the well-traveled routes of the fur trade, the missionaries worked hard to convert our people, asking them to trade their souls in exchange for Christianity and a sedentary existence, for an education and lifestyle modeled on the newcomer's ways. Our people did see the value in this transaction, insomuch as it allowed for the acquisition of Western forms of literacy, as these cultural brokers emphasized reading and writing as integral to the conversion process. It was becoming apparent that we were slowly becoming unequal partners in this world trade venture of furs and souls, in the face of agricultural and settler interests.

No longer allies, our people were obstacles to the expansion and economic activity that flowed from this new use of the land. The crumbling collapse of aboriginal participation in this New World center of trade came with the corporate takeover of the land, where reservations and treaties set aboriginals apart. In this New World, land trade was not a trade at all. It was marked by deceptive practices and bad faith bargaining that forced relocation, economic displacement, and undue confinement, all of which we are still dealing with now as First Nations people negotiate treaties with existing governments. Once self-sustaining and self-governing, our nations were left devastated and disenfranchised, struggling to rebuild a new center in our lives.

So I was left to wonder whether my mother won anything that night at bingo. Against the friends, smoke, and hopes of the bingo palace that night stood the historic and tragic collapse of the World Trade Center in New York and the attack on the Pentagon. It caused me to reflect on how, after being formidable New World trade partners, our geographic, economic, and spiritual base was roughly traded out from under us, leaving us with, what? Bingo. This undoubtedly important social pastime in our communities still calls out to an economic marginalization, a lack of self-governance. For me, as an Anishinaabe scholar, this horrible act of terrorism on U.S. soil lights a path through my own history, whereby my own people have suffered an assault within the integrity of our own space. It is a history that is by no means over or past. I am part of a generation that, drawing on generations of aboriginal people before me, is reengaging this world trade, centered this time on the exchange of knowledge and

ideals, on forging new partnerships that will advance indigenous peoples' vital contributions to a world, respected and honored. *Miggwech*.

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Visible Silence: Women in Black in Edmonton

Myrna Kostash

he immovable Women in Black of Beigrade stood smack in the center of Republic Square in the summer of 1995. A war raged in Croatia; soldiers poured out of Serbia while refugees straggled in; youths stood in long queues at the visa offices of the Canadian, U.S., and Australian embassies while others simply absconded over the border to Hungary; politicians corrupted journalists; poets denounced poets; and neighbors cursed each other. And still the Women in Black stood in the middle of Republic Square, every Wednesday morning, rain or shine, in total silence, with their banner, "For all the victims of war." Their fellow citizens seemed never to get used to them. No matter how long the wars raged on and how many Wednesdays the Women in Black stood speechless in witness of the hope for peace, people stared and scowled and spat at them as though the outrage of their dissent from war was freshly registered each week. The people's conscience could tolerate the young men sent to their deaths better than it could bear these plain women in black coats who never said a word.

In January 2002, a Canadian woman petrified by the bombing of Afghanistan carried out in her name, I wanted to be a Woman in Black too. From October to mid-December 2001, I was away from Canada, traveling in the Balkans. I assumed on my return, a mere ten weeks later, that Canadians would be recovering from the shock of the tragedy at the World Trade Center and getting back to business as usual even as we received marching orders to Kandahar, but I was wrong. Within days of reading newspapers and listening to news again, I felt that, while I had been away, some subterranean shift of tectonic plates had reordered the lay of the land.

I am referring to the Canadian public's overwhelming support for our military subordination to U.S. command in Afghanistan and the militarization of our foreign policy, the public acceptance of the U.S. media "spin" on the war in Afghanistan even as the toll of civilian Afghan deaths climbed higher than the dead of September 11, and the virtually uncontested recriminalization of political dissent by legislation of the "antiterrorism" bills C-35 and C-36. I was disoriented and increasingly dispirited, and I lacked a vocabulary for a sense of my moral disablement.

I was hardly alone in this: there were enough other women like mesixteen at a potluck dinner, though we would never have that number together again—to form an Edmonton chapter of Women in Black at the end of January 2002. By then more than twelve thousand bombs had been dropped over Afghanistan in 4,700 sorties between October 7 and December 10, and this bombardment had killed civilians at a rate four times higher than that of the NATO bombardment of Kosovo and Serbia three years earlier.

All of us, young and old, and from disparate histories, confessed to feelings of powerlessness in the post-September 11 environment. But the idea of being Women in Black excited us. We would step into the circle already joined by Muslim and Jewish women in Jerusalem in January 1988, which has since been expanded by women from Belgrade and Zagreb, Italy, Germany, and India, a "loose international network of women who share a common philosophy of opposition to militarism and violence and use a similar style of silent demonstration," to quote the leaflets we began handing out at silent vigils on Saturday mornings at the popular farmers' market. "Our silence is visible," we boldly asserted. "We are silent because mere words cannot express the tragedy that wars and hatred bring." We would always dress in black.

Eight months later the Americans were still in Afghanistan, bombing away, although the Canadians had returned to Canada. The female appointee as Minister of Women's Affairs in the new Afghan government was dismissed from her position for un-Islamic analysis and policy proposals. Schools reopened, but they had neither roofs nor books. And so on. In any case, the world's—and Edmontonians'—attention has drifted from Afghanistan to the Middle East, and my e-mail message box is awash each day in anguished texts about the incessant violence in the occupied territories. Afghans are now ghosts of the World Wide Web, even though way back in February we were still hearing from the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), in an e-mail, that donations of footwear, medicine, and computers were "the most meaningful

way to help us." Through it all, Women in Black of Edmonton have stood silent vigil, handing out leaflets.

Now, reflecting on this experience at the near end of summer, during which we have more or less (temporarily?) dispersed, I can see that my experience of strength and visibility "empowered" no one but myself (and my immortal soul). Even the meditations became more difficult to sustain as I spent the silent hour in accelerating horror of my fellow citizens' excesses—their sport-utility vehicles parked across the street from our vigil, their bulging shopping bags, and their gluttonous children bearing triplescoop ice cream cones. The withdrawal of our voices from the acoustic chamber of wailing ambulances and exploding bombs simply increased the discursive space of their operations, with no impact on the public speech of Edmontonians who were mesmerized by the "heroism" of our men in uniform in Kandahar. No one spat at or cursed us, although one or two elderly army veterans accused us of "letting the side down," but even this was delivered sideways, as it were, as they shuffled past us, not even stopping to get into a real argument. Since we had never been expected to speak in the first place—as Canadians far removed from the front lines, ideological and military—our silence was unremarkable, unlike, for instance, the refusal of Serbian and Croatian women to speak during the ugly din of the nationalists' blathering in a time of warmongering right in their families and neighborhoods. There is another kind of silence, however: the wordless getting down to the business of sending footwear to Kabul.

Edmonton I

September 11 and Middle Eastern Women: Shrinking Space for Critical Thinking and Oppositional Politics

Haldeh Moghissi

Ike millions of people who watched the horrifying events of September 11 live on television, my immediate reaction and thoughts were, who did it? What kind of a mind planned this? What was being sought by taking the lives of so many innocent people? Terrified, confused, and overpowered by the enormity of the crime, one could hardly think of the immediate social and political consequences of the tragedy for specific groups of people or consider that September 11 would become the subtext of a world politics justifying notorious racist domestic policies and aggression abroad.

Much has happened since. The hysterical reaction of the U.S. government, with its imposition of severe restrictions on the liberties of its terrified citizens, its extensive buildup of intelligence and surveillance apparatuses, its racial and ethnic profiling, its widespread questioning and detention of individuals of Middle Eastern origin and blockage of their bank accounts or businesses, and its wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, menacingly points to the path ahead. Canada did not go the same path, at least not for long and certainly not with the same intensity as its neighbor. But it is the United States that sets the tone for world politics. And in any case, numerous villainous attacks on Canadian citizens who were or were perceived to be from the Middle East immediately after September 11 and the continuous racist depiction of the Middle East, and of Islam and Muslims, by the Canadian media, too, have done much harm to the sense of belonging of individuals and communities of Middle Eastern origin. The message is clear. Having lived long in the country and obtaining citizenship, having built a home and raised a family here, does not make you a Canadian or U.S. citizen with the same democratic rights, legal protections, and life options as white citizens of European origin.

Longer versions of this piece were presented at the Swedish PEN and Writers' Association, Stockholm, September 16, 2002, and at the conference on the Seventh Annual Day in Applied Psychoanalysis, University of Toronto, October 5, 2002. I would like to thank participants at these gatherings for their comments. I would also like to thank Sneja Gunew for soliciting this pacce and the editors of Signs for their helpful editorial comments.

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The celebrated national narratives of Western democracies—the rule of law, tolerance, and respect for democratic rights—have proved deeply flawed, partial, and superficial.

I feel that September 11 has harmed me personally, and I know that I am not alone in this. In fact, a feeling of shame and responsibility for the September 11 tragedy has been imposed on all citizens of Middle Eastern background. And this despite the fact that an overwhelming majority of us have escaped various forms of political or cultural repression in our home countries or the persecution of fundamentalist regimes that, ironically, until very recently were supported and nourished by foreign forces that now crusade under the banner of "antiterrorism." For me, President Bush's war cry that "you are either with us or with the terrorists" and John Ashcroft's unambiguous condemnation of all criticism of the administration as "giving ammunition to America's enemies" recall, poignantly, Ayatollah Khomeini's speeches and intimidation tactics against which I fought, unsuccessfully, and which forced me to choose exile. I feel that I am reliving the past. I watch in horror and see how in the name of national interests and national security the space for critical thinking and oppositional politics is shrinking for everyone, further empowering the right-wing forces and unleashing violent patriarchal religious zealots everywhere.

I would argue that this supposed "war on terrorism" is, in itself, a new form of terrorism. To see this we need to redefine terrorism to apply the term not only to those who use killing, assassination, and sabotage for specific political ends but also to those who use politically motivated means to terrify, silence, immobilize, and coerce into submission their domestic opponents. And we must stop applying the term terrorist only to those of whose actions we disapprove, not because of the action itself but because of who they are. Then one could say that what we are witnessing today in the United States and in many other places are internal cultural and political campaigns waged by self-righteous states against their own citizens. In the United States, university professors who call on their government to pay closer attention to its own foreign policies that instigate terrorist activities are listed for their supposedly un-American and unpa-

¹ See Neil A. Lewis, "A Nation Challenged: The Senate Hearing, Ashcroft Defends Antiterror Plan; Says Criticism May Aid U.S. Foes," New York Times, December 7, 2001, 1.

² John V. Whitbeck, an international lawyer, considers terrorism as a wholly subjective term and argues that the choice about using the word is frequently based not on the act itself but on who is doing it to whom. See John V. Whitbeck, "Terrorism': The Word Itself Is Dangerous," Global Dislagues 4(2):59–65.

triotic stance, and a pro-Israel think tank tries to intimidate critics of the politics of the U.S. and Israeli governments by creating a "Campus Watch" Web site and listing "dossiers" for university professors and teachers. In Canada, you can be criticized and abused by the media because of your critical views of U.S. foreign policy, as was the case of Professor Sunera Thobani in British Columbia.

Ironically, this so-called war on terrorism has created even more hostile situations for oppositional politics in countries that are assumed to be enemies of the United States. In Egypt, one can be convicted and put in prison for taking a critical stance against the government, as has been the case for Professor Ibrahim at American University in Cairo and his colleagues. In Iran, speaking out against one's own government has always been a high-risk undertaking. The individual who voices opposition can simply disappear.

Within this context, I fear that the tragedy of September 11 has created conditions to shrink the space for counterpatriarchal struggle for those of us who are committed to social justice and gender equity in our societies, both within the Middle East and in diaspora. In the West, Middle Eastern women are caught up in overt and covert racist practices and policies such as the tightening of immigration policies, border controls specially targeting Middle Eastern potential migrants, and other exclusionary practices3 as well as the anti-Muslim and anti-Islam propaganda by governments and the media in the West. At the same time, Middle Eastern women are pressured by members of their communities, who see women's challenges to traditional male-centered cultural and religious values and practices as ill-timed, misguided, and in the service of imperialism.

In Middle Eastern societies, feminist challenges face greater obstructions. The authoritarian regimes and self-aggrandizing political and religious leaders have found the best excuse for silencing all oppositional forces, including feminists, in the name of resistance to U.S. aggression and Western political and cultural hegemony. The new war on citizens has caused further tightening of the sphere for women as it drives women's movements in Islamic cultures underground, and it is these movements, perhaps more than any others, that need access to an open public sphere. Altogether, the "war on terrorism" has proved to be a cultural and political

The most recent example of this is the enactment of the Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act by the U.S. Congress in April 2002. The act prohibited the admission of people from Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and North Korea, despite the fact that so far the individuals accused of terrorism in the United States are from Egypt, Sandi Arabia, and Pakistan. The list has since expanded to include people from other Middle Eastern countries.

disaster that feeds on violence and breeds greater violence. It must be challenged.

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Exception as Rule: Profile of Exclusion

Sunera Thobani

merica's response to September 11, the war on terrorism, marks a new phase in the exclusion of people of color from the Western liberal democratic project. Even as the war is presented to the world as a defense of democratic rights and freedoms, the U.S. administration is institutionalizing racial profiling as a domestic security measure. Liberal democracy makes claims to the equal treatment of individuals before the law, but such profiling singles out individuals as suspicious on the basis of their "race," subjecting them to increased surveillance and control. While such profiling is being lauded as "a valuable tool of law enforcement," it brings to the fore the historically problematic relationship of people of color to Western democracy. Racial profiling reveals, once again, the fundamental character of liberal democracy as a racialized project.

As a modern form of governance, liberal democracy is said to be distinguished by its adherence to law and the juridical order. However, if we agree with Giorgio Agamben that the paradox of sovereignty is that the sovereign stands "at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order" with "the power to suspend the validity of the law," one could argue that September 11 was a moment wherein the sovereign suspended

I would like to thank Sneja Gunew as well as the reviewers and editors for their comments.

¹ John Ibbitson, "Why Racial Profiling Is a Good Idea," Globs and Masil (June 3, 2002). As a number of people have argued, the colonization of abongmal peoples and the englavement of black peoples are major underpinnings of the development of democracy in North America See, e.g., Howard Zinn, A People's History of the United States (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), Ronald Wright, Stolen Continents: The "New World" through Indian Byes (Toronto. Penguin Books, 1990).

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the law in order to introduce a measure previously deemed outside it.² To make racial profiling an acceptable political technique of governance is to inscribe suspicion and illegality onto the bodies of people of color, making it possible, in this case, to round them up on the basis of nothing more substantial than their "looking" like Muslims.

Immediately following September 11, the dangers posed by the "enemy" were said to be most urgent at the nation's territorial borders and, in light of the methods used for the attacks, at flight-training schools and airports. Soon after, foreign students were named as presenting the threat of "Israel-style suicide bombings." Potential sites for future attacks began to encroach into the localized sites of everyday life. Warnings that bridges (San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge and New York's Brooklyn Bridge), stadiums, and other public buildings were possible targets were followed by officials investigating scuba shops ("various terrorist elements have sought to develop an offensive scuba diver capability"). Now warnings have been issued that apartment buildings and shopping malls are potential targets. The Justice Department and the Office of Homeland Security are seeking to recruit millions of "American" workers to report suspicious

² See Giorgio Agamben, Homo Sacer: Seversign Power and Bare Lefe, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 15 While racial profiling has been used by the police to target black people in the United States since the launching of the war on drugs in the 1980s, the practice was still largely considered to be illegal. A further suspension of the law can be witnessed at the international level when the United Nations's formulation of a response consistent with the principles of international law was completely bypassed by the Bush administration.

The United States has adopted an entry-exit registration system that targets the entry of individuals from thirty-five Muslim and Middle Eastern countries. See John Ibbitson, "U.S. Plans to Step Up Scrutiny of Visitors," Globs and Mail (June 6, 2002), Al, Al5. Although it seeks to target only those individuals "whose background warrants suspicion" for photographing and fingerprinting, by explicitly including all individuals from these thirty-five countries the system in actuality defines all these individuals as suspect. The mere fact of coming from a Muslim background makes entire communities suspect and defined as a potential threat to the national security of the United States. Included in such profiling will also be individuals whose origins are from these countries but who are Canadian citizens.

⁴ Doug Saunders, "U S. Issues Warnings on Terrorism," Globe and Mail (May 21, 2002).

Kenneth Weise, "U.S. Quizzing Scube Shops in Hunt for Terrorists," Vancouver Sun (June 12, 2002).

^{*} Riad Saloojee, executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (Canada), reports being told by a landlord that he should "understand" if the landlord was "reluctant" to rent to a Muslim. See Riad Saloojee, "Why We Must Say No to Profiling," Globe and Mail (June 10, 2002)

activities. What was initially presented as a threat at the nation's territorial borders has now become a threat within the nation's body, and surveillance has shifted to the localized sites where people of color live out their lives, that is, the malls where they shop and the apartments in which they live. Every "American" has been put on guard, called to alertness against an insidious enemy said to be operating everywhere. The sovereign is mobilizing its nation through, and into, a decidedly racialized animus: racism from "above" is calculatedly stoking the flames of racism from "below." Vigilance against those who "look" like Muslims has become the most urgent civic duty. Indeed, some patriots are even zealously seeking out training from "antiterrorist tutors" to prepare themselves adequately for the task.9 Lest one conclude that racial profiling is an issue only in the United States, it should be noted that it is also being institutionalized within Canada. 10 Immigration and refugee laws in particular are said to have made Canada a "terrorists' haven."11 It is seen as "second" only "to [the] U.S. for terrorist infiltration."12

Introduced as an extraordinary measure dictated by an emergency, racial profiling is being institutionalized into everyday life. Although state agencies seem to be using it mainly to target men—women are most often seen as tools of these men and not as "terrorists" themselves—its fully gendered consequences are yet to unfold. Such profiling does not distinguish between those people of color who are born in North America, those who are citizens, and those who are here for temporary purposes.

⁷ The Justice Department and the secretary of the U.S. Office of Homeland Security were going to introduce a program called the Terronsm Information and Protection System in ten U.S. cities in Angust 2002. See John Ibbitson, "Monitoring Plan under Fire in U.S.," Globe and Mail (July 18, 2002). Discussed extensively in the media, this plan has since been put on hold

⁸ The U.S. Office of Homeland Security uses a "color-coded domestic security system" to issue warnings to put Americans on alert. For a fuller discussion of this system, see John Ibbitson, "New Colour-Coded System Puts Americans on Yellow Alert," Globe and Mail (March 13, 2002)

⁹ Miro Certenig, "Patriot Games," Globe and Mail (April 13, 2002).

¹⁰ Guidelines were issued to immigration officials in late September identifying particular groups for increased scrutiny. New Canadian and U.S. "Integrated Cross-Border Enforcement Teams" have also been set up. See Allison Dunfield, "Canada, U.S. Beef Up Border Security Teams," Globs and Mail (July 23, 2002).

¹¹ See Colin Freeze, "Canada Tarred Again as Haven for Terrorists," *Globe and Mail* (April 26, 2002); and also Editorial, "Canada Must Stop Being a Terrorist's Haven," *Vancester Sun* (n.d.).

David Bly, "Canada 'Second to U.S for Terrorist Infiltration," Vancouver Sun (May 27, 2002)

African Voices on September 11: Introduction

Oblome Nnaemeka

The West is quite ecumenical in its choice of enemies.

—Noam Chomsky¹

uring the month-long maneuvering to tender or not to tender the U.S./British second resolution regarding the war against Iraq, many U.S. television pundits as well as academics scoffed at the idea of African countries like Cameroon, Angola, and Guinea casting votes that might influence U.S. foreign policy. Some Americans condescendingly declared the United Nations irrelevant partly because of its ridiculous system of according Security Council voting power to Lilliputian countries of no consequence such as Guinea, Cameroon, and Angola. Some were bemused by the fact that Dominique de Villepin, the French foreign minister, jetted off to Africa to lobby the three African countries (Secretary of State Powell was in Washington "working the phones," we were informed). The three African countries in the Security Council remained uncommitted out of fear of the aftermath of the war of the titans. Coming out of a Security Council meeting, an Angolan diplomat told reporters that his country remained uncommitted because it knew full well that when two elephants fight, it's the grass that suffers.

The September 11 attacks and their aftermath drive home to Africa its marginalization and, more specifically, the nature of the marginalization. From colonialism through development to globalization, the discourse on Africa has had at its core more interest in materiality than in humanity. The exploitation and appropriation of Africa's natural resources and wealth supersede any consideration of the human worth of the continent. Africans, not Africa's resources, remain the focus of the marginalization. If African lives mattered, could the United States have averted the September

Noam Chomsky, 9-II (New York: Seven Stories, 2001), 21
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11 attacks? This is a central question some of the contributors to this section are asking as they bring to the discussion the fundamental issue of the marginalization of Africa in general and Africans in particular. The warning signs of a catastrophe were there, but the United States did not heed them fully because they happened to "those people over there."

The Clinton administration's bombing of the al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan in August 1998 in pursuit of the bin Laden network is instructive. Sudan's demand for a UN inquiry into the bombing was effectively blocked by the United States. The consequences of the bombing went far beyond the number of people who died at the scene. The al-Shifa plant was the only one in Sudan that manufactured tuberculosis, malaria, and veterinary drugs. The destruction of the plant coupled with sanctions against Sudan led to the deaths of thousands of Sudanese who were denied drugs at affordable prices. According to Noam Chomsky, the al-Shifa plant bombing "also carried severe costs for the people of the United States. . . . Just before the 1998 missile attack, Sudan detained two men suspected of bombing the American embassies in East Africa, notifying Washington. But the United States rejected Sudan's offer of cooperation, and after the missile attack, Sudan 'angrily released' the suspects." In addition, the U.S. administration rejected Sudan's offer of thick files and materials on al Qaeda operatives and their network in different countries because of the United States's "'irrational hatred' of the target of its missile attack."2

The 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and the U.S. missile attack in Sudan resulted in thousands of deaths for which compensations and reparations were not paid, as was the case after the September 11 attacks. An equal outrage at the loss of thousands of African lives could have provoked a sustained crackdown on al Qaeda that might have helped to avert the September 11 catastrophe.

The United States of America is a humane society, as evidenced by the outpouring of sympathy and donations after the September 11 bombings. What Africans are asking is that the humaneness be stretched to the point where an American life is equal to a Kenyan, Sudanese, or Tanzanian life. The United States is currently the undisputed superpower. The challenge to the United States is how to use its power not to generate fear but to gain admiration and respect. Samuel Huntington argues that culture (not class) will be the central organizing principle of a post—Cold War, mul-

tipolar, multicivilizational global politics.⁸ Respect for cultural diversity, difference, and dissent is our collective responsibility for ensuring a more peaceful coexistence.

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Samuel Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York: Samon & Schuster, 1996).

The Fashion of Democracy: September 11 and Africa

Omofolabo Ajayi-Soyinka

We have to ensure there is no possibility of these attacks creating negative consequences whereby the development issues we have been grappling with for decades are sidelined to the margins of global agenda. The countries of the world must simultaneously deal decisively with terrorism and effectively address and defeat poverty and underdevelopment.

-President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, October 3, 20011

he spirit of patriotism and love of democracy among Americans have remained steadfast, waxing even more strongly since the September 11, 2001, attacks. There could not have been a better vindication of the stance taken by President Bush and Congress when they declared soon after the attacks that the American way of life would not change. However, in practical terms, and especially as the Bush administration embarks on the war on terrorism, much has changed. From airport checks to color-coded terror alerts to antiterrorist measures that profile specific ethnic/national groups and organizations, nothing is the same any more; the material aspect of the American way of life and the democratic process have indeed changed. It is precisely this shift in the democratic process that has the most negative impact on Africa.

Immediately following the attacks, African heads of states sent messages of support and sympathy to the United States and the families of the

¹ Quoted in World Report, 2002: Africa Overview, Human Rights Watch, 2002, 4. Available at http://www.hrw.org/wr2k2/africa.html.

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victims, although there was a remarkable silence over the U.S.-led attack to dislodge prime terrorist suspect Osama bin Laden and his Taliban hosts from Afghanistan. South Africa waited more than a day before commenting that it preferred to monitor developments before making a comprehensive statement. When other African nations eventually reacted, it was with many reservations and qualifications. Speaking for his country, Prime Minister Abderrahmane Youssoufi of Morocco said, "If we've been understanding about the need for retaliation, we hope this won't lead to a spillover which could have bad results." He was concerned that reprisals do not "extend to regions that don't deserve to be hit." Sudan, already on the U.S. list of terrorist nations, characterized the war as aggression on Muslim peoples. Echoing Thabo Mbeki, quoted above, President Mamadou Tandja of Niger feared that the war on terror would sideline renewed concerns for Africa's development and war on poverty, stating, "With all that is happening, Africa could be forgotten."

The Islamic leaders in West Africa categorically called on the United States to change its foreign policy, stating more bluntly what the African heads of states had been trying to couch in diplomatic-speak. There is no doubt that the Muslim leaders spoke the minds of many Africans. During a trip to Kenya in November 2001, for example, I found Kenyans, from the cosmopolitan Nairobi to the sleepy Eldoret, readily comparing the September 11 terrorist attack on the United States with the one they suffered when the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed just a year earlier. They were particularly bitter that, although only twelve Americans died as compared with the more than two hundred Kenyans lost in that explosion, the U.S. government behaved as if Kenyan (or Tanzanian) lives did not matter. They wondered why the United States was now throwing the whole world into a panic to capture bin Laden when they knew all along he was behind the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. Indeed, I wonder how many Americans remember that any African country was bombed and that hundreds of Africans lost their lives because bin Laden wanted to strike against America.

Relations between the United States and many African nations have been on a roller coaster of contradictions. Charges of imperialism and political intrusion are leveled against the United States, while the United States vacillates between condescending attention and diplomatic snobbery. A recent example was when the United States withdrew its delegation from the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xen-

² Quoted in Agence Prance-Press, Abuja, Nigeria (October 8, 2001).

Quoted in Agence France-Prace, Paris, France (October 9, 2001)

ophobia, and Related Intolerance held in South Africa from August 31 to September 8, 2001. By contrast, the Europeans, who were once active slave traders and colonial imperialists, stayed and arrived at some dialogue with African participants and other UN member nations at the conference.

The post-World War II era saw the United States rising as a formidable force in world affairs, just as Africans began seriously agitating for self-rule and an end to colonial imposition. The departure of colonial powers created a vacuum, and, not surprisingly, the United States moved in to fill the vacuum, armed with direct inducements, such as the development aid packages and cultural ambassadorship of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), or indirect inducements, through large contributions to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Globalization started much earlier than when it became a buzzword in popular discourse. Ostensibly, political interference and intervention had no part in this fledging relationship, but in the increasingly chilly atmosphere of the cold war (and nuclear arms race), it was not only deemed inevitable, it was imperative. Like the United States, the former Soviet Union did not colonize any African nation, but the struggle for independence provided an entry point for a promising relationship. To many African freedom fighters, the labor-centered, worker-focused Marxist doctrine of the communist countries proved an attractive alternative to Western colonization, much to the consternation of the Western allies. Divisions were fueled among nationalists and freedom fighters to counter the threat of communism in Africa, with the result that, both during independence struggles and in postindependence times. Africa became the hotbed of the East/West cold war. Invariably, the hard-won self-determination of African nations was lost, or at best compromised, in the tussle between the two world powers of the time. Like their political ideologies, the postindependence economies of these nations were not (and are still not) Africa-centered but beholden to either capitalism or communism.

In the spirit of the cold war, the United States, the champion of democracy, connived actively to maintain and sustain several African despotic rulers in power. Any ruler threatened with criticism and calls for reformation needed only cry "communist agitators" for the United States to rush to that ruler's aid and crush the opposition. One of the most scandalous cases was Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), who at the peak of his power was reputed to be the fifth richest man in the world. Mobutu presided over the poorest nation and was secure in his power despite numerous formidable oppositions until mounting criticism forced the United States to withdraw its patronage of his regime. He swiftly fell from power and went into exile.

Beyond such cold war-driven interventions, whatever dialogue existed between the United States and African nations was in a donor-recipient context, and donor United States laid the ground rules for the humble nation recipient. Although some efforts to improve relationships were made under U.S. presidents such as Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, there was no consistency. Hence, it came as no surprise when President George W. Bush stated dismissively during his campaign, "while Africa may be important, it doesn't fit into the national strategic interests as far as I can see them."

The irrelevance of African nations to the United States underwent a dramatic review after September 11, 2001. As the United States prepared to hit back with all its power and pain, it needed worldwide support. It needed to go beyond its traditional Western allies or world power-broker colleagues in the Group of Eight (G8). Yet the old distrust lingered even though Secretary of State Colin Powell undertook some damage control when he stated that the United States "cannot ignore any place in the world, Africa is a huge continent in great need—so we have to be engaged."

In the continuing war against terrorism, especially in its ever-expanding preventive measures, the United States has had to reach out to strategic African nations. The troubling question is, at what cost are these cooperations achieved? According to the Human Rights Watch report of 2002, Ethiopia, one of the cooperative African countries, has been "rewarded with generous aid packages" in spite of its poor human rights record, especially its violent repression of minorities. Condoleeza Rice, the national security adviser, was quick to point out that the United States would ensure that these alliances distinguished "between legitimate dissent or legitimate movements for the rights of minorities, and the fact that there may be international terrorism in various parts of the world." However, past records of U.S. dealings with Africa, coupled with the high stakes of national honor and preservation, justify any skepticism this assurance or any other might raise.

As I observed in the beginning, several antiterrorist measures such as the Terrorist Information and Prevention System (TIPS) and the USA PATRIOT Act gnaw away at the much-cherished American democratic

⁴ Presidential candidate George W. Bush made thus statement during his interview on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) program, *The NewsHeur with Jim Labrer*, on February 16, 2000 See also CNN, "Democracy in America," 2000 (available at http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2000/democracy/bigger.picture/bush.gore/).

Duoted in World Report, 2002. Africa Overview, 44.

⁶ Ibid., 46

⁷ Ibid

process and concept of freedom. Many critics, from members of Congress (Republicans as well as Democrats) to concerned citizens, have pointed out the dangers embedded in these policies, but supporters of the Bush administration justify them based on national security. Snap! These rationalizations sound too close to the ways in which many African rulers legitimized the abuses they inflicted on their people. If the greatest democracy on earth finds it expedient in terms of national security to compromise its fundamental principles of democracy and freedom of speech and movement, what prevents African nations from sacrificing democracy at the altar of much-needed development aids—which ultimately will once again translate as national security?

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After September 11: Truth in the Nebula of Global Politics

Chimalum Nwankwo

o better sentiment comes to mind than Matthew Arnold's in his simple but pithy great poem "Dover Beach." The fruits of science and technology have brought so much hope to the world that were there to be a commensurate peace on earth, our diverse humanity would be thriving in some great blaze of beauty. Sadly, there is only paltry contemplation of the great relationship between beauty and the complexity of diversity. Cultural formations and some of the activities that arise from formations like the Olympics speak that truth as clearly as the cosmic system, but this is hardly ever recognized. And so global politics increasingly becomes a great nebula in which all sorts of forces are jostling and colliding painfully with each other. What should be a saving truth lies inert in our consciousness. And for joy or love or light, we have chosen pain and strife and blood and terror.

Today the word *terror* has become an unfortunate casualty of the same kind of sensibility that has polluted the word *truth* in our world of parallax visions driven by either clandestine or incoherent motives. September 11 has become a lurid cosmohistorical sign hiding other signs of human destiny in its strange glow. Many of us bow to that sign in fear and awe,

afraid to approach it, afraid to read it, except in terms in which the political system, its hierarchy, and its allies read it. The dictionary definitions of terror threaten our comfort. Other meanings might contradict us and also threaten our comfort. And since even history, past and present, might contradict us, we are content, for our comfort's sake, to stay away from contradictory cognitions or recognitions.

It requires no extraordinary courage or vision to recognize and accept one fact in human history at all times. To one extent or another, we all accept that historical process is dialectical. That it is dialectical implies some degree of revolution. We also recognize that there is no revolution without terror. And there is no terror without want, without a desire to satisfy one form of lack or another. To keep something this axiomatic clear, one is compelled to insist that terror could be psychological as often and as much as it is violent. The indisputable common denominator is that a lack or desire drives people who do not have to make demands of people who have. For all intents and purposes, some new or fresh things are being demanded to replace some other old things. It is because something has to bend that when we think of revolutions we count together the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the French and the American or the Bolshevik Revolutions. We count the various wars of independence from control by imperial and colonial powers. We count feminism.

By proffering all these, I am simply suggesting that for us to approach September 11 and read that sign more carefully and more usefully, we need to first divest our fears to demythicize the sign. Unless this is done, the ruling tendency in our attitudes toward that momentous sign will prevail. September 11 was the dastardly act of people who hate America and America's great values, and to reject that logic will erroneously remain the response of haters of America and lovers of human tragedy. Supposing we read those suicidal pilots as tragic characters or simply as "evildoers." And supposing we compelled ourselves to try for a moment to understand why suicide and evil suddenly win one's appeal. The clear fact is that we are likely to realize that to give up living has much to do with loss of faith and meaning in the quality of life. What do we do next? What to do is to find out why and how people lose faith in life. But again, we are not likely to do that unless we accept that those tragic characters or "evildoers" are also human beings like us. If they are human beings like us, then there must be reasons why the dastardly choice became a great appealing choice. This is a terribly difficult logic for America and for those whose innocent relatives were victims of the September 11 tragedy. Since this logic is bitter and unpalatable to many, let us for a moment close all our senses and pretend that we are shouting into a void. Nobody hears us. Nobody can harm us because of our ideas. Supposing such guarantees are possible, you are likely to listen more carefully to the following bitter pills of truth.

That morning of terror dawned on us because some people who share this planet with the rest of us believe that the United States refuses to concede a fair share to them. To transmute one's self into such consciousness and think like those people is very easy for many who come from the so-called third world and Africa. And it must be seen as a useful transmutation worthy of study or reflection. Africans look at the U.S. reaction to September 11 and become more frightened and despondent over the thing called power and the privileged powerful. Anger is understandable, but there is always a way in which that anger is expressed and sympathy evaporates and fear takes over. Do we not all associate the great American writer Ernest Hemingway with "grace under pressure"? There is no grace in any sort of vengeance executed in haste, especially in the light of the multifarious attitudes and active propensities that mark international relations. Read backward now. We hear of the accidental destruction due to false intelligence information of innocent lives in Afghanistan in the ongoing campaign to destroy or rein in the remnants of al Qaeda and Taliban agents of repression and terror. In some cases, the families of victims receive compensation of one or two thousand dollars. In another case, the U.S. government begins with denials and then progresses to smooth diplomatic explanations before grudgingly admitting crror.

We hear of the attractive and tempting suggestion to destroy Saddam Hussein. The discussion always proceeds as if that leader were a mere fly to be swatted. We hear of the partisan decision that for peace in Palestine, Yasser Arafat must go. And we wonder where the touted democratic processes endorsed by this great country reside. We see the president of the United States standing unabashedly and without scruples behind the hawkish policies of Ariel Sharon with regard to the inevitable creation of a Palestinian state and wonder aloud about the meaning of the word truth and its corollaries of peace and justice. We hear stories of the fight against AIDS, with the United States being at the fore of countries that refuse to allow cheap generic drug production for blighted African countries, or of its offering only tokens miserably disproportional to U.S. power. We hear that the United States will recuse itself from UN peacekeeping operations because it does not want U.S. soldiers subjected to the rules of the International Criminal Court. And whenever the G8 nations assemble to deliberate over debt forgiveness for troubled third-world countries, the United States stands firm against such humane gestures. Consider the

staggering disparities between the limp attention to the multifarious problems bedeviling Africa and the robust attention to the rehabilitation of the defunct former Soviet states and those in the Middle East, especially Israel, and one wonders about the reasons or motives behind those attitudes. And all this from the humane midwife of the great and universally acclaimed Fulbright Foundation and the noble Peace Corps. Such befuddling contradictions! It really seems as if some humans are more human than others and some blood definitely more ruddy than others when we sit down to contemplate the comity of nations. What else can one say about such an endless catalog of neglect and political disdain?

It is boring and inane to harass the sensibilities and intelligence of people the world over on the troubled and tragic history of the African continent and its diaspora. Some of that tragic history was partially scripted by Western powers, and is still being scripted. But that is not the issue here. If it does become the issue, we will be distracting each other with tales of complicity, recrimination, and exculpation. The real issue today is that technology has finally shrunk our planet in terms of human contact. The historically conquered are living with the conquerors.

Communication shows us all each other's innards. We can hide from neither our respective wealth nor poverty. One country's headache if not immediately attended to very quickly becomes another country's and indeed everybody else's headache. A cyber-thief or corporate rogue in London or Washington is capable of wreaking economic and varied havoc in Nigeria or Kenya, and vice versa. One disease here affects or spreads to other people(s) on the other side of the continent. Wall Street crashes or the Japanese stock market collapses, and the economic crises and their tremors are felt in human terms all over the globe. That is how September 11 became a sign, and a sign that was instantaneously branded not just on the American consciousness but on the consciousness and indeed the conscience of humanity.

Vengeance will not do. Power and the bluster of power will not do. The gory masquerade of firepower and ugly rhetoric behind national insignias and flags will not do. No one knockout power is good enough for the human crises of today. What the whole world needs is the moral courage with which to go closer to the high-voltage beam of anger and frustration and sadness that marks that appropriately named Ground Zero of September 11. We must begin to learn to forget the awe and fear of the experience and study the sign more carefully to see whether perchance what we need collectively is thoughts of equity. In the nebula of global politics, on that darkling plain of humanity's sometimes strange transac-

tions, truth is smothered somewhere. Why was there global outrage, for instance, following that strike of terror?

Despite the blemishes in U.S. foreign policy and its seeming tendency to see the underdog through a blurry squint, why was there global condemnation? I daresay it is because so many in this so various world felt that beautiful dynamo in the heart of humanity threatened. September 11, if carefully studied and understood, is therefore a sign that should help us see each other more clearly. It is the millennial sign of the final calculus of the human spirit.

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African immigrants and the Aftermath of September 11: Historical and Political Lessons

A. B. Assensoh Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh

he national and international news media have devoted a lot of attention to the terrorist events of September 11, 2001, often featuring stories about the victims, the families they have left behind, and the impact on the economy as well as on civil and constitutional rights. Missing from much of the discussion, however, is a thorough examination of how African immigrants and African Americans were affected by the attacks. Such an exclusion is no surprise, as scholars have indicated that American media typically fail to include blacks in both the daily and important representations of mainstream American life and culture. Our contribution explores the experiences of African immigrants since the terrorist attacks of September 11. Specifically, we examine how, subsequently, the prevailing immigration experiences have indirectly affected African victims and their families, the

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Brightte Nacce and Natasha Hritzuk, The Pertrayal of Black America in the Mass Media: Perception and Reality (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
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extent to which African victims of the events of that date have equal access to available charitable resources, and the impact of anti-immigrant sentiments on the overall treatment of African immigrants.

According to Leslie Goffe, a correspondent with New African Magazine, "a lot of immigrants died in the attacks of September 11. It has been estimated that a full third of those killed in the three World Trade Center buildings came from overseas. African-American victims are also said to be in the hundreds."2 Apparently, the fates of all men and women—regardless of their skin color, socioeconomic status, race, or creed-are often intertwined in many ways. However, when one reviews the photos of the terrorist events, their victims, and the families left behind, there are very few faces of African descent. In fact, if not for evidence that proves otherwise, mainstream media depictions would have led one to believe that very few people of African descent were among those affected by the events of September 11. Yet it is a fact that the victims were of varied ethnic-cum-racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. Goffe pointed out that "although no official figure has been released, [early] estimates from African [diplomatic] consulates in New York suggest that hundreds of Africans are, so far, numbered among the dead. The only reason why the number of African victims of the September 11 attacks might be smaller than anticipated is the exact circumstance in which each victim obtained his or her job in the United States." Chika Onyeani of the New York-based African Sun Times pointed out that "figuring out just how many Africans perished will be difficult because so many of those who worked there [at the World Trade Center or WTC towers] as laborers were illegal immigrants."3

In addition to the problems that individual families and victims have so far encountered is the larger question of how African immigrants and all people of African descent are being treated in the wake of the attacks of September 11. Immediately after the attacks, African-American men wryly commented on the fact that law enforcement officials had moved away from the profiling of African, African-American, and Latino people to people of Arab and Indian descent. Others, however, argue that the terrorism legislation, as well as the new proposed Department of Homeland Security, are retrogressive in nature as they would eventually take away many of the rights and freedoms for which blacks and other U.S. minorities have fought relentlessly.

² Leslie Goffe, "Black Victims of September 11," New African Magazine (November 2001). 13.

³ Chika Onyeani, "Africans and the 9/11 Deaths," African Sun Times, December 15, 2001, 1.

For example, security has generally been tightened across the whole United States, and measures have been put in place that might restrict individual freedoms. Many concerned citizens of African descent share the views of New York University professor Manthia Diawara: "I don't think Africans here should surrender to what has been happening since September 11th. The [American] right wing is taking advantage of this tragedy to reinforce an old agenda, tightening immigration into the US, restriction on human rights and increased racial profiling, or using race to decide whether to stop and search a suspect. I think these are bigger threats to Africans in this country than what bin Laden may do."

Many Americans, it seems, have quickly forgotten the terrorist attacks of August 7, 1998, on U.S. citizens and installations in Tanzania and Kenya. The Kenyan attacks alone claimed 244 lives and injured about five thousand people, most of whom were Africans. Although the U.S. government allocated \$37 million through USAID to rehabilitate the destroyed buildings and pay the medical bills of the victims, only \$9 million was set aside for medical bills. Several Kenyans have yet to receive any part of these funds. Two U.S. lawyers, Gerald Sterns and John Buriss, have sued the U.S. government on behalf of the Kenyan victims, seeking compensation that, reportedly, runs into millions of dollars. Professor Peter Anyang Nyong'o, a member of the Kenyan Parliament, was so infuriated by the nonpayment of the expensive medical bills of the Kenyan victims of the 1998 bombings that he publicly queried: "If the U.S. government can give prompt attention to inanimate objects like buildings, why can't even more attention be paid to human beings [as victims of the Kenyan and Tanzanian bombing]?"5

In large measure, what happened in the United States on September 11, 2001, should serve as a yardstick with which various human relationships among all races in and outside of the United States are measured because families were disrupted in black, white, immigrant, and other ethnic communities. Indeed, Reverend Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, a civil rights veteran, put it axiomatically when he compared terrorism among ethnic and racial groups in the United States: "We [Blacks] have known it [terrorism]. We've seen [terrorists] in white sheets. We've seen the bombing of churches. As a result, Blacks are in a position to teach the country how

⁴ Quoted in Goffe, 12.

Quoted in John Kamau, "Still Watting for Compensation," New African Magnetine (November 2001): 3.

to deal with terrorism and how to go forward in spite of it because we have shown a disciplined approach to terrorism.⁷⁶

In spite of all of the foregoing bitter experiences that have emanated from terrorist events, the best antidote to any form of terrorist attacks is a revisit of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s words of wisdom, which urged all men and women of goodwill that returning hate multiplies hate. It would also be helpful if societies in and outside of the United States adhered to the civil rights leader's preaching on the redemptive power of love and love in action. In doing so, all societies may have the mechanism and patience to deal with terrorist activities in better ways than seeing them as only violent or hateful events that must be met with violence and equal hate.

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Ouoted in Joy Bennett Kinnon, "Here Is to a Heartfelt Goodbye," Elony (September 2001): 32.

The Unfolding North/South Relationship: Africa in the Scheme of Things

Michael C. Mbabulke

Everyone's Catastrophe: The slaughter in the USA creates more economic and political problems for Africans.

—Africa Confidential¹

he horrific attack of September 11, 2001, must not be seen simply as a unique and direct attack on the United States, the only superpower in the international system; it has to be viewed conceptually in its complexities as a tragic occurrence affecting all peoples of the world. Among the many consequences of the terrorist attacks of September 11 are the further victimization of Africa and the further polarization of the world

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between those who are concerned with the survival of our humanity and civilization and those who want to destroy them. For Africa, the catastrophe of September 11 remains a precarious crossroads of the twenty-first century.

Two major developments unquestionably affecting the future of Africa are the end of the cold war and the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. At first glance, the two may appear distinct and separate in terms of Africa's relatively passive role in the international system. Passivity is meant here to reflect the geopolitical reality that Africa is almost always acted on in world politics. The superpowers assured this state of affairs during the cold war as Africa attempted to recover from colonialism; the United States reinforced it during the post–cold war period under its brand of unilateralism.

But one must at least acknowledge Africa's rhetorical and symbolic protest in the scheme of geopolitics: whether in the form of defiance of stringent structural adjustment requirements from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank, or the United States and Europe's insistence on a totally free market at the expense of Africa's fledgling local economies, or Western demands for multiparty democracy, or, more recently, whether Africa is characterized as a haven for terrorists, especially after September 11, 2001. The point that hardly needs emphasizing in these cases and others is that Africa consistently plays a peripheral role in a highly asymmetrical international system.

Africa's dire state of economic dependency, poverty, and political instability—and a host of other problems—is the common denominator linking its marginalized position in the cold war and the post—cold war world and now its unenviable label as a weak strategic link in the fight against terrorism. There is a perverse sense in which John Mearsheimer's article, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," may sound like music to the nostalgic ears of those who view Africa's situation in the bipolar international order as the "relatively good old days" when the superpowers maintained international peace and the world was reasonably stable despite numerous low-intensity conflicts. Africa still maintained its tertiary status, they argue, but at least it was listened to somewhat more seriously and had a symbolic presence in the international order. Nostalgia seekers rightly argue that Africa has generally retrogressed since the end of the cold war and that the attack on the United States could influence the West to cast a jaundiced eye on the continent with its huge Muslim population.

The emergence of the United States as the sole superpower with un-

² John Mearsheimer, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," Atlantic Monthly 226, no. 2 (1999). 35-45.

ilateralist inclinations has enormous implications for Africa. Part of Africa's core concern since September 11, 2001, is that the United States has taken a simplistic dualistic view of the world as one characterized by a "clash of civilizations" and values between two competing worlds: Islam and Christianity. Such thinking and the resultant policies put the African continent with its majority Islamic population well into the eye of the terrorist storm.

The paradigm creates a double-edged sword of reward and punishment. Those predominantly Islamic African countries that make significant strides toward secular values, governments, and societies are rewarded with a modicum of access to U.S. markets for their cottage-industry goods and agricultural products. They also receive U.S. blessings for World Bank and IMF loans as well as limited bilateral aid and economic investment. Part of the intention of this apparent generosity—especially in poverty-stricken sub-Saharan Africa—is to encourage recipients to act as role models for secular change throughout the continent.

The other side of the sword is precisely what concerns many African governments—different levels of conforming to U.S. foreign policy. Those countries with a relatively strong Islamic bent are automatically seen as actual or potential terrorist threats and are closely watched. Countries whose populations are more or less evenly divided between Christians and Muslims are delicately viewed with concern in the context of regional stability and possible clandestine support for terrorism. Part of the concern is that most African governments lack the resources and national loyalty beyond tribe and religion to quell any major uprisings. A potential threat of a tilt toward Islam, as in the case of the Ivory Coast, is watched closely. The domino effect is very much feared. Those countries on the other side of the sword—seen as possible borderline threats—are kept at bay and benefit little from U.S. largess. The bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania marked the beginning of a serious security interest in Africa and play a critical role in U.S. foreign policy.

Another important implication of U.S. foreign policy for Africa concerns immigration for Africans on the continent and in the African diaspora. It is well known that African emigration to the United States has long been underrepresented relative to that of many other groups. The traditional reluctance to admit large numbers of Africans as tourists, students, or as emigrants has now become somewhat more justified in the eyes of U.S. officials. Some Africans in the diaspora are increasingly insecure about their legal status in the United States if they visit Africa. Stories (whether imagined or real) abound about summary visa rejections and deportations.

The international system is constantly changing. There is no doubt that, for the moment, the United States is the preeminent power and that its power has consequences for Africa and the rest of the third world. Charles Kupchan concurs, in his book The End of the American Era, that "The American era is alive and well, but the rise of alternative centers of power and a declining and unilateralist U.S. internationalism will ensure it comes undone as this new century progresses—with profound geopolitical consequences. . . . America must devise a grand strategy for the transition to a world of multiple power centers now, while it still has the luxury to do so." The opening of Pandora's box has made visible and highly obvious the unrelenting process of change as history moves on. The response of the current superpower to incremental challenges to its undisputed hegemony will determine the nature and pace of change in the historical process. We may very well be entering a new embryonic international order that will push us toward increased peace and stability, or increased insecurity for all. If unilateralism prevails over multilateralism, and if the United Nations and other international institutions become irrelevant, the developing embryonic international order may transform itself into conflict, terror, and insecurity for all.

Perhaps the changing international system may already be highly discernable, as was seen in the steadfast resistance to U.S. policy on Iraq in the UN Security Council. Europe appears to be the emerging challenger. A multipolar international system may very well offer more options to Africa to escape its quagmire, and even stem the tide of its brain drain. Until that time, Africa will continue to be affected in some form by the implications of September 11, 2001.

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³ Charles Kupchan, The End of the American Era (New York: Knopf, 2002).

Women Determine Development: The Unfinished Revolution

he National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York, honors individual women who transcended the boundaries that kept most of the world's women "in their place." Were such a shrine to be endowed at the United Nations, I believe that rather than only individual names engraved in stone, there would also be a long list of groups that have risen above the restraints of colonialism, dictatorships, wars, and global market practices.

The most recent engraving might honor the two thousand Nigerian village women who shut down the operations of Chevron Texaco for two weeks in July 2002. They confounded the authorities, who did not know how to face up to unarmed, determined women who wanted jobs for their children, hospital services, and electricity for their humble homes and their impoverished region. They live surrounded by the abundant wealth of oil and the frequent destructiveness of its drilling. For these women development means more than growth of the gross national product (GNP); it is the freedom to share the riches of their land for the well-being of all its people (IRIN-WA News 2002).

The history of the global women and development movement is about the search for the kind of justice the Nigerian women are pursuing. It is essentially the story of the interweaving of gender issues with development issues, like threads that form the warp and woof of a fabric. It has deep roots, but its setting as a global movement is the aftermath of World War II, the 1950s, and the early 1960s, when fifty-four former colonies that were home to 28 percent of the world's population became independent nations. The excitement that I shared in East Africa was tangible for long-colonized peoples who believed that self-rule would bring better lives.

The preindependence experience and the economic focus that followed

I am grateful to Obioma G. Nnaemeka for our meeting in Kampala when she proposed that I write this article, and for her gentle but forthright critiques of early drafts, and to Nancy Sullivan Murray, my patient and creative editor. The editors of Signs were excellent.

would foster the birth of another profound transformation: worldwide consideration of women not just as objects of maternal and child health care, as in the 1950s and 1960s, but also as active agents of economic productivity and social and political change. In my view that transformation, seldom celebrated, needs far greater recognition in women's history than it has had.

Although women and development, the term used in the 1960s and 1970s, was modified to gender and development, and a parallel women's human rights thread appeared in the 1990s, the movement's continuity is clear when seen within the wider context of global intellectual and activist trends. And when "justice and fairness for whole societies becomes its common long-term goal," especially "once a universal basis is established that is not predominantly western," the interweaving of gender issues and development issues will be complete (Oloka-Onyango and Tamale 1995, 4).

In this article I invite the reader to view that unfinished revolution as I have known and experienced it for four decades—working worldwide as the first director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) for more than a decade, living and working in Africa for fifteen years, and now as an independent scholar and lecturer. I use the term development to signify people's increased freedom and well-being (Snyder and Tadesse 1995).

Deep roots and early growth

Historically, women laid the roots of their development movement by mobilizing and protesting colonial policies for generations—often to preserve their capacities to provide for their children. Now, in the 1950s, they mobilized, first, for independence struggles—where the extent of their influence is at last beginning to be revealed (Geiger 1997)—and then to debate their own roles in their new nations. The African experience is illustrative. Speaking at a seminar titled "East African Women Look Ahead," independence leader Bibi Titi Mohamed challenged participants: "I feel ashamed that Kenya has no women in parliament, Uganda has no women in parliament. Are we to be satisfied in Tanganyika there are eight women MPs?" (Mohamed 1964).

With a foretaste of the stance developing countries would take a decade later at Mexico City and of today's intersectionality, participants condemned racial hatred and segregation in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and "wherever else it exists in the world" (Mohamed 1964, 12). The seminars were fully democratic, with interpretation in local languages

and, at one stage, the resignation of all the planners—heads of organizations—who then invited me to hold an election for a new committee. Action had also begun at a UN regional office, the Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), that during the 1960s sponsored five seminars with women from its member states. By 1969, UNECA included "the role and participation of women in national development" in its own official program of work, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) began to broaden its work beyond maternal and child health activities.

While this international recognition of women as more than wives and mothers—a truly revolutionary change—gradually grew, the effectiveness of the "modernization" (read Westernization) theory of economic development was failing; governments' macroeconomic policies on GNP growth did not "trickle down" to the poor. Modernization was challenged in the 1960s by dependency theory, whose major thesis was that poor nations were overly dependent on rich ones and consequently postcolonial economic growth must be nation centered. Women's work as farmers and merchants fitted nicely into that framework for self-reliance, and women would soon take the chance to interweave their issues with those concerns.

A hint of what was to come and how it would reveal opportunities for women can be found in the UN's international development strategy for the second development decade—the 1970s—whose theory moved radically away from GNP growth by stressing improvement in peoples' quality of life and contained the phrase "the integration of women in development." The latter was inserted on the suggestion of UN staffer Gloria Scott (Jamaica), a member of the small network of committed women with whom I worked to advance women's concerns in the UN system. In the 1960s also, Sweden, urged on by Parliamentarian Inga Thorsson (Sweden), gave financial support for two senior officers of UNECA's own choosing (I would be the first), who would follow up the decisions of African regional women's conferences. The posts would make possible UNECA's pioneering African Center for Women (ATRCW), which became a model for the world's regions. Women were becoming a development issue, and the first steps were being taken to give an institutional base to the concept.

In summary, four factors interfaced in the 1960s to create the concept and movement "women and development": mounting evidence that women are central to their nations' economic life, the multiplication of the numbers of UN member states, the search for alternatives to "modernization," and the reemergence of the women's movement in industrial

¹ UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/2626/XXV, October 24, 1970

countries.² Because of the latter, Western women would press their governments to include women in foreign assistance programs—as Sweden legislated in 1964 and the United States did in 1973.

A decade of ideas and institution building

The 1970s evolved as a decade of ideas about development proposed by the international community, the Group of 77 developing countries, and by the world's women. The two threads—development and women—would begin to be seen as interwoven and interdependent. Prompted by the postindependence emphasis on economics, women told the world that they were farmers, merchants, and entrepreneurs who needed "a small but regular income for ourselves and our children," as many had insisted to me a decade earlier. Economics thus became the entry point to broad development concerns.

The seldom-mentioned, but first-ever, trailblazing global meeting on women and development was the UN expert group meeting on women in economic development, held in 1972, with its key figures Caribbean economist and Nobel laureate Sir Arthur Lewis and Danish agriculture economist Esther Boserup, whose book Women's Role in Economic Development (1970) helped create constituencies in donor countries. Early in the 1970s, also, a discourse of "basic needs" (food, housing, clothing, and public transport, aided by employment and participation in decision making) and overcoming "relative and absolute poverty" introduced new directions. The International Labour Organization (ILO)'s World Employment Programme (WEP) stressed the informal rather than the macroeconomy, "appropriate" technologies, and education, among other means.

The fledgling women and development movement—including our UNECA team—seized on the new emphasis on people's basic needs and their struggle to survive in the informal economy because it was a near-perfect match with its own concerns. Development finally focused directly on women's work, and planners would have to close their eyes to miss that fact (some did, of course). Rural development then became a major theme, balanced at the national level by "national machineries"—government-

² I use women and development rather than women in development (WID) because the former was used in Africa where I was working in the 1970s, and WID was thought of as Western at the time.

sponsored women's bureaus and commissions. The micro-to-macro connection had begun, though that terminology was not yet in use.

Despite the energy they gave to the development movement, the second development decade strategy and the basic needs concepts of the early 1970s shared a major weakness, in my view. They did not seek structural change to turn the world economy in new directions, toward a more equitable distribution of wealth between nations; they sought it only within nations. Devising a strategy to transform the global economy was left to the developing countries through their Group of 77, which created a New International Economic Order (NIEO) proposal that was finally adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1974. At UNECA's women's center we hastened to weave the missing women's thread with the global development one, to write and discuss The New International Economic Order: What Roles for Women? (UNECA 1977). But the NIEO would never be considered seriously by the rich countries whose new world order was ruled by "market forces." The struggle for ideas and power between the industrial and the newly independent countries surfaced at the UN International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City in 1975. Many readers will remember that, for women steeped in "women's liberation," women's issues at Mexico City were mainly about male-female relationships in the home and in employment.4 "Political issues" about women in the Middle East or in South Africa or about global trade were not welcome. For women of newly independent countries, however, male-female issues could not be rightly resolved while oppression of whole societies-men and women-prevailed. Could women's lives improve while apartheid kept a whole society in bondage? Or when thousands languished in refugee camps? Could women's employment increase while the global economy oppressed poor countries? Global issues were women's issues for what was then called "the third world." Some Northern countries took exception to that view.

There were positive actions at Mexico City, too. Seldom celebrated is that, in effect, participants there designated the 1970s as an institution-

⁸ The government-sponsored women's commissions and bureaus would not always meet women's high and rusing expectations, yet as UNIFEM evaluator F. Joka-Bangura said, "One gets the feeling that if they had not taken up the question of projects for women, no one else would have" (Snyder 1995, 196).

⁴ Western women did, however, support resolutions favoring peasant women, e.g., those about research, training, credit, and rural development. I speak of "women's liberation" while acknowledging that other feminisms were also arising, e.g., in the United States among African Americans and among socialists.

building decade. They recommended the establishment of two new intergovernmental and two new nongovernmental global organizations whose purposes ranged across a spectrum: UNIFEM for financing, the International Training and Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) for research and training, Women's World Banking for credit, and the International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC) for grassroots communications. Each would have its own significance for women's self-understanding and for issues affecting development such as poverty, race, class, and gender. The longevity of the movement women were creating at Mexico City was assured by giving it institutional strength. I was asked to guide UNIFEM in 1978, when it was newly created and called the UN Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women, and it would ultimately thrive as a two-pronged instrument for direct support of women's innovative and experimental activities and to influence and engender major UN funds and programs. To multiply its capacities and reach out to local levels, we immediately paid for two senior positions at each of the UN regional commissions, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America/ Caribbean, and provided each with \$100,000 of operational funds. Mariam Krawczyk of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) told us, "We never would have survived without UNIFEM. It was the first to open the way" (Snyder 1995, 31).

Our consultations with groups such as the Women and Development Unit (WAND) in Barbados and grassroots groups worldwide would make UNIFEM a major innovator in the UN development system in the late 1970s. We had to meet women's needs where they were—in community-based mutual support groups and national civil society organizations—and as they were—prevented from improving their farms and businesses because they had little access to labor, cash, or collateral for loans. Those realities provoked two actions to transform the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and our own financing approaches: grants for revolving loan funds to community groups and direct support to nongovernmental organizations. Although seldom credited to UNIFEM (in fact, they have been mistakenly credited to UNDP), both were exciting breakthroughs for women and for the United Nations itself.

A decade lost but consensus found

In the global scenario, the 1970s was also a decade of economic turbulence: skyrocketing oil prices brought the initial unrepayable debts for poor countries; the East-West conflict framed development assistance; and the West, entering its neoliberal revolution, began to gain greater eco-

nomic control over newly independent but poor countries. These conditions continued in the 1980s as structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank consumed the autonomy of indebted countries, not by colonial-type occupation but by insuring that they give priority to the private over the public sector and to market economy over equity goals. Spending on health and education was devastated, while employment and basic needs goals were expunged. As an African woman commented to me, "We lost a generation of our young people" for whom health and education were not options.

The 1980s, with those neoliberal concepts, including the Washington Consensus, were widely labeled "the lost decade" (Emmerij, Jolly, and Weiss 2001, 77); soon the industrial countries used ten times more for military expenditures than they gave as official aid to the "third world." Issues of poverty, equity, human development, and the NIEO were shoved off the global agenda, and development began its slide from popularity with all but the most committed of donor countries.

The fledgling worldwide women and development movement was rocked by the global versus gender, North versus South divisions first seen at Mexico City, which resurfaced with a vengeance at the Copenhagen conference in 1980, mainly over apartheid and Palestinian issues. But the 1980s were also a time of progress: the first human rights treaty for women, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), was welcomed in 1979 despite the fact that "justice is expensive" in a poor country, as a minister pointed out; CEDAW presaged the women's human rights thread of a decade later.

Conceptually, both capitalism and socialism were found wanting in practice in "The Dakar Declaration on Another Development with Women," which reflected both the broader notion of development and the human-centered basic needs approach of the 1970s (Development Dialogue 1982). Those concepts informed the third global women's conference, convened in Nairobi in 1985, where women of the South were at last ready to speak about male-female relationships, and women of the North, having felt the effects of economic downturn, accepted at last that "nongender" factors adversely affect women's conditions. The standoffs of Mexico City and confrontations of Copenhagen over "women's issues" versus "political issues" faded into history as the movement matured. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (Sen and Grown 1987) underlined the significance of race, class, and nation as well as sex and popularized the term empowerment.

A historical perspective is essential: women and development was still very new in the 1980s. Given the newness of the concept, UNIFEM, like

other development agencies, had to be very flexible and to seek innovative operational strategies rather than the traditional "technical assistance" ones. To reach out to and learn from the rural and poor urban women we were mandated by the UN General Assembly to serve, our first move, as earlier mentioned, had been to strengthen regional and national institutional and leadership capacities.

Those actions brought to light the centrality of government planning. With UNIFEM support, ECLAC published a UN best-seller, Women and Development Planning: Guidelines for Program and Project Planning (Pezzullo 1983), and trained planners. Asia, the South Pacific, and Western Asia also received UNIFEM planning funds. Thoraya Obaid of the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) explained her commission's goal as "to integrate the issues of women, the needs of women, the concerns of women in the overall policies of the governments" (Snyder 1995, 192–93).

The new programmatic approach of UNIFEM looked at our work holistically rather than as a collection of "projects," and its policy framework interwove the priorities of women with those of subregional groups and national and local governments. An illustration from India is Rajasthran State, which selected sericulture for a drought-prone area that needed to enhance family incomes; UNIFEM financed technical training for mulberry cultivation, bought silkworm-rearing equipment, and established a revolving fund for purchasing cocoons. Once the situation was evaluated, people were redirected away from the classic trap of replacing food crops with cash crops, and production was put more firmly into the hands of women farmers; children got to school, and whole families were better fed. This model, which reached five hundred women, was adopted by the World Bank to reach thousands more (Snyder 1995, 128–35).

The concept of women and development was evolving and maturing conceptually to include a broad spectrum called women's issues, and strategically it was growing with regard to the relationship between policy and action, between civil society and government. Development issues and women's issues interfaced.

Simultaneous with those evolutionary steps in the 1980s, the term gender was introduced to the development community by Western scholars. Women and development had made gender and development possible, but the former's image was quickly tarnished by accusations that its work was insignificant, such as "all those small projects." (We heard quite a bit of that at UNIFEM and were curious that such criticism was seldom leveled at microfinance activities valued as low as \$100 or at their male sponsors.) The momentum of the programming approach was abruptly interrupted, re-

grettably, as the controversy captured the energies of many in the activist and academic communities, distracting attention from compelling contemporary issues of globalization, poverty, peace, and ownership of land and water that the women's movement, including its academic wing, is positioned to influence.

The movement broadens and deepens

As one of the many midwives at the birth of the women and development movement in the 1970s, I found the 1990s comparable to our pioneering decade. Based on earlier progress, the movement became more closely entwined with the breadth of human concerns, including economic globalization, grassroots organizing, peacemaking and peacekeeping, and human rights.

Economic globalization followed its unremitting course in the 1990s, led by powerful governments and multinational corporations and using the "trade, not aid" slogan of neoliberalism despite abundant new evidence of the devastating effects of structural adjustment programs on human well-being. Affirming the interdependence of global issues and women's issues in the world economy as first articulated by women of the South at Mexico City in 1975, women of both industrial and developing countries played leading roles in campaigns for economic and social justice such as that of Jubilee 2000, which fought against the unbearable costs of debt service from low-income countries to rich countries and multilateral organizations. Their goal is to make globalization a force for good rather than for greed. To identify the linkages between grassroots activities and the power of global institutions, UNIFEM financed studies of the impacts of trade liberalization on member states of trade treaty organizations such as the Mercado Comun del Sur (MERCOSUR) in Latin America's southern cone and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the Americas.

Also in the economic realm, the gender budget initiative that is ongoing in some forty countries—half of them assisted by UNIFEM—advances beyond the fund's national planning thrust of the 1980s. Challenging us to further action, Tanzania's Marjorie Mbilinyi thoughtfully states that the effectiveness of the gender budgeting effort is constrained because it "lacks a conceptual framework to analyze global capitalism and understand globalization" and needs grounding in a "strong poor peoples' movement" (2001, 22).

Poor peoples' movements did get stronger in the 1990s; in the words of Ela Bhatt of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of India,

"organization is the answer for those who are weak economically or so-cially" (Snyder 1995, 200). Affirming the primacy of capacity building and economic empowerment of poor women, UNIFEM assisted the three hundred thousand—member SEWA and its international partner, Women in the Informal Economy Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), to face economic globalization by connecting informal economy workers in global trade unions and cooperating with the UN statistical division to devise measures for governments to include the vast informal economy in their national accounts. Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood (GROOTS) was also initially assisted by UNIFEM to facilitate cross-country exchanges between low-income community self-help groups that seek to capture globalization's positive potential. Thus even as some of the loan conditions they had to meet wrenched power from borrowing governments, the democracy movement flourished and "civil society" became a buzzword attracting donor support.

The 1990s also saw women's peacemaking and peacekeeping initiatives become an international issue as wars raged in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. A comment by Etweda Cooper of war-torn Liberia about gendered views during wartime is telling: "Men were more prone to say 'Let's go . . . kill them,' and women would say 'Let's go talk to the boys'" (African Women and Peace Support Group 2003). The peace torch of UNIFEM, lit by President Nelson Mandela in South Africa, was carried across Africa and Asia to the World Conference on Women at Beijing in 1995. Then came a crowning achievement: the year 2000 passage of the historic UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security—another UNIFEM-influenced thrust.

Facilitated by the greater individualism of gender and development and unique for its strategies and its several years of careful planning, the campaign "women's rights are human rights" spread like fire, and violence against women became a key issue worldwide. In 1996 UNIFEM, already committed to a rights-based approach and having supported NGOs' use of CEDAW as an advocacy tool, established a trust fund to finance actions to eliminate all forms of violence against women; seventy countries soon benefited. Although it is easily viewed as a specialized component of the more comprehensive women/gender and development movement, women's human rights expressed as "women's rights in development" seems to some observers to be energetically seeking to supersede it; questions are raised about its appropriateness to the situations of women in non-Western cultures (Grewal 1999).

The centerpiece of the idea-filled 1990s, the 1995 Beijing conference marked a new level of solidarity among women, but our unfinished rev-

olution confronts a globalizing opposition in the first years of the millennium: aggressive fundamentalists of all beliefs threaten women's hardwon gains, as do rising militarism and many of the faces of neoliberalism's economic and political globalization.

The unfinished revolution

Viewed from this historic perspective and as a social revolution, the women/gender and development movement, including its recent human rights thread, has made extraordinary progress in its four brief decades. It generated extensive research, raised widespread awareness of women's hefty contributions to economic growth and distribution, helped open a flow of major multi- and bilateral development funds' resources to women, helped women strengthen their organizations and build new local and cross-border ones, supported moves to elect more women to national and local offices, and helped foster worldwide networks and trade unions among scholars and practitioners. Yes, it had—and has—weaknesses (only the dishonest can claim no failures), but there can be no question that it made development—peoples' freedom and well-being—a women's issue and women a development issue. I argue that this growth and evolution was in large part made possible by the foresight of leaders of the 1960s and 1970s for whom institution building to sustain the movement they were creating was a primary concern.

The way has not always been smooth. Despite the support of many male leaders, some powerful ones tried to undermine our institutions. I have vivid memories of how both the African women's center and UNIFEM barely escaped such victimization and eventual demise (Snyder 1995; Snyder and Tadesse 1995). Other obstacles arose from women's own pursuits, such as the rush to "engender the mainstream" that was invested with too much promise and led some of us to neglect or even disparage women-specific institutions that have been and still are the fount of ideas and innovative actions and a source of our collective strength. These experiences should make us cautious about adopting new theories that seek to be all embracing.

Political encounters took their toll: the U.S. government's voluntary contributions to UNIFEM ceased for two years, and then resumed at a lower level following the 1980 Copenhagen conference when the fund was scapegoated as guilty by association with the perceived political excesses of the UN conference and falsely accused of financing the conference that in fact was helped by USAID but not by UNIFEM (Snyder 1995, 59). Only in UNIFEM's earliest years did substantial numbers of U.S. women press hard for a contribution from their government that

would be commensurate with UNIFEM's needs: as recently as 2001, using population figures together with voluntary contributions of governments in dollars to UNIFEM, every Dutch person gave twenty-five cents to UNIFEM, every Norwegian forty-five cents, and it took two Americans to give just one cent!

As women/gender and development evolved, its meaning and the means to attain it have increasingly been defined, broadened, and enriched by its primary stakeholders—women of developing countries, many of whom are young and proficient users of information and communications technologies and some of whom refuse, for cultural reasons, to identify themselves as "feminist" although they are fully committed to the women's cause. Their movements are strong, and some of them connect with global networks. At the same time, a number of women's organizations in the North have lost momentum, perhaps resting on their impressive achievements in the workplace and the home, or perhaps not viewing justice for all people as their long-term goal. In Finland, for example, the women-friendly welfare society has integrated women into male society to such an extent that many seem to consider the struggle to be over. Reality reveals otherwise, as economic globalization erodes years of the benefits bestowed by their welfare society (Pietila 2002).

This history tells us that Finnish women are not alone in failing to foresee the impact that neoliberal practices would have on peoples' freedom and well-being and on the vigor of their own organizations. For me, that lesson redounds to the principle set out by Southern delegations long ago in Mexico City in 1975, that macropolitical and macroeconomic issues must indeed be women's issues. Global issues are women's issues, and the two are interwoven as threads in a fabric. Yesterday there was apartheid in South Africa; today there are religious fundamentalism, militarism, global apartheid, and greedy forms of globalization.

The academy, which recognizes the vital relationship between scholarship and social change, has an important role here in isolating and defining issues for activists' strategies, for example, in assessing the impact economic regionalism and globalization have on women and the poor, including the policies and practices of multinational corporations, the global financial institutions, and the rich countries that control them. It can also probe the merits of multilateralism and, specifically, of the United Nations, for the women's movement and for world peace and development. Both UNIFEM and WIEGO offer examples of facilitating mutually beneficial interaction between scholars and activists.

In conclusion, despite differences among areas, countries, and regions, a global movement does exist. Many fundamental principles are shared,

although strategies differ. Possessing a rich experience, we know that global development issues and women's issues are interdependent, like the warp and woof of a fabric. We know that gender equality cannot be achieved and maintained separately from other major social, economic, and political issues and that it is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for peoples' freedom and well-being—for development. Today, concern with global issues is critical to the relevance, and even the survival, of the women's movement. Where group goals are mainly gender equity, the movement loses momentum and social protections erode. We know that, in the North, we must fight injustice in our own societies and governments and in their relationships with poor countries—not just fight for justice in other peoples' societies and governments in the South.

Today, the women's movement is strongest in the global South, but that vitality is threatened while the Northern movement lags and bi- and multilateral support shrinks. Happily, a resurgence of women's leadership in the North is visible, for example, in antiwar and debt-cancellation movements; it is needed far more widely and must be representative of a wide spectrum of classes. Feminism is about human beings, we say; it is about justice for everyone.

Our revolution is unfinished, but our effect on the entrenched structures of the privileged world can draw sustenance from history and from the actions of poor contemporary women. By protesting multinational companies' destruction of the environment and just one global corporation's failure to share earnings with local communities so that their own land can give them food, shelter, jobs, education, and health services, the Nigerian village women of the oil delta have conspired to test the conscience of the rich, corporate-led world. They are telling us about justice for everyone. Do we dare listen?

New York, New York

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International Organizations and Gender: New Paradigms and Old Habits

he United Nations began to take seriously the "woman question" in 1975. That year, by organizing in Mexico the first international conference explicitly devoted to the "second sex," which development agencies had hitherto virtually ignored, the United Nations opened a new chapter in the history of development that is yet to be finished. Over the past twenty-five years, a series of world conferences has been held to attract the attention of big global policy makers to the lot of the dominated half of humanity and to forge tools for a progressive, but radical, reform in traditional gender relations. After Mexico, the Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995) conferences offered numerous opportunities for the UN system to mobilize the international community around this increasingly sensitive issue. Most recently, in June 2000, a special session of the UN General Assembly-Beijing Plus Five-took place in New York to analyze the progress accomplished since Beijing and to evaluate what remains to be done in order to achieve global gender equality, an official UN priority since Mexico.

The United Nations' ongoing preoccupation with this issue since 1975 has been marked by shifts in the organization's definition of gender equality. It has refined its understanding of the workings of domination, multiplying the number of studies it has commissioned on the subject. In fact, the Beijing conference—which convened no fewer than thirty thousand women—brought to a close two decades of UN reflection on women and development, announcing a new international strategy and an action plan focused on gender and the effects of the economic, social, and cultural divisions of both productive and reproductive work. In so doing, the United Nations has responded to the profound conceptual evolution of "feminology" over the last decades of the twentieth century and has demonstrated the impact of the many and varied feminist discourses and campaigns that have expanded across the globe over the past quarter century.

The last twenty years have witnessed substantial change. Whereas the issue of women's equality was hardly considered to be of any real interest

during the first half of the United Nations' existence, concern with the status of women took on increasing importance until it rightly situated itself at the discursive center of all international institutions. Not a single international organization has failed to introduce the concept of gender into its stated mission and publications, although good intentions do not always make their way into actual practice. Over the past few years, international institutions have collectively put in place a series of procedures that theoretically should allow them to include gender in a systematic fashion in all their analyses and fieldwork. A Sub-Group on Gender, piloted by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), was created within the United Nations' Working Group on Development; at the same time, an Interagency Committee on Women and Gender Equality was also founded. The preparation for Beijing Plus Five itself encouraged an increase in the number of declarations in favor of the acceleration of gender policies within virtually all of these organizations.

The omnipresence of women's issues on the international scene created an inflated discourse of good intentions for projects on women or gender. But the two terms are often confused. This slippage requires deeper analysis of the issues at hand and their actual impact on conditions for women and gender relations throughout the world. Can we really say that during the last quarter of the twentieth century—the period during which international institutions discovered women—that the daily lives of girls and women across the globe changed substantially? What advances and contradictions did this discourse on women bring forth at the international level, and to what extent can it be said to influence action at the grassroots level? Rather than undertake an exhaustive analysis of gender policies at the institutional level, given the sheer quantity of recent scholarly reflection on the subject, I wish to lay out in these pages an overview of general patterns in international thinking about women, gender, and feminism.

The two schools of official international feminism

An understanding of organizational discourses and strategies requires that we view the international system as only partially homogeneous. From the 1970s onward, the United Nations adopted stricts sense a very different approach to the issue than did the World Bank. The United Nations repeatedly invoked law and justice to move equality forward, whereas the bank considered improvements in women's equality as a way to measure the functioning of a healthy market economy and the impact of its own programs.

Although they are theoretically part of the same group of institutions,

the United Nations and its agencies and the Bretton Woods system were born of different postwar imperatives. On the one hand, the United Nations' mission is to put into practice the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, its founding act. Thus, the United Nations' priority is to bring to an end all forms of discrimination against women, according to the 1979 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The reinforcement of women's roles and their actual participation, along with the defense of their rights, are all part of the United Nations' raison d'être, as are all efforts to enforce the Universal Declaration. On the other hand, the founding fathers of the Bretton Woods organizations—the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and today's World Trade Organization—assigned economic and financial responsibilities to institutions that were deliberately disconnected from the social sphere in order to satisfy dominant interests. Thus the World Bank first approached women's issues in a very different manner than the United Nations. Clearly the consciousness raising and grassroots political organizing of the 1970s had an impact on all international thinking. Nonetheless, the issue of women's rights remains secondary for institutions that view women as a new type of economic actor contributing to a social stability increasingly difficult to guarantee under current global circumstances.

In fact, the United Nations and the World Bank elaborate their policies and strategies on women's rights by means of entirely different theoretical approaches to the notion of gender. The first is informed by fairly leftist theories, occasionally inspired by Marxism, that are similar to feminist economic criticism and do not use gender as an alibi to cheapen the value of workers and working relations around the world. The bank's approach, by contrast, has been largely informed by the arguments of the feminist school of economics situated within the neoclassical paradigm, which postulate that the market is sexually neutral and that sexual discrimination threatens to compromise the success of structural readjustment policies (see Miller and Razavi 1998). Ever since the gender approach has become—at least discursively and symbolically—an unavoidable aspect of development policy, gendered analyses have been ideologically split. The organizations have grown along parallel paths, each taking its argument from a different theoretical perspective.

Not all UN agencies, however, demonstrate equal conviction on a subject that may be politically compromising. Whereas certain agencies have been at the forefront of the struggle for sexual equality, others have had difficulty considering women as anything other than a subcategory in a vast undergrowth of vulnerable populations requiring projects adapted

to their needs. Yet, I would argue, responsible implementation of a gender approach requires abandonment of the latter tendency and purposeful elaboration of policies intended to modify social organization and the sexual division of public versus private, economic versus social spheres. As such, in principle it requires the elimination of all mechanisms or dynamics that uphold sexual segregation. The United Nations is still far from the achievement of such goals. Frequent use of the term *gender* often masks a conceptual vacuum. By rebaptizing its women's division as a Gender in Development division in 1992, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) clearly wanted to demonstrate that gender issues were henceforth of central importance, yet the agency did not concretely build gender policies into its global strategies.

UN agencies: Ambivalent progress

Whatever criticism might be leveled at the United Nations, we must first recognize that the organization and its agencies have played a crucial role over the past quarter century in the global unveiling of women's issues. Thanks in part to its work, women's issues can no longer be buried without causing a universal outcry.

First, the United Nations has played a major role in setting international standards. The 1979 CEDAW, which entered into effect in 1981, marked the zenith of these efforts. More recently, the inclusion of maltreatment of women as a crime subject to prosecution under the jurisdiction of the International Penal Court, the creation of a Special Reporter to the United Nations on violence against women, and the drawing up of an additional, voluntary protocol to the 1979 convention that provides for sanctions are all extremely important signs of progress. Another legal advance on the part of the International Labor Organization, a United Nations agency, is the creation of a law guaranteeing the right to equal working conditions and remuneration as well as the 1987 action plan for equal treatment and opportunities for men and women in the workplace.

Second, UNIFEM, created in 1976 as a follow-up to the Mexico conference, was the first UN agency to confront the problem of violence against women in the home. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)—the bête noire of extremely conservative church and right-to-life movements—has played crucial roles in assisting countries of the South with family planning and birth control and in advocating recognition of a woman's right to control her own reproduction. The agency has been instrumental in connecting the decline of population growth with progress in conditions for women the world over. The lively debates of the 1994

Cairo Conference on Population and Development, organized by the UNFPA, demonstrated at the international level just how subversive and conflictual any attempt to modify existing hierarchies and sexual roles can be.

Third, the regular scheduling of international conferences, attended by large numbers of civil society advocates, has been a considerable factor in the emergence of a global feminist network that is increasingly visible at the local, national, and regional levels. Although the Western feminist movement was sufficiently powerful and well organized to function without UN support, such was not the case for the women's movements of the South, which used the discursive formations and norms of the United Nations to legitimize their existence and their activities. International conferences also presented an opportunity for these movements to build highly structured information and solidarity networks. They also provided a forum whereby Western feminists faced the reality that they did not have a monopoly on the struggle for women's rights. Europeans and North Americans could see for themselves that, in different forms and in different languages, the struggle for justice and equality was truly global and that they as Western women were not necessarily best placed to assume leadership of that battle. The United Nations, influenced by the themes brought forward by feminist struggles, has facilitated over the course of the past few decades the emergence and flourishing of an organized women's movement that has been quite powerful, at times, in the South. But have these conferences led to concrete action? Their resolutions and action plans have not been carried out for the most part, since the United Nations has been unable to make them a reality in the countries that benefit from UN assistance. Nonetheless, these conferences have served as a tribunal for women's demands from all corners of the globe and exposed the harsh realities of the political, social, and ideological challenges to the evolution of women's rights.

Finally, UN agencies have produced and distributed numerous publications on gender and development. The UNDP, among others, has made an important contribution by introducing gender-specific indicators for its annual human development report beginning in 1995, often courageously taking initiatives that angered certain member states (UNDP 1995). Publications by this UN agency in the Gender in Development Programme (GIDP) Monograph Series have presented an opportunity for numerous researchers, many of whom are determined activists from the

¹ Since 1995, the UNDP has continually refined its work in this essential area of gender indicators.

South, to publish extremely interesting work. Nearly all of these publications signal an engaged militancy in favor of the transformation of gender relations and push global policy makers to devote more time and resources to this issue.

The many significant commitments I outline above illustrate how the development policies of the agencies have greatly evolved since the United Nations discovered that no project could be gender neutral and that the path toward true gender equality included a critical examination and profound reform of development logic. And that is where the gap between theory and practice opens. The United Nations has been largely incapable of getting around the resistance of member states and the conservatism of many societies in which its programs are located; by the same token, its inability to bypass its own bureaucratic inertia has rendered the organization incapable of transforming the logic of its own engagement.

Because multilateral institutions have raised consensus to the rank of a cardinal virtue, the United Nations has had difficulty managing any conflict that results from the introduction of gender issues into the international public arena. The tradition at the United Nations has been to make everyone happy by not making anyone unhappy. The multiplicity of interests that crisscross at the heart of the UN system and the time-honored politics of "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" have watered down a number of the organization's resolutions concerning women, increased the tendency toward discursive timidity, and reduced the application of the organization's principled resolutions at the grassroots level to next to nothing. The unfortunate fact is that the most conservative states are accorded a disproportionate weight during international conferences designed to produce norms and standards, which means that they are able to block the progress that these conferences are meant to accelerate (see Bessis 1997).

The agencies, functioning much like heavy machinery impervious to innovation, have difficulty getting beyond broad generalizations. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), for example, reduced women to their purely maternal functions for years without worrying about their rights. The 1979 Convention has only recently become a point of reference for UNICEF. The organization's previous determination to avoid running up against the authorities or the traditions of a country in which it had programs meant that the organization was alarmingly discrete on the issues of female genital mutilation and violence against women and girls. Nevertheless, UNICEF has understood that women have specific needs—especially in the area of health issues—that the agency has been able to effectively address (UNICEF 1999).

At the heart of many UN agencies is a legitimate concern to take into account the plurality of cultures and to avoid imposing a single standard of conduct, but this policy has mainly reassured dominant ideologies of masculine superiority, and women's rights have once more had to pay the price. Nonetheless, this tendency appears to be declining. The growing worldwide recognition of human rights and the reaffirmation of their universality and indivisibility were evident in the human rights conference of 1993, the multiplication of resolutions referring to human rights, and the luster of the 1998 fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Universal Declaration, which have pushed the most timid agencies to demonstrate greater audacity. The United Nations now systematically insists on an egalitarian interpretation of international law and universal legal standards, especially from governmental partners and the numerous states that tend to bury rather than overtly put these ideas into practice. Thus on the eve of the Beijing Plus Five conference, for example, Innocenti, UNICEF's research center in Florence, published a damning report on domestic violence against women. But if the United Nations is to be applauded for criticizing its member states, it should still increase pressure to bring these states to apply the conventions they have ratified and push them to eliminate the numerous riders and reservations they have attached to their ratification of these conventions.

The instrumental feminism of the World Bank

The World Bank, the only Bretton Woods institution directly involved in development, is well known for formulating and then implementing dominant theories. This purely economic, hence "serious" institution has surprisingly accorded the greatest importance to gender issues over the past ten years, to the point where it is now the principal multilateral donor for the education of young girls.

The bank began to discover women in the mid-1970s, as a result of a UN request that the bank participate in the 1975 International Women's Conference in Mexico City.² In fact, the UN proclamation of the International Decade for Women 1975–85 meant that during the second half of the 1970s donor organizations virtually all turned their attention to the theme of "the integration of women and development." The World Bank hopped on the bandwagon in 1977 by appointing a "women and development" counselor—a position that was granted neither power nor

² See World Bank 1995a and 1995b for more information on the World Bank's growing awareness of women's issues.

money, I might add—and by publishing its first document on this theme in 1979. Thirty-five case studies and evaluations were published between 1979 and 1985. But any financial effort to improve or even shore up the position of women in the economies of developing countries was utterly lacking. When the bank did pay attention to women's needs, it did not show sufficient interest to award them what really mattered—well-financed projects.

It is true that the bank had other problems on its agenda at the time. The beginning of the 1980s marked the height of the international debt crisis and the setting up of structural readjustment programs designed to force indebted countries into the straitjacket of financial and economic orthodoxy. While the International Monetary Fund took on the restoration of financial equilibrium, the bank was assigned the mission of converting developing countries to the doctrine of economic liberalism that was to accompany the downsizing of the state and the general conversion to global economic competition. Women could wait. And that is in fact what happened. The bank's lukewarm interest in the issue momentarily plummeted. It was not until 1985 that the World Bank's interest in women's issues revived, remaining constant ever since.

What happened in the interim that allowed women to acquire a morethan-anecdotal importance in the eyes of the Washington experts? The response is simple: structural readjustment. During these painful years, the indebted countries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia suffered from drastic austerity cures imposed by the IMF. States necessarily stopped recruiting civil servants, unemployment increased, and the only funds available were given over to debt repayment—to the detriment, needless to say, of the social services and health sectors. The very term structural readjustment made working-class neighborhoods from Rio de Janeiro to Abidjan tremble. Suddenly, women were no longer invisible. On all fronts—from the commercial fruit and vegetable farms of Sahelian Africa to the organization of community life in the Andes-women everywhere were inventing survival strategies to get through the worst of the crisis. They reinforced the social fabric ripped apart by the economic downturn and compensated for the loss of male status (men were the first to suffer from the slowdown of the formal sector). Their colossal efforts undoubtedly prevented social explosion, examples of which were surprisingly rare in the 1980s in those countries undergoing economic shock treatment. Although the price was exorbitant, the 1980s gave women of the South the visibility that they had not previously managed to acquire.

During the difficult years of structural readjustment in the South,

women showed the World Bank that they were unexpectedly dynamic economic actors and principal agents in the struggle against poverty, a struggle that the bank had—officially at least—made one of its priorities. Added to this was the fact that any policy that improved the lot of women had an immediate effect on their fertility and hence on demographic growth in the South, an issue that continually alarmed the aging powers of the North. These factors converted the World Bank to a sort of feminism that could best be defined as pragmatic.

Why it might be profitable to invest in women and what they could do to further the socioeconomic aims of this Bretton Woods institution remained to be seen. The bank affirmed in a document prepared for the 1995 Beijing conference that reinforcement of women's roles facilitates economic growth, improves family health, and reduces fertility (World Bank 1995b). The bank pointed out on several occasions in another document that the economic and social profitability of putting girls in school is high (Sabbarao 1993). These were the institution's major reasons for improving their lot.

The principal arguments that the bank presents to justify its 1987 conversion to a gender approach are of a purely economic and strategic nature. Women should be assisted not because their rights are scandalously abused but because the abuse of their rights is an obstacle to the reproduction of dominant economic models in the countries of the South. The fact that women, even in the most difficult circumstances, are able to capture the dynamism of the market sphere is, in the eyes of World Bank experts, a significant step toward the much-desired generalization of market forces. The question of women's rights is thus secondary for an institution that sees women first and foremost as a new type of economic actor, a possible guarantor of social stability in an era when that stability is increasingly difficult to achieve. The World Bank has thus instrumentalized women in the sense that their promotion is not an end in itself but rather a means of implementing the bank's policies for economic growth and eradication of poverty (see World Bank 1995a).

Economic contagion

The influence of the World Bank being what it is, the bank's analysis of women's issues has been well received over the past few years and has thus been adopted by numerous bilateral development agencies. Since the problems of sexual domination and gender relations can no longer be swept under the carpet by any organization, all those emerging from the

liberal sphere have naturally taken up the World Bank's line of economic argument to explain their sudden and sustained interest in the plight of women.

For example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) organized a ministerial-level conference in November 2000 on the theme of competition and growth, focusing on the mainstreaming of equality issues. On this occasion, the organization emphasized the economic arguments in favor of mainstreaming male-female equality in the public and private sectors, examples of best practice, and the reasons why mainstreaming of male-female equality contributed to the reinforcement of economic performance, competitiveness, and growth. The UN agencies were not insensitive to this argument either, since they hoped to use it to strengthen their credibility. Having little to lose from the weakening of sociocultural rigidities that hinder their emancipation, women are in a certain sense ideal agents for the propagation of a pure form of populist capitalism in developing countries.

The gender policies of international institutions, whether they be riddled with seemingly insurmountable contradictions or possessed of a healthy dose of cynicism, are highly contradictory. Although references to the legal right to equality have become fairly common and the redefinition of sexual roles is officially considered a necessity, the actions of UN agencies on the ground often reproduce the dominant sexual divisions of labor in an almost burlesque fashion. Granted, each region now has its gender focal point, and UN civil servants, nearly all of them men, have learned to master the gender-equality vocabulary. The language of mainstreaming is one they speak. But who could argue that in numerous developing countries in sub-Sahelian Africa the income-generating activities reserved for women continue to be limited to embroidery (a traditionally masculine craft in Africa that became feminized under the dominance of Northern development models), textile dyeing, soap making, and other activities that accentuate the ghettoization of women into less viable sectors of the economy.

In general, the gender approach to development is most often limited to multiplying the number of institutions designated to provide microcredit—the new panacea that allows for the reduction of poverty without addressing the exploitative relationships that cause it—and increasing women's activities in the informal sector to assure their survival. Until recently, the totality of activities and projects carried out over the past

³ For the World Bank, see the annual reports for 1999 and 2000. For the UNDP, see the documentation in its *Gender in Development Program (GIDP)*, regularly updated.

twenty-five years has hardly succeeded in reversing the dominant tendencies. The number of girls in school remains stagnant in many countries despite development intervention, and the level of women's poverty can hardly be said to have diminished significantly. Moreover, those rare interventions in the legal domain remain hesitant, in contrast to regular activities in the traditional spheres of development.

The global tendency continues to be that of integrating women into the development process without attempting to overturn the logic that produced the inequalities in the first place. Even if gender discourse has earned the right to be taken into account, neither the UN agencies nor the World Bank has questioned fundamentally the androcentric logic of the bank's macroeconomic intervention schemes, its political tools, its work in the field, or its project infrastructures. Nonetheless, organizations such as the UNDP are aware of the roadblocks preventing the integration of a true gender perspective into their strategies. If we are to believe UNDP reports from the latter half of the 1990s, such a shift in perspective would be revolutionary for the institution's culture and modes of working, a way of excusing, perhaps, the fact that they and their sister institutions have not been quite ready for more radical change (UNDP 1997). In point of fact, although the UNDP greatly contributed to consciousness raising on gender issues, the organization has been far less creative in applying this insight to its programs in the field. All of the institutions I have discussed above have assiduously sought solutions to attain progressively greater gender justice in the social domain without upsetting conservative strongholds or dominant interests. For the moment, however, such a strategy has merely upheld dominant structures without bringing about meaningful change.

Counterperformances

What is worse, as far as the Bretton Woods institutions are concerned, is that women were the principal victims of the structural readjustment policies put in place by these organizations. The feminization of poverty has been a general, worldwide trend since the beginning of the 1980s. Women's unemployment has increased at a faster rate than men's in countries that have based their growth on the development of manufactured goods destined for export. The length of the period of unemployment is also longer for women than for men, and women constitute the majority of the long-term unemployed. As far as schooling is concerned, the concomitant reduction in education budgets and the pauperization of the lower social classes has meant that the number of girls enrolled in school

has decreased in many countries, since educating boys is often considered a priority when not all children can be sent to school.⁴

Furthermore, structural readjustment programs everywhere placed the accent on export products, the only means to bring in the hard currency necessary to pay off debt. Yet, taking into account the sexual division of labor that exists in most countries of the South-where cash crops are a male-dominated domain and kitchen gardens that families depend on for food are cultivated almost exclusively by women—the priority given to the former only served to deepen the revenue divide between the sexes and worsen the household bargaining power of women. In all cases, structural adjustment penalized women more than men in that it increased their invisible, nonremunerated tasks to the detriment of their remunerated labor. The decrease in social investment by states in the South, along with the worldwide concern for keeping down the costs of social programs, had the effect of transferring a good part of public-sector services to the domestic sphere and hence onto the backs of women. The savings gained by eliminating public-sector salaries and by generally reducing investment in structurally readjusted countries was, in fact, an indicator of the massive transformation of previously paid social work into free female labor (see Bessis 1996).

When the World Bank finally recognized the need to humanize structural readjustment at the end of the 1980s, it targeted women for many of the social safety net programs it had begun to set up. But, in order to have a better idea of the impact of World Bank discourse on women's lives, we must first examine the bank's policies in light of the harsh socioeconomic realities on the ground brought about in large part by its structural readjustment programs of the past twenty years. It is only over the course of the past decade that the bank has contributed to efficient social action programs, particularly in the domain of girls' schooling in the countries of the South. If we can believe its assurances, these contradictions should disappear in the future, since the bank has committed itself to evaluate henceforth from the outset the impact of all its projects on women's lives.

Gender equality and resistance

The relative immobility described above is largely due to the fact that international organizations can only advance slowly toward gender equality and that, despite the presence of women directors at the helm of several

⁴ In Benin and Guinea, according to UNICEP

UN agencies-UNIFEM, UNICEF, the World Heath Organization, the High Commission for Refugees, and the United Nations Population Fund—the vast majority of top management remains male. Certainly the presence of female leadership is no guarantee that women's issues will be taken into account, but it often helps. The United Nations, like the World Bank, could do a better job of implementing the mainstreaming policies that are an official part of their strategies. The UNDP has declared that it is resolutely engaged and that phase two of its policy for gender balance in management has been a key component in moving toward gender equality as quickly as possible (Speth 2002). But this engagement in favor of gender equality conceals the fact that personnel in GIDP programs are 80 percent female, whereas other departments considered of more strategic importance remain predominantly male. The excessive feminization of gender departments rather than the achievement of better gender balance in the higher echelons of decision making is characteristic of all international institutions.

In fact, the success of the gender approach—so common as to have become a regular part of all bureaucratic discourse—may mask a certain resistance at the heart of the system to the struggle for women's equal rights and for diversification of their roles. The difficulty lies in the political impact of gender equality. Institutional discourse is often generalizing, such that gender equality is frequently mentioned in all material released to the public but rarely referred to in internal working documents. What is worse, women are virtually absent in international organizations or UN departments that deal with strategic or macroeconomic issues. The World Trade Organization is, in fact, an excellent example of political resistance to the implementation of full gender equality.

A warning, by way of conclusion

A great leap forward has occurred over the course of the last few years, such that no institution can now afford to ignore the issue of gender equality in the sphere of international cooperation. However, the bureaucratic machinery of the international system will require oiling if it is to increase its momentum, and the documents it produces will require clearer language on women's rights issues so that the now familiar rhetoric on gender does not become an alibi for inaction. Other dangers may emerge from this instrumentalization of women's issues—whether involuntary or planned—that has become an all-too-convenient tool for international institutions.

For the World Bank, focusing on gender may serve goals other than

that of women's emancipation. We might ask whether gender, as manipulated by the World Bank, serves exclusively political ends, much as the recourses to technology or economic supremacy⁵ did in their day. To insist that the development fiascoes and inequalities that societies of the South suffer are due to gender discrimination alone allows us to avoid two important issues. The first is the fairly significant level of responsibility that international funding institutions bear for the development failures of the last two decades. Can it be that their only error is that they did not consider early enough the question of gender equality and the role that women were waiting to play in terms of economic growth? My second point is perhaps even more important. By putting the emphasis on gender, is it possible to depoliticize the burning issue of social inequality and subsequent social conflict and to thus to diminish the felt need for solidarity based on class rather than gender?

An even greater danger could stem from the very attention that UN agencies pay to equal rights and the respect for those principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If we are not careful, the sharing of responsibilities at the heart of the international system between the UN agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions could lead to an even deeper divide. The "serious" organizations will be increasingly assigned the task of directing world affairs, while the United Nations will become the forum for the excluded and marginalized populations of the world. Women, indigenous peoples, and indeed even social movements will be condemned to use the United Nations as a speaking gallery without

I am referring here to the Green Revolution of the 1960s This technical revolution was perfected and spread throughout heavily populated Asian countries, allowing for a significant increase in the harvest of grain and cereals in an effort to stamp out social unrest and dampen socialist discourse during this period of the cold war. The increase in food production and the subsequent formation of a rural bourgeoiste pushed several countries back from the brink of social disintegration. But the Green Revolution promoted by the policies of the World Bank was never presented as a political undertaking. See Bessus 1979. Throughout the period of structural readjustment, economic arguments were used, without any overt acknowledgment, to legitimize political ends. The Bretton Woods institutions became the masters of the international system through this exercise by imposing on the rest of the world ideological policies that were defined by the collapse of socialism and the victory of economic rationalism. The question here is not whether the structural adjustment programs were necessary, since any debate on that subject is closed. What should be emphasized here is that over the course of the past twenty years, the Bretton Woods institutions have remodeled the social and economic landscape of structurally readjusted countries, have reduced the state at their will, have destroyed certain productive activities only to make way for others, and have been indirectly responsible for the fall of many regimes or the survival of others, without ever getting involved in politics. Such is the magic of economics.

achieving any real gains in discussions about the destiny of our planet. The United Nations may become a multicultural, nonstrategic sphere locked out of the halls of power—where women continue to shine by their absence.

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Translated from the French by Susan Perry and Celeste Schenck

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"Supri, supri, Supri, Oyibo?": An Interrogation of Gender Mainstreaming Deficits

n the streets of an ethnically homogeneous Igbo town, one is occasionally privy to transactions with foreigners. The spectacle most memorable and relevant for our immediate purposes typically involves some lone Caucasian who, confronted with a language barrier, attempts to elicit information—perhaps directions to a destination—from local residents. The character who tends to steal the show in this scenario is a child who interrupts and appropriates the role of an interpreter or presumes to referee the exchange. Often, arms akimbo and head inclined. this intrigued or bemused child will mimic the foreigner's intonation. asking "Supri, supri, supri, Oyibo [or Onyeocha]?" Only one word in this interrogatory is intelligible to either speaker or audience. The rest is gibberish. Whatever else sustains the mystique of this pretense of communication, its inherent retort aptly illustrates conventional wisdom about "garbage in, garbage out." Conceivably, failing to understand the foreigner's language, the child fires back at what strikes her as functionally gibberish with gibberish. I wish to adopt this incomprehensible interrogatory, construed as a metaphor, as the takeoff point for my observations about some notable shortfalls of gender mainstreaming paradigms in dominant development institutions.

Picture a dilapidated market square in the outskirts of Kampala where women brave excruciating circumstances to eke out a living. Some development practitioners fund a nongovernmental organization (NGO) to raise awareness about domestic violence. This NGO devises culturally appropriate posters for the endeavor and takes pains to mobilize market women to attend a training session. The trainers end up appalled by the

With gratitude to Obioma Nnaemeka: Mgbe agha nwanne mu, anya mu nsere gi bu n' akwukwe a furu ifs. I am indebted to Jen Szoke, Kerry Rittich, Susan Brison, Diana Meyers, Ron Krotoszynski, and Martha Jackman, and to both the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University and the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Study and Conference Center, for enriching feedback and residential fellowships.

poor attendance rate and frustrated that the few participants seem preoccupied and difficult to engage. Eventually, the NGO receives disheartening reports that its posters have been converted to groundnut wraps by the attendee-vendors. What accounts for the disconnect between the trainers and the trainees? Do they share any common ground? How can potential commonality be verified, substantiated, and privileged to augment the ability of women to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance the real choices they have?

Juxtaposed against the mutual incomprehension metaphor above, how can the dissonance in the trainees-NGO encounter effectively underscore the cardinal importance of going beyond the reach and relevance, of the mandate for gender inclusion to interrogate the mode of implementing the mandate itself? In a sense, the trainees' response signifies the failure of the training model and can be read as constructive intolerance of prevarication or resistance to perceived empty maneuvers. How can interested parties extract the most mileage out of what this form of resistance indicates about development strategies intended to provide women with security and protection against vulnerability? What does the trainees' response reveal about the latent and patent ways in which paradigms of gender inclusion at once perpetuate hegemony and entrench spaces for women to exercise agency?

This article is a modest installment toward understanding incoherence and paradox in emerging gender rights strategies. It articulates the inescapable significance of attention to women's agency—both as resistant narrative and as instrumental and intrinsic in development policy and practice. Highlighting some particularities of African women's experiences, Section I of the article addresses the emergence of the global ideal for gender inclusion within the framework of the international human rights regime. Section II examines some implications of the protective enterprise for the ethics and politics of development in the gender arena. Somewhat autobiographical, Section III critiques gender reform initiatives as sites for the production and reproduction of hegemonic practices.

I. The imperative of gender

Since the colonial era, ubiquitous descriptions of traditional patriarchal forms in Africa have frequently invoked an image of the African continent as the silhouette of a woman carrying a heavy burden on her head and back. This long-standing icon of female subordination in Africa could be reinterpreted by suggesting that, on closer examination, one might equally

well be struck by the fine precision with which this African Everywoman balances the burden, for perhaps there is more to her balancing act than meets the eye. In a great many African countries, women's socioeconomic productivity is not only central to the national economy, but women's productive activities also enable them to spell some relief for their dependents across generations and to vie for the equilibrium of their communities. Women's enormous contributions and leverage in concrete local African contexts have largely gone unreckoned by critics.

To an increasing extent, African women are gaining recognition as protagonists of a quite different sort of narrative. The convergence of historical circumstances that is now reconstituting the political economy of African states presents an even greater opportunity both to mitigate gender inequities and to reconceive gender role differences as constitutive of transformative social and economic formations. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, as African countries grapple to reclaim viability and competitiveness in the world economic order, the imperative to redress the deficits of gender discrimination stands to reason. Indeed, for today's much-ballyhooed "African Renaissance" to mature from the stuff of media sound bites into a meaningful reality for all, explicit attention must be given to the material conditions of women in all dimensions of their lives.

As a panorama of globalized market-oriented and political apparatuses aspire to render the world one interdependent entity with a common mode of discourse, gender equity norms epitomize an unprecedented commitment to vindicate women's needs, constraints, and vulnerabilities. For key development agencies, the advantage of hindsight is finally bringing home the business expedience or intersecting efficiency, equity, and antipoverty rationales for integrating gender considerations into routine operations. Notwithstanding the forceful appeal of the global norm for gender parity, there are grounds to question how well it has traveled across radically different histories, cultures, and structures (Obiora forthcoming b). Amid the prevailing enthusiasm for dispersing legal ideas across the globe, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that abstract formal rights are seldom a panacea. Laudable as they are, gender reform initiatives have come to epitomize the proposition that optimal sociolegal engineering must be sensitive to the embeddedness of the legal milieu.

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women is the most eloquent codification of the prohibition of gender discrimination.¹ Coextensive with its ratification of

¹ United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

this treaty, Nigeria also has an antidiscrimination clause enshrined in its constitution.2 A few years ago, I focused on this constitutional guarantee to examine the correlative cultural and structural variables that determine the efficacy of law as an instrument of social change. Curiously enough, many women I interviewed seemed confounded by the conceptualization of gender equality in human rights discourses. Insisting that "all fingers are not equal," they extolled respect as a more realistic paradigm for ordering specific social relations. I was particularly intrigued to observe a shift in emphasis along the lines of socioeconomic background and domicile. It appeared that educated, elite, and urban women were more inclined to subscribe to an equality-based discourse, while women in rural areas had more of a tendency to lament the paucity of resources. Hence gender inequality was indexed as causative of urban distress but symptomatic of rural disempowerment. Arguably, the rural perspective suggests that it may be somewhat facile to quarrel over who does the dishes after dinner when dinner is a fast-disappearing routine in many rural households.

Of what relevance is the discernible critique of mainstream conceptualizations of equality? What do the reactions of the rural women denote about the complexity of gender as an empirical and analytical category? Could any guidelines be extrapolated from them for the purposes of aligning international reform endeavors with indigenous struggles? What insights do they offer about the prospects for the internationalization of conscience and control? My research findings illuminate the pitfalls of symbolic reforms and transcultural critiques that are formulated in terms that their putative local beneficiaries perceive as having minimal groundlevel relevance. The expedience of a protective agenda that is shy of privileging distantly determined abstract prescriptions over locally grounded sensibilities was poignantly captured by my interviewees. In their view, the litmus test for gauging the ecological appeal and assessing the substantive implication of pertinent interventions and pious pronouncements could be restated in the form of the question, what has it got to do with the price of fish in the market? The lives and perspectives of these women reinforce the indivisibility of human rights and betray the artificiality of juxtaposing them in a hierarchical order as if to minimize welfare imperatives. The women's empirical aesthetic is a useful supplement for an abstract human rights orthodoxy that obscures the reciprocity of inter-

Women, adopted December 18, 1979, G.A. Res. 34/180, UN GAOR, 34th Sess., Supp. no. 46, UN Doc. A/34/46 (1980) (entered into force September 3, 1981), reprinted in 19 I.L.M. 33 (1980).

² Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, chap 6.

dependent rights and seldom evinces sensitivity to the gendered constraints of the global political economy.

II. Culture—Wanted dead or alive

A random sampling of feminist and development literature demonstrates that cultural traditions are often indicted as the greatest threats to gender balance. The weight of culture as a patriarchal construct assumes greater significance in social contexts that accord particular centrality to culture in personal status matters. Human rights discourse is increasingly constructed as a mechanism for confronting culture and the gender constraints therein. What happens if other variables are kept constant, or vice versa, in the case against culture? What trade-offs, if any, result when efforts to broker refuge for women mainly represent culture as a colossal liability? Is there any value added by venerating aspects of culture as potential assets for gender reform? To what extent can the embeddedness of gender be recast to the advantage of women? What gain could derive from equally embedded gender inclusion alternatives?

What does it mean to reconfigure women's rights as "human rights" in a world where the regulation of gender relations remains in the domain of culture? It is one thing to concede that such rights would temper and, where necessary, trump culture. But how workable a formula is this in the face of material constraints such as the ones that prompt complicated reactions by the ultimate stakeholders? What can one make of the fact that it is women who respond to an assessment to ascertain the impact and implications of the gender reform agenda by inquiring "what has it got to do with the price of fish?" What have rights got to do with it, or culture for that matter? Can one in good conscience merely reduce such an assertion to apathy, adaptive preference, or the like? Or do the pragmatist leanings and insistence of these women deserve a more thorough interrogation? To what extent does the disaffectation they encode speak of the relationship between the political economy and gender realities? What bearing should such a relationship have on the recipe for the qualitative well-being of women? What insights does it offer for the purposes of clarifying the methodology for achieving the gender dimensions of a just society? If gender balance is an irreducible component of valorizing human security, what specific means can most effectively translate into that end? Short of theorizing the gender dimensions of human rights protection in the abstract, what concrete initiatives ameliorate gender disparities? What indicators would best facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of the ideal? How can one disaggregate the nuts and bolts from

the normative principle of equality and render the corollary critique of culture less inscrutable?

In focusing on the gender casualties of the collision between the spheres of law and custom, there is a risk that, in lieu of systematic analysis and redress, symptoms may be mistaken for cause, effect, and correlation. Additionally, culture may become manipulated as a proxy for inaction in ways reminiscent of statist strategies that appropriate the facade of culture to rationalize gender bias. The typical presumption against culture that has emerged from widely held assumptions of cultural traditions as the dispositive explanation for the plights of women tends to neglect the fact that particular relations produce particular results that can only be considered cultural in the broadest sense. Listening to the voices of women, it may be easy to discern that women's predicament is far more complex than what is allowed by a monocausal explanation. Poor governance, imperialism, global capital penetrations, and a range of similar forces play as much of a role in perpetuating gender inequities. Yet the configuration of these factors in the inscription of gender asymmetry is hardly sufficiently implicated in many critiques of culture.

I posit vernacularization or indigenization as a recipe to locally ground gender rights, ameliorate resistance, and render normative standards more amenable to local implementation. To this end, I identify resistant narratives informed by women's experiences as rich in instructive insights about how to avoid the transposition of abstract orthodoxies onto objective realities.3 Collateral vernacularization provides a welcome antidote to travesties like the donor-driven "flavor of the month" approach to gender programming that encourages the production of problems to tie into predetermined solutions rather than the articulation of solutions for locally identified priorities. Indigenization demystifies the process of development in ways that place it squarely within the reach of situated communities. As an astute observer once pondered in exasperation, what is development if not helping your village? Couched in such terms, it becomes obvious that the process of development is not the exclusive preserve of experts with particular credentials. Rather, it is akin to the lifeaffirming creativity, resilience, and resistance that are the hallmarks of the complex workings of strategies with which women fiercely fend for their livelihood and actively respond to structures and practices that precipitate their avalanche into poverty.

To celebrate the agency of women is not to deny the significance of

² Compare Lila Abu-Lughod's analysis of everyday forms of resistance as diagnostic of power (1990, 48).

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its embeddedness in specific material contexts. Women's impeccable capacity for crisis management has assumed added proportion in the wake of the downsizing and privatization of key state functions characteristic of austere structural adjustment measures. As the individualization of responsibility takes center stage as a welfare strategy, extolling the magnificence of women's efforts to revivify local traditions of self-reliance is not unproblematic. The logic of heroic counterhegemonic livelihood strategies compelled by the circumstances of many women is liable to be coopted by neoconservative political forces that are eager to abdicate state responsibility. Development practitioners are not oblivious of the seismic force of women's strategies. The perplexity is that more than half a century of development practice has failed to institutionalize them as exigent. Even development paradigms that have inspired projects such as microcredit enterprises, the practicalities of which have drawn from indigenous traditions and repertoires of knowledge, still fall short of prioritizing the constitutive agency of women.

III. The World Bank Gender and Law Program

What is at stake now is winning back democracy from technocracy. . . . [I]nstead of merely offering what, in hospitals, is called palliative treatment, I would like to raise the question of the doctor's contribution to the disease.

-Pierre Bourdieu (1998)

Instead of concentrating on parts of the brain where tumors exist, can we look at why they exist in the first place?

-Dr. Ben Carson⁴

My effort to address the core task of managing the Gender and Law Program at the World Bank prompted me to question assumptions that arrogate omnipotence to bureaucratic entrepreneurs rather than privilege the agency of grassroots women in project design, implementation, and evaluation. Accordingly, I reference my experience at the bank as a framework for pertinent illustration, appraisal, and constructive dialogue about what is going on and what is being seriously neglected in some acclaimed

⁴ After a close encounter with a terminal illness, the dustinguished surgeon posed the question to allude to his epiphany about the thrust of his profession in an interview that aired on October 11, 2002, on the "Up Close" segment of the ABC news program Nightline.

arrangements to reduce gender disparities and enhance women's participation in development. The bank's Gender and Law Program emerged as part of a network of interventions to cushion the harsh distributional fallouts of policy-based lending and macroeconomic stabilization programs. In my reading, the program was established to galvanize an intellectual fulcrum and a sustainable methodology for deploying the instrumentality of law to integrate gender concerns in bank operations and derivative national development plans. When I undertook responsibility for this portfolio in August 1999, my preliminary analysis of the vital risks to the viability of mobilizing law to open up spaces for the substantive enfranchisement of women identified considerable discrepancies in women's capacity to take advantage of formal legal rules and procedures. On an intuitive level, it is commonly known that law is not proactive but quintessentially reactive; laws, once enacted, do not grow limbs with which to run after and apprehend transgressors. It takes the initiative of relevant complainants to trigger the legal process into motion. Many gender reform activities involving the legal sector are aimed at research, capacity building, sensitization, advocacy, policy negotiations, and legislative review or reform. These are unquestionably commendable steps. However, gender and law initiatives are impoverished by the lack of explicit consideration of the interdependence of salient variables and of the complementarities within and between categories of capital assets as well as the bearing on the vulnerability of women.

To animate this point, consider a situation where donors are laboring in tandem with governments and NGOs to stimulate the passage or amendment of gender-friendly laws. The needs are daunting, but they keep at it and successfully underwrite the promulgation of some progressive laws. They complement these enactments with technical information, education, and communication outreaches to women. In the course of the process, however, some of these development practitioners come to perceive some of these women as apathetic and hopelessly culture bound. Closer scrutiny of this scenario suggests that what is often mistaken for apathy might actually be the most poignant commentary on the limitations of the approach. Probing how to enhance the responsiveness of women gives credence to resounding claims that poverty is a major explanation for gender violence and that women's control of economic resources, especially income, is a principal predictor of gender balance.

How then does one implement an integrated legal outreach model to address the substantive needs of women even while tackling symptoms that are more amenable to compartmentalization and stopgap measures? What are the prospects for shifting from episodic responses to a much

more systematic paradigm for gender and law programming? What is the minimum set of conditions necessary to enhance the responsiveness of gender and law initiatives to the needs of women? The profile of the cultural and structural variables mediating the circumstances of an average legal aid client offers some clues on how extant legal intervention strategies can be invigorated for greater effectiveness. In a scenario where many women are relatively too impoverished to flirt with the luxury of formal legal recourse, the most viable avenue for empowerment may well lie outside the legal sector unless the operative conceptualization of law is more inclusive than the orthodox rendition.

At first glance, the prerequisites for preempting the vulnerability of women and tempering the fetishization of normative abstractions appear extralegal. On further examination, however, they reflect a coherent definition of law that restates human rights principles. Embraced in its totality, the human rights agenda offers a watershed for comprehensive policy commitment and for the strategic sequencing of complementary measures that address the many faces of gender-based discrimination. The expedience of "firing on all cylinders," so to speak, to actualize the goal of improving women's access to vital assets and public goods becomes all the more compelling amid the apparent preoccupation of extant national authorities with nominal allegiance or the allure of perfunctory deference to gender equity. Mitigating the ambiguities and pitfalls of gender mainstreaming alters the purchase of claims that some governments merely resort to symbolic gestures because they are legitimately hamstrung by the lack of a systematic blueprint to operationalize their professed commitment to gender equity.

My tenure at the bank culminated in the articulation of a proposal that informed a ministerial conference that was convened at the bank head-quarters. The core of the proposal, which drew from a set of hypothetical exercises discussed with relevant stakeholders, attempted to test an integrated model for legal services delivery that tackles the causal correlations between the complex layers of women's experiences. The starting point for the model was the understanding that, without complementary ingredients to enrich women's life options and harness their potentials as autonomous agents of change, modifying the contents and processes of law, critical as that is, would not suffice to empower women. In addition to its intuitive appeal and resonance with stakeholders, the delivery model affirms an inclusive package of benefits that converge with the totality of rights identified as the pillars for human dignity.⁵

⁵ See, generally, Universal Declaration on Human Rights, adopted December 10, 1948,

From May 9 to 12, 2000, a distinguished cast of senior African government and NGO officials gathered in Washington, D.C., to lobby for support for the legal outreach model (Obiora forthcoming a). The timing was fortuitous; the ministerial occurred just one month before the Beijing +5 review at the United Nations.6 The delegates were particularly interested in interfacing with and soliciting the partnership of private-sector actors. To this end, the Corporate Council for Africa offered to host a reception to facilitate interactions with pivotal private sector affiliates. Given the controlling influence of the council in the development of an African private sector and its dominant role in brokering trade and investment deals affecting Africa, the unequivocal commitment of the council was instrumental in the decision of some of the delegates to fly out to the conference. At the eleventh hour, however, the council announced that it was stepping down from this obligation. As its representative stated, the gender concerns of African women were not very high on the council's radar screen, and they deemed it prudent to conserve their resources in anticipation of the visit of some more powerful African governmental officials. Notwithstanding the racist and sexist subtexts of these remarks, the council had no problem exercising its political muscle to enlist bank support for its retreat.

The visiting delegates were scheduled to meet with select bank executives to discuss the status and prospects of the Gender and Law Program. They learned only after checking in for the conference that the meeting had been canceled on the spur of the moment for reasons relating to internal bureaucratic protocol. Bewildered by a constellation of events that defied simple explanation, the dignitaries threatened to boycott the conference unless the top management meeting that primarily motivated their attendance proceeded as promised. Ultimately, they secured a brief audience with a managing director of the bank. Notwithstanding taking their disdainful treatment as emblematic of the bank's approach to the interests of African women in general, the delegates present for this meeting commended the bank for its heightening consciousness, resolve, and

G.A. Res. 217A (III), UN Doc. A/810, at 71 (1948); International Covenant on Crvil and Political Rights, adopted December 16, 1966, entered into force March 23, 1976, G.A. Res 2200A (XXI), UN Doc. A/6316 (1966), 999 UNTS 171, reprinted in 6 I.L.M. 78 (1967); International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted December 16, 1966, entered into force January 3, 1976, G.A. Res. 2200A (XXI), UN Doc. A/6316 (1966), 993 UNTS 3, reprinted in 6 I.L.M. 360 (1967).

⁶ Report of the Beijing +5 Review Meeting "Women 2000. Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century," special session of the General Assembly, June 5–9, 2000 (New York: United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2000).

initiative in promoting gender-sensitive development through the infrastructure of law. They then proceeded to delineate the crucial importance of a paradigmatic shift to augment the value added by the Gender and Law Program for the purposes of poverty alleviation and social protection.

Their gracious overture was greeted with a veritable firestorm of rebuke from the executive who decried African acquiescence in donor dependency and emphasized the limitations on the bank's ability to help. The delegates eloquently clarified that it was not about the benevolence of the bank. Rather, they maintained that they were compelled to prioritize engaging the bank in their struggles to stimulate a dispensation of dignified existence for their constituencies precisely because of the colossal influence the bank wielded in determining the political economy of Africa. During their consultation with the Gender and Development Board, the visitors sought to leverage support for seed money to pilot the integrated legal outreach model to vindicate the global consensus on the manifold benefits of systematically catalyzing gender inclusion. In response, the gender coordinator for Africa echoed sentiments about the limits on what the bank could do and parroted gratuitous prescriptives to the ministers.

This fraught encounter opens up the space for understanding the gender focal point as intensely conflicted and partly incapacitated by its own reproduction of problematic organizational culture. It also captures an abiding controversy about the representation of African women at the bank. Many African women consistently contest the arrangement that has ceded for close to two decades the prerogative of defining the agenda pertaining to their lives to the same individual—a man with no concrete experience about either life in Africa or life as a woman. Without resurrecting overdetermined controversies and tedious sectarianism that repudiate the legitimacy of a male voice professing feminist politics, these African women could be taken as questioning the perennial reinscription of maleness as an authenticating presence within hard-worn feminist spaces. Considering the bank's insistence on equitable governance, accountability, and transparency by borrower nations, it would be incongruous for it to remain impervious to its complicity in reproducing the selfsame ills it critiques in states vis-à-vis participation and representation (Peterson 2003). Despite the bank's lip service and highly publicized platitudes, the demographic invisibility of African women in its equality audit and in its in-house gestures toward the paradigm of inclusion is vividly telling when analyzed against the racial and historical correlation. The bank cannot simultaneously incubate the ideology that construes

⁷ Available online at http://www.worldbank.org/gender/overview/aboutgennet.htm.

African women as incapable of representing themselves—they must be represented and indeed purport to champion their qualitative inclusion.

Gender mainstreaming is increasingly becoming well-worn territory. However, any serious attempt to operationalize this ideal cannot ignore the correlation between the voice and the security of African women. More than its epistemic violence, the fallacy implicit in silencing the voices of these women by presuming to speak for them buries their agency so deeply that it becomes nearly impossible to locate. In reality, African women especially at the grassroots level reckon that development is not rocket science; they are avid development practitioners, albeit under exacting conditions and with severe constraints. Privileging their capacities to influence negotiations in the interstices of power, authority, and resistance has profound material implications that promise to radically shift paradigms that mystify and subvert the development process. To further gender mainstreaming, the injunction to assuage the marginalization and undergird the voices of African women reiterates endlessly and peaks in light of sobering reminders such as the following: "Cultural clashes in the global arena can breed violence; or they can generate dialogue. In general, 'dialogic democracy'recognition of the authenticity of the other, whose views and ideas one is prepared to listen to and debate, as a mutual process—is the only alternative to violence in many areas of the social order where disengagement is no longer a feasible option" (Giddens 1994, 106).

IV. Conclusion

How are gender inequities perceived in contemporary African societies? Are there competing discourses about women's responses to the casualties of global restructurings? Are they helpless victims of unrelieved patriarchal processes, or are they actively engaged agents relentlessly negotiating the terms of their existence? To what extent are their livelihood strategies infused with a culture of resistance and opposition? How can traditional forms of women's work be harnessed to efficiently channel dissent and facilitate equitable social arrangements? In the development arena, who speaks, and who listens? Who is included; why and how are they included; what role do they play once included? How are processes of inclusion and exclusion being mediated through gender and race? How can naturalizing women's perspectives and interests be avoided while factoring race and ethnicity into the equation? How does the bank offer the possibility of fulfilling gender-inclusive aspirations, and can it be made to reflect a "best practice" benchmark? To what extent has the rhetoric of inclusion become

a normalization strategy to reinscribe asymmetry in a regime of intrinsically meaningless capitulations?

Ruminating over these foundational questions illuminates some crucial insights, including the place of reciprocity as signified by the lesson of the child who returned gibberish for gibberish. In the same vein, revisiting the reaction of the market-women-trainees, it is easy to denigrate their response. Nevertheless, a more productive approach would be to dissect it for critical lessons. After all, the women in question are veterans of everyday struggles. Having seen many programs come and go, they have ample bases to critique and help strengthen extant development strategies and emerging programs. Commitment to positivism and respect suggests that diagnosis and remediation should elicit the input of women and begin with where they are to examine what counts, what works, how it works, who shapes it, under what circumstances, and how it might be related to local cosmologies of progress.

The unimpeachable resonance of bread-and-butter concerns in grassroots perspectives signals the importance of challenging the status quo by "irrigating" the material base for women's autonomy. Facilitating women's agency builds capacity while augmenting the security dividend and return for expanded capabilities and altering patriarchal relations of production and accumulation. Recasting women as strategic actors and arbiters of their own destinies, managing better with less, portrays their circumstances as formidable but by no means intractable. It is precisely for this reason that, rather than exclusively lamenting the onerous burdens shouldered by African women, this analysis foregrounds the genius of a very pregnant woman with some sizable ware steadily balanced on her head, a toddler tied to her back, and another infant clutching her hand. The core of the argument is that whatever energizes this woman who, while weighing only 100 pounds or so, routinely tackles more than twice her weight as part of her livelihood strategy, eminently equips her to shepherd her own destiny vis-à-vis development. The pressing challenge is to concede meaningful opportunities to bring to bear her critique and affirmative acts of resistance on the development process as it is officially conceived and enacted. An Igbo myth that depicts the frog as having cheated itself out of a tail due to procrastination is apt to underscore the urgency of a paradigmatic shift in dominant conceptualizations of gender in development policy and practice.

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Marginal Discourse and Pacific Rim Women's Arts

I've lived in Hsin Chuang for twenty some years,
But never felt anything about it,
Just want to leave as soon as possible.
—from "Hsin Chuang Women's Stories" by Mali Wu¹

Hsin Chuang is a place where I lost a part of myself, What was it?

Alas, it was my innocent youth!

—Interview with a female worker, November 1997²

transnational perspective highlights the permeability of national borders and traces themes that transcend the boundaries that delineate nations or states. A "minor" transnational perspective not only locates these themes in metropolitan spaces occupied by minorities but also insists on how these themes in places peripheral to the focus of traditional Western academic discourse, such as Taiwan, can suggest networks of cultures that do not always need to be mediated by, or disseminated through, metropolitan centers (Lionnet 1994, 1995). In a similar spirit, this review essay will focus on the visual artworks of Taiwanese, Korean, and Japanese women artists in their (dis)engagement with metropolitan feminist art, examining in some detail an exhibit called *Lord of the Rim: In Herself/For Herself*, held December 1997–January 1998 in Hsin Chuang, a small

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¹ The quote is from text appearing in an installation work titled "Hsin Chuang Women's Stories" by Mali Wu, exhibited in the *Lord of the Rim: In Herself/Per Herself* exhibition, Hsin Chuang, Tsiwan, 1997. Original in Chinese, translated by the author.

² From an interview with a Han Chuang textile worker, quoted in Chang 1998b, 2. Onginal in Chinese, translated by the author.

For the ideas of transmationalism and minor transmationalism, see Liounet and Shih forthcoming.

textile city at the border of the Taipei Rim in northern Taiwan.⁴ Hsin Chuang, the site of this exhibit, an industrialized city once filled with female workers from all over the island, was devoted to the so-called modernization of Taiwan; accordingly, the exhibit's goals include recording the memories, the oral histories, and the development of third-world countries more generally. Gender, identity, and the representation of marginal subjects are its driving organizational principles.

The title of the exhibit, Lord of the Rim, is a reference to the Pacific Rim, although the participating artists come from both sides of the rim: Taiwan, Korea, and Japan on the western edge and, on the eastern edge of the rim, the west coast of North America. Hsin Chuang is itself on a rim within this rim: an industrial suburb of Taipei in northern Taiwan, it perches on the rim of the Taipei basin. Its relation to Taipei is that of a geographical microcosm of the relation of Taiwan to the larger Pacific Rim. Moreover, Hsin Chuang has been traditionally one of the important centers of Taiwan's textile industry, whose labor force even today consists almost exclusively of nameless female workers from remote areas of the island who create brand-name clothing that is marketed worldwide under European or other first-world labels. The theme of the exhibit, then, is closely tied to the Hsin Chuang locale and touches on not only gender and class but marginality and identity. This connection was not fortuitous but, rather, was carefully nurtured by the curator, Rita Chang. She hosted the participating Asian artists for several days' residence in Hsin Chuang before the exhibit so that they could incorporate specifics of the local context into their work and even create some site-specific public collaborative artwork (Chang 1998a). As such, the exhibit is a dramatic demonstration of how minor transnationalisms attend to local particularities through committed engagements among or between peripheral places.

While woman writers in Taiwan had begun to gain some literary and social influence as early as the 1980s, it was not until the 1990s that woman working in the visual arts, long lacking financial and social support, were able to begin to find a forum for their work (Chien 1997b, Lu 2002). In this context, Lord of the Rim was one of the first important exhibits of women's art that brought together in the same venue local Taiwanese artists and artists of other Asian countries with those of North America (Chien 1998a). The distinctive and subtly layered significance of

⁴ According to the curator Rita Chang, the title of the exhibit is from a book by Sterling Seagrave. However, since the term *lord* has gender and class implications, the adoption of such a term for the female workers at Hsin Chuang creates a sense of irony and paradox for the exhibit.

the Lord of the Rim exhibit rests, however, on a delicate convergence of particularities of cultural, historical, and geographical context. The selection of theme, locale, and participating artists makes the exhibit fertile ground for exploring in some detail not simply Asian women artists or cross-cultural dialogue but issues of gender, class, and identity that arise from the idiosyncrasies of this exhibit's context. One of my purposes here is to reveal some of this contextual detail in the hope that the exhibit's singular contribution will become more visible both to a wider local audience and to an international feminist one. This sort of transnational curatorial work must be encouraged, funded, and reproduced in other propitious locations across the globe.

Within the Lord of the Rim exhibit, complementing its attention to the juxtapositions of local settings was the work of one world-famous woman artist from the opposite side of the Pacific Rim in North America, Judy Chicago. To see coherence in this juxtaposition may require some explanation. In the summer of 1996, I visited an exhibition at the UCLA Hammer Museum of Art titled "Sexual Politics: Judy Chicago's 'Dinner Party' in Feminist Art History" (April-August 1996; see Jones 1996), a feminist art exhibit featuring the work of Chicago among many others. Upon returning to Taiwan, I published a review of that show in a literary journal, Unitas, suggesting that the time seemed ripe in Taiwan for a large-scale exhibit with a similar theme (Chien 1997a, 2000). Soon after, Chang, an independent art curator, organized an exhibit of works of female artists from Korea, Japan, and Taiwan to be held in the Hsin Chuang City Culture Center in the suburbs of Taipei. That exhibit in Hsin Chuang took place the following year, in 1998, just as I happened to be teaching a course titled "Feminist Aesthetics and Representation in Third-World Women Artists" in the Graduate Institute of Comparative Literature at Fu Jen University. My graduate students and I were thrilled at the prospect of the exhibit. Despite initial reservations about the location of such an exhibit, my students helped during the entire event: collecting data, interviewing local women, participating in related events and workshops, and preparing and recording the roundtable discussion hosted by our institute. And the exhibit included a great bonus—the participation of Chicago herself and the exhibition of her works at both the Hsin Chuang City Culture Center and at the Hanart (Taipei) Gallery. The greatest achievements of this exhibit were the transnational conception of the theme and the organization of participating artists from all sides of the rim.

The UCLA "Sexual Politics" exhibit examined the history of American feminist art from the 1960s through the 1990s, focusing on Chicago's

groundbreaking work, "The Dinner Party," as the centerpiece (Chicago 1993, 1996; Meyer 1997). Here in Asia, despite less extensive exhibition space and fewer participating artists, the Lord of the Rim exhibit was a historical breakthrough in terms of the developing contemporary women's art scene in Taiwan. The theme of the show was local women laborers and their life histories, a continuation of one of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum's 228 exhibit subthemes. "Forgotten Women Victims" had focused attention on women who were marginalized or victimized during the social and political persecution of the 1950s.

What viable connection might there be between the work of Chicago from the eastern edge of the Pacific Rim and the exhibit's Asian artists from its western edge? Is it appropriate to include the work of America's preeminent feminist artist for the first time in Taiwan within the framework of an exhibit here devoted to the indigenous and the local? What is the significance of such a move? Could Chicago's historical status in the West and in Western feminist art overshadow the younger generation of Asian artists sharing the same space? And what sort of dialogue is possible for artists and works of such diverse origin? For answers, we have to look in some detail at the work of individual participating artists as well as at the particularities of the setting.

Despite differences in nationality and cultural background, there are striking concordances in choice of subject and materials among the work of these seven artists. Seemingly by coincidence, all take as their point of departure a rediscovery of the hidden stories of women and, more particularly, reaffirm the importance of women's long overlooked and neglected domestic handicrafts. The exhibit as a whole is a reconstruction and re-presentation of her-story. Thus in materials and techniques, Chicago's use of porcelain painting, embroidery, knitting, and American patchwork quilting finds counterparts in the works of the Asian artists: Chun-Ju Lin's handmade cotton dolls, the traditional women's folk art of Yoshiko Shimada's "One Thousand Red Knots," as well the shearing, stitching, and machine sewing used by many of the other artists. Content and imagery center around the various contributions of women in domestic "production" (housework, sexual services, menial labor) and "re-

The Taiper Fine Arts Museum's 228 art exhibits are named in recognition of the February 28 Incident of 1947 on Taiwan that triggered a sweeping political suppression resulting in the killing of thousands of Taiwanese by occupying Nationalist forces. Subsequently, since the lifting of martial law, its victims have been memorialized in various public venues (e.g., "228 Peace Park" in Taipei) One of these venues is an annual 228 art exhibit held by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum. In 1997 the exhibit included a subtheme titled Victimised Women, the exhibit referred to in the text.

production" (bearing and raising the next generation). Through the repeated use of female iconography such as the womb (Maggie Hsu), menstrual discharge (Lin), flowers (Mali Wu), placenta and condoms (Shimada), and even scissors and mirrors (Ahn Pil-Yun), these artists give voice to the confining female experiences common to their various cultures, recasting women's history transnationally. In one corner of the Lord of the Rim exhibit space there runs continuously a video about Judy Chicago called "Women's House," which takes its inspiration from concepts and imagery of a woman's art that Chicago developed in the 1970s; this quiet full flowering in 1990s Taiwan-Hsin Chuang may well have exceeded what Chicago expected to find here.

As far as differences are concerned, while Chicago's work in this exhibit honors important female historical figures of the West (such as the ninthcentury German playwright Hrosvitha) and goddesses (such as Mother Earth), the works of the Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese artists tend to transcend gender, focusing as much on ethnicity and social class as on political colonization and economic development. It is worth pointing out that to incorporate the exhibit's local theme in their works, the four artists from Taiwan, with limited time and budget available, investigated the local women's situation, interviewing female factory workers in Hsin Chuang and using a variety of techniques and forms of expression to represent these histories in their works. Shimada focuses more specifically on the controversial issue of women and war, with compelling works of protest against Japan's inhumane, oppressive use of comfort women and sex slaves (Korean, Taiwanese, and Japanese) during World War II.7 Moreover, the Asian artists use eclectic modern approaches to engage the local setting of Hsin Chuang's textile industry. Incorporating installation, photography, video, written text, and oral history and juxtaposing machine technology and "cold and distant" elements such as handguns, plastics, aluminum foil, and other machine metals with traditionally feminine, natural, and warm elements such as aprons, handmade dolls, weaving, and clothing, they create powerful visual contrasts.

In fact, the transnationalism of the Hsin Chuang exhibit moves from the "great" female figures of the West to the powerless, marginal women

⁶ The imagery of scussors in Ahn's works has double implications. On the one hand, it relates to separation, violence, or restrictions; on the other, it is a symbol of power, energy, and creativity for women See Chien 1998b

⁷ For reviews and an interview about Shimada's work and her reception in Japan, see Friis-Hansen 1993; Brown 1994; Itoi 1995, Shala 1995; and Hagiwara 1996, among others; see also Shimada 1997.

(e.g., female laborers and comfort women) of Asia and Taiwan, and even to aboriginal subalterns. From my perspective, Chicago's participation in the exhibit, while historically and socially significant, in no way overshadows or dilutes the presence of the Asian artists; rather, it creates a contrast that brings the unique character of their work into sharp relief.8 A concurrent talk/roundtable discussion held at Fu Jen University's Graduate Institute of Comparative Literature—"Judy Chicago and Women Artists of East Asia"—was a first step toward transnational Pacific Rim dialogue. Had there been more funding and time, providing Chicago with an opportunity to familiarize herself with the industrial ecology of Hsin Chuang and the local women's art scene in Taiwan could have helped her to choose works more suitable to the occasion. To assess appropriately Chicago's contribution to this first exhibit in Taiwan, we need to consider not only the works exhibited at the Hsin Chuang Culture Center show that emphasize women and gender—three smaller pieces from the "The Dinner Party" (1979) and the large-scale "Earth Birth" quilt from her "Birth Project" (1983)—but also the works displayed at Hanart (Taipei) Gallery: pieces from her "Beyond the Flower" series as well as from "Powerplay" and "Thinking about Trees," the former a series dramatizing male-female power struggles, the latter a meditation on nature, cities, and ecology. Taken together, the two exhibits give a fuller view of Chicago's ocuvre. An unfortunate gap is the regrettable absence from both exhibits of any pieces from her important latest work on the political persecution and genocide of the Jewish people, "The Holocaust Project" (1993). In this third phase of her work, Chicago combines her earlier interest in issues of gender and ecology with more recent concerns about race and ethnicity. Her later work would have related more closely to the themes of the Lord of the Rim exhibit, providing greater harmony with the local artists' interest in gender, ethnic, and racial persecution.

Unlike the exhibited works of Judy Chicago, the Hsin Chuang exhibit's installation works by the Taiwanese, Korean, and Japanese artists focus on the various forms of marginalization imposed on women of the third world. Exploring at various levels the issues of house and home, of the body and sex/gender, these artists expand and problematize traditional manifestations of the nuclear family, extending their exploration to the economic forces undergirding it: industrialization, militarism/imperialism, transnational trade, and various facets of patriarchal colonialist sys-

Despite some conflicts and tension between Chicago, the curator, and some of the other artists, Chicago's presence did stimulate the media's and the public's interest in this exhibit and hence in women's art as a result.

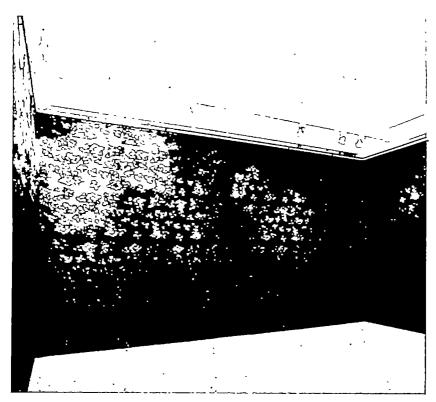


Figure 1 Mali Wu, Han Chuang Women's Stories (courtesy of the artist)

tems. They deal critically but in an integrated manner with issues of gender, class, ethnicity, and labor. Mali Wu's work, for example, seeks to represent the oral stories and silent secrets of the women of Hsin Chuang (fig. 1). On one wall she projects a black-and-white video loop of a close-up of a sewing machine needle endlessly stitching seams accompanied by the low audio drone of the pedal-operated machine at work (fig. 2). The loop constructs the exploited women laborers and their invisible social status in a form that mirrors the monotonous repetition of the labor itself. Chun-Ju Lin's "Production" (fig. 3) and Maggie Hsu's "Yi, Yi" (fig. 4; see also cover detail)—the Chinese title a three-way play on homonyms meaning "Clothing/Placenta, She"—each implicitly critique the objectification of the female worker's body under advanced industrial systems and the "reality" of the reproductive system's progressive dissolution. Self-proclaimed "female art worker" Lulu Hou, in her thought-provoking photography installation "Labors and Labels" (figs. 5 and 6), not only touches on the relationship between women's handiwork and the machine but also, using

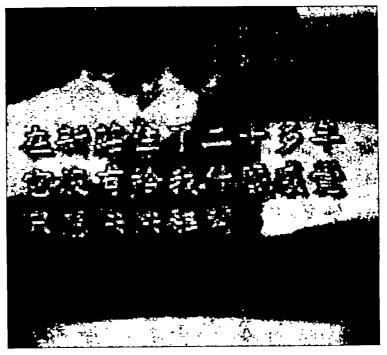


Figure 2 Mali Wu, Hin Chung Women's Stories (courtesy of the artist)

local and international fashion labels, goes a step further to condemn first-world multinational businesses for their recolonization of third-world women for cheap labor. In Shimada's "One-Month Work," six hundred condoms are neatly aligned on the milky white wall; on the floor below lies a nude female mannequin, which symbolizes the body of a comfort woman, awaiting visitors who would offer some covering with their own secondhand clothing. A self-acknowledged "descendant of a colonizer," Shimada reflects on Japan's transnational militarism and imperialism, imbuing these impressive, compelling works with critical force.

Through their engagement with the gendered and ethnic histories of Hsin Chuang's textile industry, the Taiwanese artists, under tight constraints of time and space, have presented a highly cohesive body of work. Taken together with the work of the other participating Asian artists (and even of the American), they have constructed an exhibit of remarkable intensity, coherence, and vigor. On the one hand, they affirm and validate

See Shimada 1997.



Figure 3 Chun-ju Lin, Preduction (courtesy of the artist)

the contribution of silenced working-class women; on the other, they criticize at various levels (political, economic, cultural) the "dark hand" (invisible force) of the underlying patriarchal system. The success of this exhibit hes not only in conferring on women of subaltern classes a legit-imate subjectivity but also in including rituals and activities that invite the

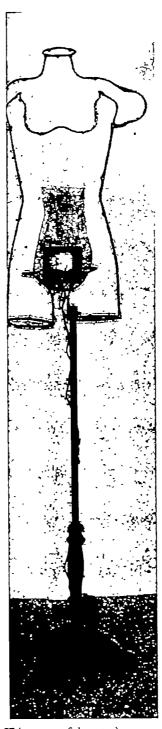


Figure 4 Maggie Hau, 77, 77 (courtesy of the artist)

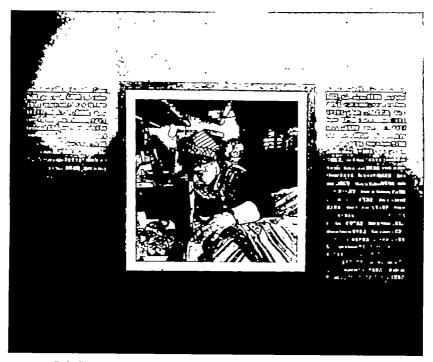


Figure 5 Lulu Hou, Labors and Labels (courtesy of the artist)

participation of all viewers, thus taking art from its former elitist temples and returning it to the grassroots level of all classes in Hsin Chuang and in Taipei County.

The organizers carefully planned events before and after the exhibit's opening that added a unique flavor to the entire experience, not only giving the works of the visiting artists the chance to sprout some roots in the local soil here but also allowing the art to function publicly and ceremonially, invoking blessings and healing for a wounded land. Mali Wu's purple room and its wall covering—cloth subtly woven of fallen flowers and hidden memories—can be seen as a metaphorical sacred space for the women immigrants of Hsin Chuang. Ahn Pil-Yun's idiosyncratic performance in which she frantically dashed about until she dropped among wandering headless robots in Korean and Western bridal gowns (remote controlled by two men at a distance) entails a critique of both Asian and Western women's subjugation under their patriarchal societies. Her concluding improvised mantra was offered to console the generations of nameless women and to accompany them to their rest in the next world. Shimada's unique collaborative creation, "One Thousand Red Knots,"

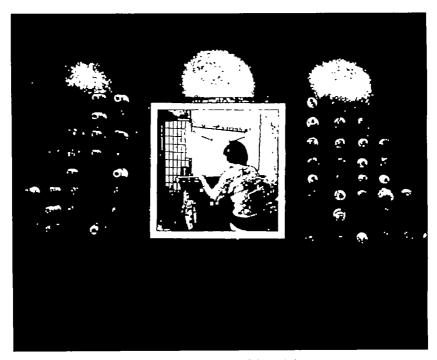


Figure 6 Lulu Hou, Labors and Labels (courtesy of the artist)

brought together the collective efforts of hundreds of Hsin Chuang residents and students. Participating women of all ages and social classes wrote their names and wishes onto red cloth strips of the sort Shimada observed in Taiwan's local Taoist/Buddhist temples; the participants then hand stitched these onto an expansive white bolt of cloth as blessings offered to their relatives as well as to earlier generations of comfort women and to all fallen victims. Shimada sets out to subvert the implications of sexual colonization in the traditional Japanese use of the red knot, whereby a Japanese woman would stitch one on her belt as a symbol of protection for her soldier son or husband heading off to battle (fig. 7). But the artist, using this simplest of women's gestures—the stitch—gathers the collective force of will, releasing the women's collaborative mystical powers of suturing, revitalizing, and healing. Hsin Chuang women of all classes formed the core of this work, and it elevated all participants from the role of passive observers to that of "creators." It enticed viewers throughout the exhibit's duration to contribute to its gradual completion. There is an organic, even communal quality to this artwork that emphasizes the interaction of common viewers and the very process of creation itself. Here, Chicago's idea of women artists in the West quilting together in the 1970s

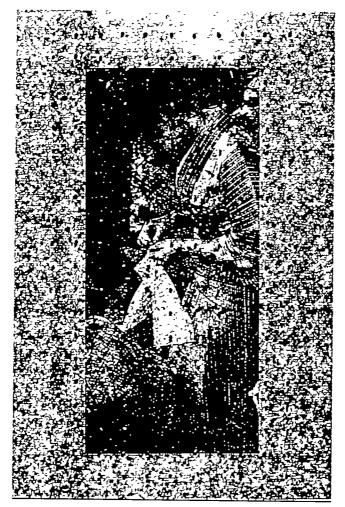


Figure 7 Shimada Yoshiko, One Thousand Red Knots (courtesy of the artist and Hanart Gallery).

is transformed transnationally, as a collective of artists and participants of different classes, ethnicities, and races in the Pacific Rim stitch up historical wounds together in the 1990s.

Here again, the particularities of place deserve some elucidation, for they cast Shimada's work in a specific light perhaps undetectable to Western viewers of her piece. Shimada's communal work borrowed symbolism from the era of Japan's colonization of Taiwan and Korea, specifically the red stitch used by Japanese wives to invoke protection of their soldier husbands. But among the hundreds of Taiwanese women collaborating

in the communal work in Hsin Chuang, as Shimada clearly must have realized, there were those of the generation that had been enslaved by the Japanese to serve as comfort woman to these very same Japanese soldiers being protected by the red stitches of their wives back in Japan.

In a similar spirit is Taiwan fiber artist Jessica Huang's "Yarns of Remembrance" workshop. Huang gathered mothers and children of Taipei County together to take old clothing and to stitch and knot them in handmade dolls; the dolls were then hung on an old map of Taiwan to represent the sheer tax of toil that mothers have paid for the growth of this land.

As Judy Chicago's quilt shows Mother Earth to be the source of life, light, and power, so this women's art exhibit Lord of the Rim: In Herself/ For Herself has functioned as a healing source as well. It is a rare and exciting first example of such collective work across national borders, paving the way for more of its kind. In reality, this small collective of artists cannot yet be named "lord" of the rim, nor are they yet free to be completely them "selves," but their collaborative efforts to remember painful gendered experiences in ways that are healing to their communities deserve all the more to be acknowledged, honored, and documented.

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¹⁰ It is worth noting that the Lord of the Rim art exhibit has since been followed in Taiwan by two large-scale women's art exhibits in major museums in Taipei and Kaohsiung: Mind and Spirit. Women's Art in Tuswan, curated by Ying-Ying Lai for the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, in 1998, and Journey of the Spirit: Tuswaness Women Artists and Contemporary Representations, which I curated for the Kaohsiung Fine Arts Museum, December 2000—March 2001. Since then, many smaller local exhibits have flowered.

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United States and International Notes

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society welcomes announcements of fellowships, calls for papers, upcoming special issues, and new journals for the "United States and International Notes" section.

Announcements and calls for papers

The International Federation of University Women offers a limited number of fellowships and grants to women graduates for advanced research, study, and training. The next competition will offer fellowships and grants for the 2005–6 academic year. The grants are intended to help finance short graduate and postgraduate study, research, and training projects and to serve as complementary funds for longer programs, while fellowships are meant to encourage advanced scholarship and original research by university women. Applicants must be well started on the research program to which the application refers. Please see http://www.ifuw.org/i_fell.htm for full regulations and instructions for applying.

Teachers College Record announces a call for papers for a special issue on ethnicity, race, gender, class, and youths' development. This issue will feature papers reporting on original research regarding the development of youths, particularly in urban contexts. Papers could address: By what methods do youths create meanings? How do they attain a sense of the future and its opportunities or hazards? What strategies do they employ to deal with poverty; racial, gender, or other discrimination; and the disdain of dominant groups in society? How do they negotiate the often rough terrains of school, the streets, or incarceration? Finally, how do urban youths develop a critical account of their societies, and how do they, or can they, move from cynicism or alienation to an informed resistance to oppression? Manuscripts should be submitted using the Teachers College Record online submission system. Indicate that the paper is for the special issue on youth development. Please see http://www.tcrecord.org. Deadline is May 1, 2004.

The National Sexuality Resource Center (NSRC), with funds from the Ford Foundation, is committed to generating a dialogue between academics and community advocates. The goal of the center is to strengthen informed responses to critical sexual and social issues. By disseminating accurate information and evidence-based research on sexual health, education, and rights, the NSRC strives to promote social justice and enhance the quality of life in the United States. The center seeks magazine articles that address issues of sexuality in three broadly defined areas of sexual education, health, and rights. Articles should focus on a timely issue in the field of human sexuality studies; draw from a particular discipline or interdisciplinary approach; be written in accessible language (the front page of the New York

REO I Limited States and International Notes

Times is a good guide for style and language); be 1,000–1,500 words; and include images, graphs, and figures. For further information, please contact Cymene Howe, managing editor, National Sexuality Resource Center (NSRC), Human Sexuality Studies Program, San Francisco State University, 2017 Mission Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, CA 94110. E-mail cymene Safsu.edu. Also see the NSRC's Web site at http://nsrc.sfsu.edu.

Call for artwork

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society seeks submissions for cover art. Published quarterly by the University of Chicago Press and distributed internationally, Signs is an interdisciplinary academic journal that focuses on issues of gender, race, class, nation, and sexuality. Submissions are not limited by style or medium (photography and film stills are welcome) but should reproduce well in black and white; content should represent a point of view on women's issues. One full-color cover will be published annually. Send up to ten labeled slide duplicates to Art Editor, Signs, University of California, Los Angeles, 1400H Public Policy Building, Box 957122, Los Angeles, CA 90095-7122. E-mail signs Gaigns. ucla .edu. A small honorarium is available. Deadline is ongoing.

About the Contributors

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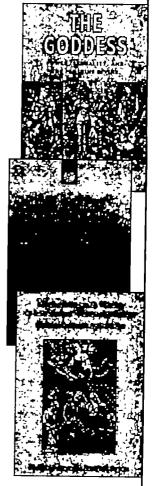
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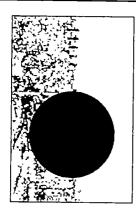
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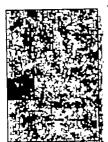
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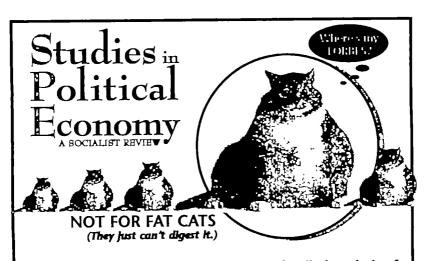
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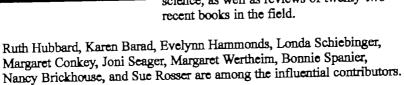
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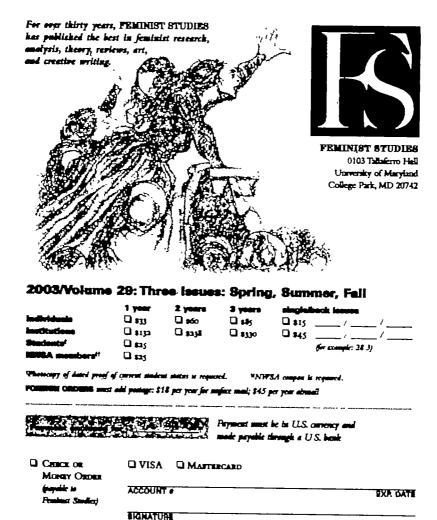
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